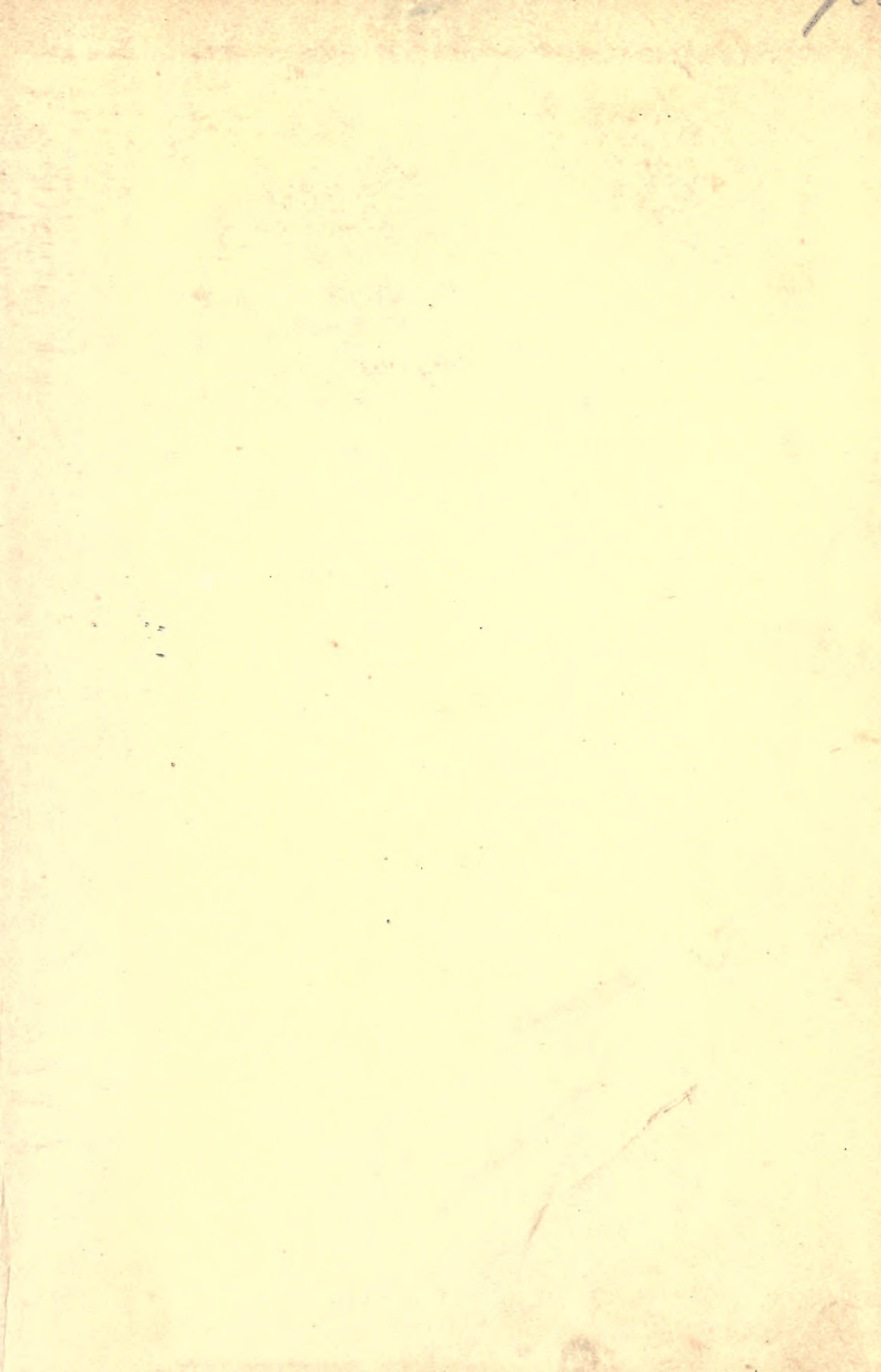




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A HISTORY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO
A. D. 1770

INCLUDING
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES
OF THE
TRUSTEES, FACULTY, THE FIRST ALUMNI
AND OTHERS

BY
THOMAS HARRISON MONTGOMERY

MEMBER OF THE

*Historical Society of Pennsylvania, New York Historical Society,
Chester County Historical Society, Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania,
Etc. Etc. Etc.*

I think, moreover, that Talents for the Education of Youth are the Gift of God; and that He on Whom they are bestowed, whenever a Way is opened for the Use of Them, is as strongly Called as if He heard a Voice from Heaven; Nothing more surely Pointing out Duty in a Public Service than Ability and Opportunity of Performing it.

Dr. Franklin to Dr. Johnson, 23 August, 1750.

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PREFACE.

Some years ago the late Provost, Dr. Pepper, sought my interest in writing a History of the University of Pennsylvania from its beginning to the present generation, and asked me to undertake it. The honor of his urgency in the matter was so flattering that I eventually agreed to respond to his call, and soon made preparations for the work, which was to be carried on within my own time and opportunities. The progress of this was a great pleasure to me, and its course proved both entertaining and instructive as the material for its compilation was both rich and ample.

My labors had to be carried on in the interval hours of a busy life, but in a year or two its claims seemed to press; and finally, even after some weeks respite abroad, I found myself unable to proceed beyond the year 1769, when health dictated my arresting the work there.

Complete as it is to this point I now submit it to the friends of the University. These early years of its operations here set forth in full illustrate its formative period, which is the most instructive in its life. The detail, it is hoped, truly portrays the Men and Movements of the ante-Revolutionary period in the Province of Pennsylvania: and as the Movements of that colonial period, all in some degree, shed their light on the colony's greatest educational undertaking; so the Men concerned in it were the representatives of the contemporary thought, and moved with influence in those circles which shaped the destinies of the Province, as well also those of the Nation that was then approaching its adult years.

If this picture of those times (for the University was necessarily a part of them) will serve to enlighten and interest its Alumni, and form any inspiration to its Matriculates, in the

personal portrayals of the men who built the foundations upon which the present great superstructure rests, the writer will be gratified.

Having been himself at one time a pupil in the old Academy building, his interest has been enhanced in the course of the present work by the memory of his attendance on tuition in the venerable birthplace, now no more, of the great educational institution whose continuing years have left a record of such great interest, and which to-day holds out such enlarging promises, the fruitage of the seed laid there in 1749 by the "voluntary society of founders," as the Trustees were termed by the first Provost.

THOS. H. MONTGOMERY.

*Ardrossan,
23 February, 1900.*

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I.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN laid the first stone of an institution which was destined to outgrow in usefulness and in influence any other of the creations of his fertile brain, when he announced in a communication to the printers of his *Pennsylvania Gazette* which appeared on 24 August, 1749, the prospectus of his scheme for the higher education of youth in his adopted city in the following sentences :

In the settling of new countries, the first care of the planters must be to provide and secure the necessities of life; this engrosses their attention, and affords them little time to think of any thing farther. We may therefore excuse our ancestors, that they established no ACADEMY or college in this province, wherein their youth might receive a polite and learned education. *Agriculture* and *mechanic arts*, were of the most immediate importance; the *culture of minds* by the *finer arts* and *sciences*, was necessarily postpon'd to times of more wealth and leisure.

Since those times are come, and numbers of our inhabitants are both able and willing to give their sons a good education, if it might be had at home, free from the extraordinary expence and hazard in sending them abroad for that purpose; and since a proportion of men of learning is useful in every country, and those who of late years come to settle among us, are chiefly foreigners, unacquainted with our language, laws and customs; it is thought a proposal for establishing an ACADEMY in this province, will not now be deemed unseasonable. Such a proposal the publick may therefore shortly expect. In the meantime, please to give the following letter of the younger *Pliny* to *Cornelius Tacitus*,¹ a place in your paper, as it seems *apropos* to the design above mentioned.

PLINY junior to CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I Rejoice that you are safely arrived in *Rome*; for tho' I am always desirous to see you, I am more particularly so now. I purpose to continue a few days longer at my house in *Tusculum*, in order to finish a work which I have upon my hands: For I am afraid, should I put a stop to this design, now that it is so nearly compleated, I shall find it difficult to resume it. In the meanwhile, that I may lose no time, I send this letter before me, to request a favour of you, which I hope shortly to ask in person. But before I inform you what my request is, I must let you into the occasion of

¹ See Melmoth's *Letters of Pliny the Consul*, Book IV. Letter 13. Franklin's *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania* are repeated in full in Appendix I.

it. Being lately in Comum, the place of my nativity, a young lad, son to one of my neighbors, made me a visit. I asked him whether he studied oratory and where? He told me he did, and at Medolianum.² And why not here? Because (said his father, who came with him) we have no masters. "No! said I, surely it nearly concerns you, who are fathers (and very opportunely several of the company were so) that your sons should receive their education here, rather than anywhere else: For where can they be placed more agreeably than in their own country, or instructed with more safety, and less expence, than at home, and under the eye of their parents? Upon what very easy terms might you, by a general contribution, procure proper masters, if you would only apply towards the raising a salary for them, the extraordinary expence it costs you for your sons' journies, lodgings, and whatsoever else you pay for upon account of their being abroad; as pay indeed you must in such a case for every thing? Tho' I have no children myself, yet I shall willingly contribute to a design so beneficial to (what I look upon as a child, or a parent) my country; and therefore I will advance a third part of any sum you shall think proper to raise for this purpose. I would take upon myself the whole expence, were I not apprehensive that my benefaction might hereafter be abused, and perverted to private ends; as I have observed to be the case in several places where publick foundations of this nature have been established. The single means to prevent this mischief is, to have the choice of the masters entirely in the breast of the parents, who will be so much the more careful to determine properly, as they shall be obliged to share the expence of maintaining them. For tho' they may be careless in disposing of another's bounty, they will certainly be cautious how they apply their own; and will see that none but those who deserve it shall receive my money, when they must at the same time receive theirs too. Let my example then encourage you to unite heartily in this useful design, and be assured, the greater the sum my share shall amount to, the more agreeable it will be to me. You can undertake nothing that will be more advantageous to your children, nor more acceptable to your country. They will, by this means, receive their education where they receive their birth, and be accustomed, from their infancy, to inhabit and affect their native soil. May you be able to procure professors of such distinguished abilities, that the neighboring towns shall be glad to draw their learning from hence; and as you now send your children to foreigners for education, may foreigners in their turn flock hither for their instruction.'" I thought proper thus to lay open to you the rise of this affair, that you might be the more sensible how agreeable it will be to me, if you undertake the office I request. I entreat you, therefore, with all the earnestness a matter of so much importance deserves, to look out, amongst the great numbers of men of

² Milan.

letters, which the reputation of your genius brings to you, proper persons to whom we may apply for this purpose ; but without entering into any agreement with them on my part. For I would leave it entirely free to the parents to judge and choose as they shall see proper: All the share I pretend to claim is, that of contributing my care and my money. If, therefore, any one shall be found, who thinks himself qualified for the undertaking, he may repair thither ; but without relying upon anything but his merit. Farewell.

II.

These proposals were the consummation of many years' reflection over the wants of the Province, which he had made his home, in the matter of better and larger educational facilities, for the growing generations. The early settlers of Pennsylvania had brought with them the culture of their home training, but as Franklin expresses it, the demands of the urgent present forbade them laying preparations for a like training to their children. His own native city had as its immediate neighbor the town of Cambridge, where Harvard College had already existed for one hundred and twelve years. In its training and its influence he had no share ; " his father, burdened with a numerous family, was unable without inconvenience to support the expense of a college education," he records in his autobiography.¹

I was put to the grammar school at eight years of age ; my father intending to devote me, as the tithe of his sons, to the service of the church. My early readiness in learning to read [he continues], (which must have been very early, as I do not remember when I could not read,) and the opinion of all his friends, that I should certainly make a good scholar, encouraged him in this purpose of his. My uncle Benjamin, too, approved of it, and proposed to give me all his short-hand volumes of sermons, I suppose as a stock to set up with, if I would learn his character. I continued, however, at the grammar school not quite one year, though in that time I had risen gradually from the middle of the class of

¹ *Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin.* John Bigelow, 1887. i 38.

that year to be the head of it, and farther was removed into the next class above it in order to go with that into the third at the end of the year. But my father, in the meantime, from a view of the expense of a college education, which having so large a family he could not well afford, and the mean living many so educated were afterwards able to obtain—reasons that he gave to his friends in my hearing—altered his first intention, took me from the grammar-school, and sent me to a school for writing and arithmetic, kept by a then famous man, Mr. George Brownell, very successful in his profession, generally, and that by mild, encouraging methods. Under him I acquired fair writing pretty soon; but I failed in the arithmetic, and made no progress in it. At ten years old I was taken home to assist my father in his business, which was that of a tallow chandler and sope-boiler.

This is the brief but expressive story of Franklin's own education, and how Harvard came to lose another matriculant and an alumnus whose name would have adorned its long roll. However, in 1753, it conferred on him the honor of Magister Artium, as had Yale in the same year,² and William and Mary in 1756. To these degrees higher collegiate honors were bestowed on the man who though not a collegian was the creator of a university, as St. Andrews in 1759 made him Juris Utriusque Doctor, and Oxford in 1762 enrolled him as Juris Civilis Doctor.³ And yet the child of his own creation never enrolled his name as the possessor of one of its Degrees.

For two years he continued thus employed in his father's

² "The College of Cambridge of their own motion, presented me with the degree of Master of Arts. Yale College in Connecticut, had before made me a similar compliment. Thus without studying in any college, I came to partake of their honours. They were conferred in consideration of my improvements and discoveries in the electric branch of natural philosophy."—Bigelow, i, 242.

"Whereas Benjamin Franklin Esquire, by his ingenious Experiments and Theory of Electrical Fire has greatly merited of the Learned World: it is therefore considered that the said Benjamin Franklin shall receive the Honour of a Degree of Master of Arts," at Yale College Commencement, 12 September 1753. v. Dexter's *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College with Annals of the College History*, p. 304.

³ Oxford at the same time conferred M. A. on his son William.—Sparks, i, 250, 267. In the same month that his St. Andrews degree was conferred, the City of Edinburgh presented him with the freedom of the city in the following record: "Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia is hereby admitted a Burgess and guild-brother of this city, as a mark of the affectionate respect which the Magistrates and Council have for a gentleman, whose amiable character, greatly distinguished for usefulness to the society which he belongs to, and love to all mankind, had long ago reached them across the Atlantic Ocean." i, 251.

business ; but his "bookish inclination at length determined his father to make him a printer" though he had already one son (James) of that profession.

I liked it much better than that of my father, but still had a hankering for the sea. To prevent the apprehended effect of such an inclination, my father was impatient to have me bound to my brother. I stood out some time, but at last was persuaded, and signed the indenture, when I was but twelve years old. His father's little library consisted chiefly of books in polemic divinity, most of which I read. * * * Plutarch's *Lives* there was, in which I read abundantly, and I still think that time spent to great advantage. I now had access to better books. An acquaintance with the apprentices of booksellers enabled me sometimes to borrow a small one, which I was careful to return soon, and clean. Often I sat up in my room reading the greatest part of the night, when the book was borrowed in the evening and to be returned early in the morning, lest it should be missed or wanting. [He became intimately acquainted with] another bookish lad in the town, John Collins by name, with whom I was intimately acquainted. * * * About this time I met with an odd volume of the *Spectator*. It was the third. I had never before seen any of them. I bought it, read it over and over, and was much delighted with it. I thought the writing⁴ excellent, and wished if possible to imitate it.

But his apprenticeship to his brother, notwithstanding all these waysides of literary pleasure and self education was made irksome to him ; either his brother's tyranny or jealousy, perhaps both, oppressed his ingenious energy, and he sought means to leave him and he says :

I was sensible that if I attempted to go openly, means would be used to prevent me. My friend Collins therefore undertook to manage a little for me. He agreed with the Captain of a New York sloop for my passage * * * So I sold some of my books to raise a little money, was taken on board privately, and as we had a fair wind, in three days I found myself in New York, near 300 miles from home, a boy of but 17, without the least recommendation to or knowledge of, any person in⁵ the place, and with very little money in my pocket. Here, [he says,] I offered my service to the printer in that place old Mr. William Bradford, who had been the first printer in Pennsylvania, removed from thence upon the quarrel of George Keith. He could give me no employment, having little to do, and help enough already, but says he : My son at Philadelphia has lately lost his principal hand, Aquila Rose, by death ; if you go thither I believe he may employ you.⁶

⁴ Bigelow, i. 45, 47.

⁵ Ibid, i. 57.

⁶ Ibid, i. 58.

And the young Bostonian at once set out on his way to the city where he made his home the remainder of his long and eventful life, and which in its oldest institutions, whether of philanthropy, of benevolence, of education, of science, or of business, testifies to his genius of organization and his fertility of resources.

III.

The story of Franklin's landing in Philadelphia on that October Sunday morning in 1723, the same day in the week when in 1706 he first drew breath in Boston, is well known but always interesting. His walk up Market Street, with his three penny worth of rolls, "with a roll under each arm and eating the other," and back by Chestnut and Walnut Streets to the place of the landing, "to which I went for a draught of the river water, where being filled with one of my rolls, gave the other two to a woman and her child that came down the river with us, and were waiting to go farther."

Thus refreshed, I walked again up the street which by this time had many clean-dressed people in it, who were all walking the same way. I joined them, and thereby was led into the great meeting of the Quakers near the market. I sat down among them, and after looking round awhile and hearing nothing said, being very drowsy thro' labor and want of rest the preceding night, I fell fast asleep, and continued so till the meeting broke up, when one was kind enough to rouse me. This was therefore, the first house I was in, or slept in, in Philadelphia.¹

It was a notable day in the annals of our city in which Franklin was introduced to it, and the simple story in his own inimitable phrases seems ever to renew an interest in its perusal. He wrote this narrative nearly half a century afterwards, but the vividness of his memory brought up to his mind the quaint

¹ Bigelow, i. 63.

scenes of that day, and the tale is told us as freshly as if written at the time.

On Monday morning he reported bright and early at Andrew Bradford's, and he tells us he there "found in the shop the old man, his father, whom I had seen at New York, and who, traveling on horseback, had got to Philadelphia before me. He introduced me to his son, who received me civilly, gave me a breakfast, but told me he did not at present want a hand." William Bradford undertook to introduce him to the "new printer, lately set up, one Keimer" who "not discovering that he was the other printer's father," babbled about his plans and said "he expected soon to get the greatest part of the business into his own hands," whereat Bradford "drew him on by artful questions and starting little doubts" to tell more of his plans, and Franklin "who stood by and heard all, saw immediately that one of them was a crafty old sophister, and the other a mere novice."² He lodged at Bradford's the while helping Keimer and doing small jobs for the former. But this first interview laid the seeds of the distrust between him and that family which was fostered in subsequent years by his successful opposition and intensified by later political controversies.

By promises from Sir William Keith, whose duplicit character he had yet to find out, he engaged to go to England to purchase printing apparatus wherewith to furnish a great establishment in Philadelphia; and in November 1724 he sailed thither, only to find the Governor's promises utterly worthless; he remained in London, working as best he might at his trade, and by October 1726 he was again in Philadelphia. For a young man who had not yet attained his majority, this was an education which not alone developed his self reliance but also added knowledge as well as experience to his stock of weapons wherewith to continue his battle with life.

In the year following he tells us he "form'd most of my ingenious acquaintances into a club of mutual improvement, which we called the JUNTO."³ These were Joseph Brientnal,

² Bigelow, i. 64.

³ Ibid, i. 141.

a scrivener; Thomas Godfrey, the mathematician; Nicholas Scull, a surveyor; William Parsons, afterwards surveyor general; William Maugridge,⁴ "joiner, but a most exquisite mechanic;" Hugh Meredith,⁵ "a Welsh Pennsylvanian, thirty years of age, bred to country work," and afterwards his partner for twelve years in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*; Stephen Potts, "a young countryman of full age, of uncommon natural parts, and great wit and humor, but a little idle;" George Webb, "an Oxford scholar;" Robert Grace, "a young gentleman of some fortune, generous, lively and witty;" and lastly, "William Coleman, then a merchant's clerk, about my age, who had the coolest, clearest head, the best heart, and the exactest morals, of almost any man I ever met with. He became afterwards a merchant of great note, and one of our provincial judges," who also became one of the original trustees of the Academy and College in 1749, and remained Franklin's most faithful coadjutor in this work until his death in 1769.

The Club continued almost as long, and was the best school of philosophy, morality, and politics, that then existed in the province; for our queries, which were read the week preceding their discussion, put us upon reading with attention upon the several subjects, that we might speak more to the purpose; and here, too, we acquired better habits of conversation, everything being studied in our rules, which might prevent us disgusting each other.⁶

From this quiet but influential centre grew in 1743 the institution of the first American Philosophical Society of which Thomas Hopkinson was the first President, which had not long existence, but was revived again by the greater organization of 1769, with Benjamin Franklin as its first President, though he was at the time absent in London representing his adopted province. Thus early did this young man display and exercise his rare leadership, and attract to his side men of thought and ideas; for one but twenty-two years of age to secure the attention of men, mostly his seniors, to weekly meetings for the discussion of useful and informing topics, indicates as great an instance as any displayed by him in later years of his strong

⁴ A Vestryman of Christ Church in 1742 and again in 1744.

⁵ Bigelow, i. 131.

⁶ Ibid, i. 143.

executive ability, and his wonderful powers of attraction among all with whom he was associated in any enterprise. We dwell upon the great affairs of those later years in which he had such a directing hand, but these peculiar characteristics of his were being developed and matured a half century before the historian of his country devotes his pages to his later works. Franklin's accounts of all these matters is as engaging as it is frank; and it is this same frankness which also gives us that other and more human side of his early life in which occur those youthful follies and misdoings which seemed to have furnished his enemies with their most pointed weapons.

IV

In 1728 he made a partnership with his friend Meredith for the extension of his printing business, and soon thought of establishing a paper.

My hopes of success, as I told him, [his narrative proceeds], were founded on this: that the then only newspaper, printed by Bradford, was a paltry thing, wretchedly managed, no way entertaining, and yet was profitable to him; I therefore thought a good paper would scarcely fail of good encouragement.¹ [But his scheme getting to the ears of his old employer, Keimer, the latter began a paper]; and, after carrying it on three quarters of a year, with at most only ninety subscribers, he offered it me for a trifle; and I, having been ready some time to go on with it, took it in hand directly, and it proved in a few years extremely profitable to me.

He now called the paper the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and his first number was issued 2 October, 1729. He says:

Our first papers made quite a different appearance from any before in the province; a better type, and better printed. * * * Our number [of subscribers] went on growing continually. This was one of the first good effects of my having learned a little to scribble; another was that the leading men, seeing a newspaper now in the hands of one who could also

¹Bigelow, i. 145.

handle a pen, thought it convenient to oblige and encourage me * * * * Bradford had printed an address of the House to the Governor, in a coarse, blundering manner ; we reprinted it elegantly and correctly, and sent one to every member. They were sensible of the difference ; it strengthened the hands of our friends in the House, and they voted us their printers for the year ensuing.²

And this was the work of a young Printer who was his own Editor and only twenty-three years of age. Modern times record no instances of greater ingenuity and industry.

The Junto in 1731 afforded Franklin thoughts of another scheme ; he says³

By clubbing our books to a common library, we should, while we lik'd to keep them together, have each of us the advantage of using the books of all the other members, which would be nearly as beneficial as if each owned the whole : * * * yet some inconveniences occurring for want of due care of them, the collection after about a year was separated ; and each took his books home again. And now I set on foot my first project of a public nature, that for a subscription library. I drew up the proposals, got them put into form by our great scrivener, Brockden, and by the help of my friends in the Junto, procured fifty subscribers of forty shillings each to begin with, and ten shillings a year for fifty years, the term our company was to continue. * * this was the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous. These libraries have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defence of their privileges.

He writes this in 1771 in the dawn of our great struggle, of his co-directors in the institution of the Library Company of Philadelphia on 1 July 1731. Thomas Hopkinson, Philip Syng, and Thomas Cadwalader, became also his co-trustees eighteen years later in the Academy and College, and his faithful friend William Coleman was elected Treasurer. This Company attracted to itself in later years the testamentary gift to the public of the fine private library of James Logan whose knowledge and judgment had been consulted by Franklin in the first selection of books for their shelves. The oldest public library in the country owes its inception and planting to a young man but twenty-five years

² Bigelow, i. 149.

³ *ibid*, i. 159.

of age. In 1784 Franklin records,⁴ "this library afforded me the means of improvement by constant study, for which I set apart an hour or two each day; and thus repaired in some degree the loss of the learned education my father once intended for me." He was looking backward nigh fourscore years to his native city, and the "learned education" he might have attained to on the banks of the Charles River. With what great satisfaction he must have contemplated the great institution for learning he had launched eighteen years after his Library scheme had been consummated.

It was in 1731 that he took part in the formation of St. John's Lodge in Philadelphia, so far as known, the earliest established Masonic Lodge in America. In this interesting association he had the fellowship of his co-trustees William Allen, Thomas Hopkinson, James Hamilton, Dr. Thomas Bond, William Plumsted, Philip Syng and Dr. Cadwalader.⁵ Franklin was on a Committee appointed "to consider of the present State of the Lodge and of the properest Methods to improve it," and the Committee's report of 5 June, 1732, is in his handwriting. He was Junior Grand Warden of Pennsylvania that year, was Grand Master in 1734 and again in 1749, and Deputy Grand Master from 1750 to 1755.

At the close of the year following Franklin first published his *Poor Richard's Almanac*, which was continued about twenty-five years. This, he tells us, he "endeavoured to make both entertaining and useful, and it accordingly came to be in such demand, that I reaped considerable profit from it; vending annually near ten thousand."⁶ It was announced in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 19 December, 1732, and such was the eager-

⁴ Bigelow, i. 170

⁵ It was in the latter's letter to Henry Bell of Lancaster of 17 November, 1754, we find him saying: "As you well know I was one of the originators of the first Masonic Lodge in Philadelphia. A party of us used to meet at the Tree Tavern in Water Street, and sometimes opened a Lodge there. Once, in the fall of 1750, we formed a design of obtaining a Charter for a regular Lodge, and made application to the Grand Lodge of England for one, but before receiving it, we heard that Daniel Coxe, of New Jersey, had been appointed by that Grand Lodge as Provincial Master of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. We, therefore, made application to him, and our request was granted:" vide *The Keystone*, 15 October, 1887.

⁶ Bigelow, i. 192

ness with which it was sought that three editions were printed before the end of January.

But his prosperous business did not keep pace with his insatiate desire for knowledge, and to open new channels he "had begun," he says,

in 1732 to study languages; I soon made myself so much a master of the French, as to be able to read the books with ease. I then undertook the Italian. An acquaintance, who was also learning it, us'd often to tempt me to play chess with him. Finding this took up too much of the time I had to spare for study, I at length refused to play any more unless on this condition, that the victor in every game should have a right to impose a task, either in parts of the grammar to be got by heart, or in translations, etc, which tasks the vanquish'd was to perform upon honour before our next meeting. As we play'd pretty equally, we thus beat one another into that language. I afterwards, with a little pains-taking, acquired as much of the Spanish as to read their books also. I have already mention'd that I had only one year's instruction in a Latin school, and that when very young, after which I neglected that language entirely. But, when I had attained an acquaintance with the French, Italian, and Spanish, I was surpris'd to find, in looking over a Latin Testament, that I understood so much more of that language than I had imagined, which encouraged me to apply myself again to the study of it, and I met with more success, as those preceding languages had greatly smooth'd my way.⁷

His ambition ever to learn was well sustained by his incomparable energy and self-denial.

⁷ Bigelow, i. 198

V

In 1736 he sought entrance into public life, the better to further his favoring fortunes, and he was chosen clerk of the General Assembly in October of that year,¹ "for which office he petitioned the House in succession to Joseph Growden." Governor Gordon had died in the summer, and James Logan as President of the Council became the head of the Provincial government until the arrival of Governor Thomas two years later. This doubtless was the influence that secured what Franklin terms "my first promotion." He, as usual, makes no secret of the reasons for his wishing the office :

besides the pay for the immediate service as clerk, the place gave me a better opportunity of keeping up an interest among the members, which secured to me the business of printing the votes, laws, paper money, and other occasional jobs for the public, that, on the whole were very profitable.

He was annually chosen to this office for fourteen years, and herein he trained himself for his later political life. It was but at thirty years of age this native of a northern province attained to this important position, and without contradiction ; but his second term was not reached without opposition, which arose

from a new member in order to favor some other candidate. * * * He was a gentleman of fortune and education, with talents that were likely to give him in time great influence in the House which indeed afterwards happened.

But Franklin won in the contest and later placated this member by one of those clever strokes of ingenuity which he often exercised successfully to divert enmities ; and when recording the story concludes by saying this "shows how much more profitable it is prudently to remove, than to resent, return, and continue inimical proceedings : he ever after manifested a readiness to serve me on all occasions, so that we became great friends, and our friendship continued to his death."²

In October of the following year, 1737, he was appointed

¹ Bigelow, i. 201.

Proud. ii. 215, note.

² Bigelow, i. 202.

postmaster by Colonel Spotswood, formerly governor of Virginia and now postmaster general, succeeding his competitor in business, Andrew Bradford, who had been postmaster since 1725 and who was now removed for reasons affecting his lack of care and exactness in framing and rendering his accounts. He tells us,

I accepted it readily, and found it of great advantage ; for, though the salary was small, it facilitated the correspondence that improv'd my newspaper, increas'd the number demanded, as well as the advertisements to be inserted, so that it came to afford me a considerable income. But, [he adds,] my old competitor's newspaper declined proportionably, and I was satisfy'd without retaliating his refusal, while postmaster, to permit my papers being carried by the riders.

This appointment was unwelcome to Bradford and his friends and warmed into life animosities which bore fruit in later years.

With these two public offices in hand, Franklin tells us,³ " I began now to turn my thoughts a little to public affairs, beginning however with small matters." The city watch was reformed by the suggestions he made and the measures he succeeded in consummating aided by the influence of his friends of the Junto. Fire prevention as well exercised his thoughts, and he wrote a paper, first read in the junto and afterwards published, on the different accidents and carelessnesses by which houses were set on fire. This gave rise to a project, which soon followed it, of forming a company for the more ready extinguishing of fires, and mutual assistance in removing and securing of goods when in danger. Associates in this scheme were presently found, amounting to thirty.

Such was the origin of the Union Fire Company, established 7 December, 1736, the first fire company in Philadelphia.⁴

The utility of this institution soon appeared, and many more desiring to be admitted than we thought convenient for one company, they were advised to form another, which was accordingly done ; and this went on, one new company being formed after another, till they became so numerous as to include most of the inhabitants who were men of property.

The author of these practical reforms had not passed beyond his thirty-first year, yet he exhibited the skill and experience, and exerted the influence on his fellow citizens, of a man of three-score.

³ Bigelow, i. 203.

⁴ Ibid, i. 205

VI

At the close of the year 1739 there arrived in Philadelphia, on his way to his Parish and Orphanage at Savannah, the Rev. George Whitefield, a presbyter of the Church of England, the fame of whose extraordinary pulpit powers had preceded him, though he was a young man but twenty-four years of age.¹ Two days after his arrival, on Sunday 4th November he preached in Christ Church, and read prayers there and preached daily for a week. Departing for New York on the 12th, where he was not allowed to preach in Trinity Church, though he attended both the Sunday services; he returned to Philadelphia on the 23d and departed thence on the 29th for the South, having preached daily in Christ Church, though on his return in the April following he was inhibited from holding any service or preaching there. Franklin in common with every citizen was attracted by his eloquence, and he formed a friendship for the young divine, who was eight years his junior, which continued until his death, when he wrote to a friend "I knew him intimately upwards of thirty years. His integrity, disinterestedness, and indefatigable zeal in prosecuting every good work, I have never seen equalled, and shall never see excelled."² Doubtless Franklin was present at that remarkable scene in Christ Church on Sunday the 25th November when his friend the Rev. Richard Peters stood up and controverted some of Whitefield's new doctrines, which the latter manfully answered, though his Journal records he "had been somewhat alarmed" at the disturbance which this public contradiction threatened. Before the month was out Whitefield gave Franklin copies of his Journals and sermons with leave to print the same. Andrew

¹ He was ordained in Gloucester Cathedral 13 June 1736, and first preached on the Sunday following. "A complaint was made to the Bishop that fifteen persons had been driven mad by his sermon. The bishop only replied that he hoped the madness might not be forgotten before another Sunday. * * * * How his one sermon grew till he had preached eighteen thousand times, or ten times a week for four and thirty years, and fed multitudes beyond computation." Gledstone's *Life and Travels of George Whitefield, M. A.*, p 36. London 1871.

² *Life of Rev George Whitefield*, Tyerman. ii 628. London 1876. *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin*, Parton, i. 626.

Bradford printed some sermons and letters, but those undertaken by Franklin were by authority; in his journal of 28 November he records, "One of the printers has told me he has taken above two hundred subscriptions for printing my Sermons and Journals."³ Franklin says, "we had no religious connection. He us'd, indeed, sometimes to pray for my conversion, but never had the satisfaction of believing that his prayers were heard. Ours was a mere civil friendship, sincere on both sides, and lasted to his death."⁴

As the extent of Whitefield's audiences forbade their accommodation in any of the churches, and the inhibition by the Rector preventing in 1740 and in his subsequent visits his use of Christ Church, which was then indeed but one half the size as we now know it, measures were taken to procure him a proper building for his preachings; "it being found inconvenient to assemble in the open air," Franklin says⁵

subject to its inclemencies, the building of a house to meet in was no sooner proposed, and persons appointed to receive contributions, but sufficient sums were soon receiv'd to procure the ground, and erect the building, which was one hundred feet long and seventy broad, about the size of Westminster Hall, and the work was carried on with such spirit as to be finished in a much shorter time than could have been expected. Both house and ground were vested in trustees expressly for the use of any preacher of any religious persuasion, who might desire to say something to the people at Philadelphia.

Franklin was foremost in the work as he was in any matter he undertook and contributed of his means to it, though he was not one of the Trustees until 1749 when the property came into the possession of the new born Academy. On Sunday, 9 November, 1740, Whitefield records in his Journal, "Preached in the morning, to several thousands, in a house built since my last departure from Philadelphia. It was never preached in before. The roof is not yet up; but the people raised a convenient pulpit, and boarded the bottom." The oft told tale can bear repetition in this connection of the influence of White-

³ Tyerman, i. 337.

⁴ Bigelow, i. 209, also letter quoted by Dr Sprague from Rev Jotham Sewell, in *Annals of Episcopal Pulpit*, 107.

⁵ Bigelow, i. 206.

field's oratory on Franklin himself. He attended in April, 1740, one of Whitefield's meetings where he preached of his Orphanage, the location of which did not meet Franklin's approval, as⁶ Georgia was then destitute of materials and workmen, and it was proposed to send them from Philadelphia at a great expense. I thought it would have been better to have built the house here, and brought the children to it. This I advis'd ; but he was resolute in his first project, rejected my counsel, and I, therefore, refus'd to contribute. I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had, in my pocket, a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the coppers. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determin'd me to give the silver ; and he finished so admirably, that I empty'd my pocket wholly into the collectors dish, gold and all.

VII

Franklin's trusteeship in this property in 1749 rendered the plan effectual then proposed of making the building the first home of his College and Academy ; but for this happy instrumentality the young College would probably not for many years have had a home of its own so well adapted for its purposes. Built for the accommodation of the greatest preacher of the day, it became the Academy where the greatest teacher in the province, also a clergyman in like orders, established his fame as a Provost and nurtured into permanence the reputation of his College. In 1764 Whitefield himself wrote of the Academy as "one of the best regulated institutions in the world," after preaching on the opening of a new term of the College in September.¹ He was in Philadelphia the following spring, and Dr. Smith asked him to preach at the Commencement of 1765, but

⁶ Bigelow, i. 208.

¹ Tyerman, ii. 477.

he had been obliged to leave town a few days before for New York to embark thence for England.² His last visit to Philadelphia was in May, 1770, when he writes in his Journal, 24 May, "to all the *Episcopal Churches*, as well as to most of the other places of worship, I have free access;" and on 30 September following he died in Newburyport, where lie his remains.³

The friendship between these two remarkable men was begun by some common attraction the one for the other and continued through life unbroken, though their views on the deepest thoughts of humanity were so diverse. Such affinities are often witnessed, though the link is so subtle as to be undefinable. The one a Deist whose time was given to material things and his thoughts to the development of human knowledge, the other a warm believer in divine revelation and a burning preacher of the message which he claimed to have received; yet there was somewhat between them of sympathy and of a mutual understanding, which bound them to each other in a common respect and appreciation of each other's earnestness and reality. Whitefield's concern for his older friend manifested itself afterwards in many ways. He writes to him 26 November 1740, on his way to Savannah after their first meeting in Philadelphia, about his publications, and could not conclude without saying "I do not despair of your seeing the reasonableness of Christianity. Apply to GOD; be willing to do the divine will, and you shall know it."⁴ And on 17 August, 1752, he writes him⁵:

I find that you grow more and more famous in the learned world. As you have made a pretty considerable progress in the mysteries of electricity, I would now humbly recommend to your diligent unprejudiced pursuit and study the mystery of the new birth. It is a most important, interesting study, and when mastered, will richly answer and repay you for all your pains. One hath solemnly declared, that without it, "we cannot enter the kingdom of heaven." You will excuse this freedom. I must have

² *Penna. Gazette*. Tyerman, ii. 484.

³ Tyerman, ii. 589. William White writes from Philadelphia 9 October, 1770, to his friend James Wilson at Carlisle, "P. S. The bells are now ringing muffled for the Death of Mr. Whitefield; he died in New England." MS. letter.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 439.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 283.

aliquid Christi in all my letters.⁶ I am a yet willing pilgrim for his great name sake, and I trust a blessing attends my poor feeble labours.

He had already, more than two years before, written a letter to be referred to later on, upon the new Academy in which he held the same anxious language on behalf of his friend's plans for the education of youth.

It was about nine years before his meeting with Whitefield that Franklin "put down from time to time such thoughts as occurred" to him on the subject of religion.⁷

That there is one God, who made all things.

That he governs the world by his providence.

That he ought to be worshipped by adoration, prayer and thanksgiving.

But that the most acceptable service of God is doing good to man.

That the soul is immortal.

And that God will certainly reward virtue and punish vice, either here or hereafter.

That portion of his Autobiography in which we find these lines recorded was written, he tells us, in 1788. It was but a twelvemonth before he thus took up his pen to renew his interesting personal narrative, that occurred that memorable appeal by him in the Convention for framing the Constitution for the use of daily prayers in the deliberations of an assembly upon whom rested the perpetuation of a solid government for the United States. "He seldom spoke in a deliberative assembly except for some special object, and then briefly and with great simplicity of manner and language." Sparks⁸ tells us, on the occasion now referred to, he rose and said :

In the beginning of the contest with Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayers in this room for the divine protection. Our prayers, Sir, were heard ; and they were graciously answered. All of us, who were engaged in the struggle, must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the

⁶ Two years previously Whitefield made the same allusion regarding the proposals for the new Academy, in writing to Franklin 26 February, 1750: "but, I think there wants *aliquid Christi* in it, to make it as useful as I would desire it might be." Tyerman, ii. 251.

⁷ Bigelow, ii. 190.

⁸ Sparks, i. 514.

means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful Friend? or do we imagine we no longer need his assistance? I have lived, Sir, a long time; and, the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, *that God governs in the affairs of men*. And, if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? We have been assured, Sir, in the Sacred Writings, that "except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." I firmly believe this; and I also believe, that, without his concurring aid, we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel; we shall be divided by our little, partial, local interests, our projects will be unfounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and a by-word down to future ages. And, what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing government by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest. I therefore beg leave to move, that henceforth prayers, imploring the assistance of Heaven and its blessing on our deliberations, be held in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business; and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service.

But his appeal was unavailing, and the motion was lost, "as the Convention, except three or four persons, thought prayers unnecessary." There was that in the man that would win the friendship and respect of even a Whitefield; and one need wonder not at the exercise of this personal influence in all his intercourse with his fellow men.

But domestic concerns led him to other ingenious thoughts, though for once he here halted, not however for lack of faith, but failure at the time of the proper instrument to mature his plans. His son William had reached the age of about twelve years when he "in 1743 drew up a proposal," he tells us,⁹ for establishing an academy; and at that time, thinking the Reverend Mr. Peters, who was out of employ, a fit person to superintend such an institution, I communicated the project to him; but he, having more profitable views in the service of the proprietaries which succeeded, declined the undertaking: and, not knowing another at that time suitable for such a trust, I let the scheme lie awhile dormant.

Mr. Peters, of whom much will be said on later pages, was appointed on the 14 February of this year, Secretary of the Province and Clerk to the Council; his intimate concern and

⁹ Bigelow, i. 213.

interest in many of Franklin's enterprises, and his activities in furtherance of the College and Academy as finally framed and launched six years later, made him a conspicuous figure in the circle of which Franklin was the centre.

This same year witnessed the suggestion by Franklin, in his paper dated 14 May, 1743, entitled *A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge among the British Plantations in America*, of the American Philosophical Society, which seems to have very soon thereafter come into existence; "Benjamin Franklin, the writer of this proposal, offers himself to serve the Society as their secretary, till they shall be provided with one more capable." On 5 April, 1744, he writes to Cadwalader Colden, "that the society, so far as it relates to Philadelphia, is actually formed, and has had several meetings to mutual satisfaction."¹⁰ The vicissitudes of this society, whose vigour lessened during Franklin's long absences abroad, need only to be referred to here in connection with its reorganization in January, 1769, when Dr. Franklin was chosen President, although then absent in London, to which office he was annually elected until his death.

In writing about his first proposal for an academy in 1743, he said,¹¹

I had on the whole, abundant reason to be satisfied with my being established in Pennsylvania. There were, however, two things that I

¹⁰ Bigelow, ii. 1. Duyckinck, i. 575.

He continues: "the members are
Dr Thomas Bond, as Physician
Mr John Bartram, as Botanist
Mr Thomas Godfrey, as Mathematician
Mr Samuel Rhoads, as Mechanician
Mr William Parsons, as Geographer
Dr Phineas Bond, as General Nat. Philosopher
Mr Thomas Hopkinson, President
Mr William Coleman, Treasurer

B. F——, Secretary, To whom the following members have since been added, viz: Mr Alexander, of New York; Mr Morris, Chief Justice of the Jerseys; Mr Home, Secretary of do; Mr John Coxe of Trenton; and Mr Martyn, of the same place. Mr Nicholls tells me of several other gentlemen of this city that incline to encourage the thing; and there are a number of others, in Virginia, Maryland, and the New England colonies, we expect to join us as soon as they are acquainted that the Society has begun to form itself."

¹¹ Bigelow, i. 212.

regretted, there being no provision for defence, nor for a compleat education of youth ; no militia, nor any college.

His plans for education had been laid aside for the present, we have seen ; his plans for defence of his city against foreign invasion did not culminate for four years. Of them he writes,¹²

With respect to defense, Spain having been several years at war against Great Britain, and being at length join'd by France, which brought us into great danger ; and laboured and long continued endeavour of our governor, Thomas, to prevail with our Quaker Assembly to pass a militia law, and make other provisions for the security of the province, having proved abortive, I determined to try what might be done by a voluntary association of the people. To promote this, I first wrote and published a pamphlet, entitled, *PLAIN TRUTH*. * * * The pamphlet had a sudden and surprising effect. I was call'd upon for the instrument of association, and having settled the draft of it with a few friends, I appointed a meeting of the citizens in the large building before mentioned, [afterwards the first home of the University]. The house was pretty full ; I had prepared a number of printed copies, and provided pens and ink dispers'd all over the room. I harangued them a little on the subject, read the paper and explained it, and then distributed the copies, which were eagerly signed, not the least objection being made. When the company separated, and the papers were collected, we found above twelve hundred hands ; and other copies being dispersed in the country, the subscribers amounted at length to upwards of ten thousand.

Thus was formed in November, 1747, the new militia, or Associators as they were called. The officers of the companies composing the Philadelphia regiment chose Franklin as their lieutenant colonel,¹³ "but, conceiving myself unfit, I declined that station," he writes, "and recommended Mr. Lawrence."

By April following nearly one thousand associations were under arms, and batteries were erected on the river front, the grand battery near the Swedes Church, on ground afterwards occupied by the United States Navy Yard, being named the Association Battery. But the news of the peace concluded at Aix la Chapelle in April reached Philadelphia on 24 August, 1748, and their zeal and resolution had no trial of contest with the dreaded enemy. Franklin adds¹⁴

It was thought by some of my friends, that, by my activity in these

¹² Bigelow, i. 213.

¹³ Ibid, i. 214.

¹⁴ Ibid, i. 216.

affairs, I should offend the Quakers, and thereby lose my interest in the Assembly of the province, where they formed a great majority. * * * However, I was chosen again unanimously as clerk at the next election. Possibly, as they disliked my late intimacy with the members of Council, who had joined the governors in all the disputes about military preparations, with which the House had long been harassed, they might have been pleas'd if I would voluntarily have left them ; but they did not care to displace me on account merely of my zeal for the Association, and they could not well give another reason. Indeed, I had some cause to believe, that the defense of the country was not disagreeable to any of them, provided they were not required to assist in it.¹⁵

Thus far have been briefly stated the more notable actions in the first half of the life of the man who conceived the plan and laid the foundation of the institution of learning whose history is here attempted ; and to all those who claim it as their *alma mater*, it must be a matter of reasonable pride that its Father was a man whose rare genius, and strong mind, and whose diligent employment and nurture of the various faculties his Creator had endowed him with, have made the name of Benjamin Franklin of world wide note. Other institutions of like character have an earlier origin, some may have a wider reputation ; but none in our country can claim such paternity. It is well to review here in the outset his wonderful success in all practical matters ; his untiring occupation of every waking hour either in self improvement, or in seeking the improvement of others ; in advancing the welfare of his city, his province, and his country at large ; in probing the secrets of nature in wind or current, or in that more subtle force which we name electricity whose present great development into practical uses brings afresh to mind the man who was among the first to make his fellows familiar with its wonders ; in promoting learning ; in disseminating useful knowledge in all the communities to which his influence reached ; in laboring for better municipal government ; in securing local betterments in street ways and lighting ; in arousing his fellow citizens to practical measures to secure

¹⁵ Richard Peters approvingly narrates this Association and names Franklin as the author of it in his letter to the Proprietaries, 29 November, 1747. Sparks, vii. 20. The plan had not at first commended itself to them, as savoring too much of independence in military matters.

their defence against the foreign foe ; in striving with the outstretched olive branch to prevent the mother country forcing a rupture with her transatlantic children, and when disappointed in that, holding with his masterly diplomatic skill foreign nations to their pledged alliance with us ; and under all circumstances, in adversity as well as in prosperity, under bodily ailments as well as with full physical health, pursuing with calmness and an even tenor almost superhuman the paths of usefulness and duty which he made, or which were laid upon him by a constituency not always grateful, in private and public life equally faithful to the ends in view and the interests confided to him. Such a man it is well to hold up to the view of those who may in the coming years seek their learning on his foundations as an example of a manly and rightful ambition, of rare diligence and thrift, and of a true catholic spirit and abounding industry. He fulfilled the unconscious prediction of his worthy father, who commended to him the saying of the Wise Man, " Seest thou a man diligent in his business ? he shall stand before kings ; he shall not stand before mean men."

VIII.

The birth of the university marks the half way point in Franklin's life; in the pursuit of its history we cannot fail to note his work from time to time in behalf of his native country, for we must watch the events by his share in which he was elevated more and more to public notoriety, and some of which nearly concerned the institution whose trusteeship he faithfully continued in to his last days, though his long absences in his country's service deprived it for many consecutive years of that prudent and skilful counsel, which, if exercised, had perhaps spared it from its great disaster of 1779.

The attempt of 1743 had not been forgotten by him, and though he had not within view any capable or experienced person to take it in charge, he sought counsel of his friends, Mr. Peters included, and now made public his designs. "Peace being concluded,"¹ he says in his Narrative,

and the association business therefore at an end, I turn'd my thoughts again to the affair of establishing an academy. The first step I took was to associate in the design a number of active friends, of whom the Junto furnished a good part; the next was to write and publish a pamphlet, entitled, *Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*. This I distributed among the principal inhabitants gratis; and as soon as I could suppose their minds a little prepared by the perusal of it, I set on foot a subscription for opening and supporting an academy.

And he adds a sentence in his usual vein showing how little anxious he was to claim the authorship of the plan:

In the introduction to these proposals, I started their publication not

¹ Bigelow, 224, 25. These Proposals of 1749 are not found in Mr. Bigelow's *Complete Works of Franklin*. See Sparks, i. 569, where they are inserted with Mr. Spark's literary freedom; but will be found herein correctly recorded in Appendix I, without however carrying the author's copious and many notes wherein he transcribed authorities endorsing his objects and his methods. Upon the appearance of Volumes i. and ii. of Mr. Bigelow's valuable work, his attention was called to the omission of the *Proposals*, and he replied, 23 April, 1887, "it will appear in one of the later volumes which is now in the hands of the printer. Why it was assigned to a later date I do not remember, nor could I satisfy myself without reference to the copy, which at present would be inconvenient. It will serve your purpose, I hope, to know that it had not been overlooked." Doubtless the failure to obtain a copy of the original prevented this consummation. Of this rare publication but three copies are now known to be preserved, one of them, happily, is in the possession of the University, the Pennsylvania Historical Society and the Boston Athenæum owning the other two.

as an act of mine, but of more *publick spirited gentlemen*; avoiding as much as I could, according to my usual rule, the presenting myself to the public as the author of any scheme for their benefit.

We can name the time of the issue of this remarkable paper by his advertisement already quoted.

His first section of the Proposals opens with the well known axiom that "the good education of youth has been esteemed by wise men in all ages, as the surest foundation of the happiness of both private families and commonwealths," and proceeds to state the further fact that "almost all governments have therefore made it a principal object of their attention, to establish and endow with proper revenues such seminaries of learning, as might supply the succeeding age with men qualified to serve the public with honor to themselves and to their country."

The present necessity lying on the colonists to restore and maintain a "good education" is well stated in the next section. "Many of the first settlers of these provinces were men who had received a good education in Europe; and to their wisdom and good management we owe much of our present prosperity. But their hands were full, and they could not do all things. The present race are not thought to be generally of equal ability; for, though the American youth are allowed not to want capacity, yet the best capacities require cultivation; it being truly with them, as with the best ground, which, unless well tilled and sowed with profitable seed, produces only ranker weeds." He then proceeds: "that we may obtain the advantages arising from an increase of knowledge, and prevent, as much as may be, the mischievous consequences that would attend a general ignorance among us, the following *hints* are offered towards forming a plan for the education of the youth of Pennsylvania."

The entire text of the paper will be found elsewhere, but there are some propositions it submits which call for especial note as they are as fruitful in suggestions now as then. One of the first points to a paternal management, giving this preference over the scholastic:

That the members of the corporation make it their pleasure, and in

some degree their business, to visit the Academy often, encourage and countenance the youth, countenance and assist the masters, and by all means in their power advance the usefulness and reputation of the design ; that they look on the students as in some sort their children, treat them with familiarity and affection, and, when they have behaved well, and gone through their studies, and are to enter the world, zealously unite, and make all the interest that can be made to establish them, whether in business, offices, marriages, or any other thing for their advantage, preferably to all other persons whatsoever, even of equal merit.

The next is a proper habitation :

That a house be provided for the Academy, if not in the town, not many miles from it ; the situation high and dry, and, if it may be, not far from a river, having a garden, orchard, meadow, and a field or two. [And,] that the house be furnished with a library if in the country, (if in the town, the town libraries may serve.) ²

And further,

that the Rector be a man of good understanding, good morals, diligent and patient, learned in the languages and sciences, and a correct, pure speaker and writer of the English tongue.

As to the students,

it would be well if they could be taught *everything* that is useful, and *everything* that is ornamental. But art is long, and their time is short.³ It is therefore proposed, that they learn those things that are likely to be the *most useful* and *most ornamental*; regard being had to the several professions for which they are intended. * * * Reading should also be taught, and pronouncing properly, distinctly, emphatically ; not with an even tone, which *under-does*, nor a theatrical, which *over-does* nature. To form their style, they should be put in writing letters to each other, making

² Upon the site of a College we have Antony a Woods loving reference to Oxford: "First a good and pleasant site, where there is a wholesome and temperate constitution of the air; composed with waters, springs or wells, woods and pleasant fields; which being obtained, those commodities are enough to invite students to stay and abide there. As the Athenians in ancient times were happy for their conveniences, so also were the Britons, when by a remnant of the Grecians that came amongst them, they or their successors selected such a place in Britain to plant a school or schools therein, which for its pleasant situation was afterwards called Bello-situm or Belosite now Oxford, privileged with all those conveniences before mentioned." Quoted by John Henry Newman in his *Office and Work of Universities*, London, 1856, p. 40. In a previous page Cardinal Newman had said, "If I were asked to describe as briefly and popularly as I could what a University was, I should draw my answer from its ancient designation of a *Studium Generale*, or school of Universal Learning * * * a school of knowledge of every kind, consisting of teachers and learners from every quarter * * * a place for the communication and circulation of thought by means of personal intercourse through a wide extent of country," p. 9.

³ *Ars longa, vita brevis.* Hippocrates, *Aphorism*.

abstracts of what they read, or writing the same things in their own words ; telling or writing stories lately read, in their own expressions.

Here we are reminded of Franklin's own early experiments in composition ; when a lad of but thirteen or fourteen years reading the *Spectator* made him ambitious to excel in style.⁴ And with the view, if possible, of imitating it, his narrative tells us

I took some of the papers, and making short hints of the sentiment in each sentence, laid them by a few days, and then, without looking at the book, try'd to compleat the papers again, by expressing each hinted sentiment at length, and as fully as it had been expressed before, in any suitable words that should occur to me. Then I compared my *Spectator* with the original, discovered some of my faults, and corrected them. But I found I wanted a stock of words, or a readiness in recollecting and using them, which I thought I should have acquired before that time if I had gone on making verses ; since the continual occasion for words of the same import, but of different length to suit the measure, or of different sound for the rhyme, would have laid me under a constant necessity of searching for variety, and also have tended to fix that variety in my mind, and make me master of it. Therefore I took some of the tales and turned them into verse ; and, after a time, when I had pretty well forgotten the prose, turned them back again. * * * By comparing my work afterwards with the original, I discovered my faults, and amended them ; but I sometimes had the pleasure of fancying that, in certain particulars of small import, I had been lucky enough to improve the method or the language, and this encouraged me to think, that I might possibly in time come to be a tolerable English writer ; of which I was extremely ambitious.

Franklin became more than a tolerable English writer, and he remained to his latest years a master in the art ; and the foundation of this was laid in the strenuous efforts of his boyhood for success, the memory of which must have been in his mind even when he was writing his Proposals, to which after this digression we must turn again.

He recurs to History, as embracing Geography, Chronology, Ancient Customs, Morals, Politics, and Oratory :

History will also give occasion to expatiate on the advantage of civil orders and constitutions ; how men and their properties are protected by joining in societies and establishing government ; their industry encouraged and rewarded, arts invented, and life made more comfortable ; the

⁴ Bigelow, i. 48.

advantages of liberty, mischiefs of licentiousness, benefits arising from good laws and a due execution of justice, &c. Thus may the first principles of sound politics be fixed in the minds of youth. On historical occasions, questions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, will naturally arise, and may be put to youth, which they may debate in conversation and in writing. * * * Public disputes warm the imagination, whet the industry, and strengthen the natural abilities.

And of the ancient languages, hear how the master in English writes :

When youth are told, that the great men, whose lives and actions they read in history, spoke two of the best languages that ever were, the most expressive, copious, beautiful ; and that the finest writings, the most correct compositions, the most perfect productions of human wit and wisdom, are in those languages, which have endured for ages, and will endure while there are men ; that no translation can do them justice, or give the pleasure found in reading the originals ; that those languages contain all science ; that one of them is become almost universal, being the language of learned men in all countries ; that to understand them is a distinguishing ornament ; &c., &c., they may be thereby made desirous of learning those languages, and their industry sharpened in the acquisition of them. All intended for divinity, should be taught the Latin and Greek ; for physic, the Latin, Greek, and French ; for law, the Latin and French ; merchants, the French, German, and Spanish ; and, though all should not be compelled to learn Latin, Greek, or the modern foreign languages, yet none that have an ardent desire to learn them should be refused ; their English, arithmetic and other studies absolutely necessary, being at the same time not neglected. * * * With the history of men, times, and nations, should be read at proper hours or days, some of the best *histories of nature*, which would not only be delightful to youth, and furnish them with matter for their letters, &c., as well as other history ; but afterwards of great use to them, whether they are merchants, handicrafts, or divines ; enabling the first the better to understand many commodities, drugs, &c., the second to improve his trade in handicraft by new mixtures, materials, &c., and the last to adorn his discourses by beautiful comparisons, and strengthen them by new proofs of divine providence. The conversation of all will be improved by it, as occasions frequently occur of making natural observations, which are instructive, agreeable, and entertaining in almost all companies. * * * While they are reading natural history, might not a little gardening, planting, grafting, inoculating, &c., be taught and practised ; and now and then excursions made to the neighboring plantations of the best farmers, their methods observed and reasoned upon for the information of youth. * * * The history of commerce, of the invention

of arts, rise of manufactures, progress of trade, change of its seats, with the reasons, causes, &c., may also be made entertaining to youth, and will be useful to all.

And the concluding lines enforce yet higher aims :

With the whole should be constantly inculcated and cultivated that benignity of mind, which shows itself in searching for and seizing every opportunity to serve and to oblige ; and is the foundation of what is called good breeding ; highly useful to the possessor, and most agreeable to all. The idea of what is true merit should also be often presented to youth, explained and impressed on their minds, as consisting in an inclination, joined with an ability, to serve mankind, one's country, friends, and family ; which ability is, (with the blessing of God), to be acquired or greatly increased by true learning ; and should, indeed, be the great aim and end of all learning.

IX.

Before considering the result of the publication of these Proposals in the community, we may well take some note of the educational facilities of the city at this period, the imperfections of which led Franklin and his associates to formulate something on a higher plane and to establish a more enduring system. Before the advent of William Penn's colonists, the schooling of the young Swedes and Dutch was of a very simple character ; the systems which the first emigrants had the advantage of at home they seemed to have but little will and less opportunity to enforce on the banks of the Delaware. Their faithful clergy could carry on the elementary branches among the younger members of their flock, but their pastoral duties must take precedence. The advent of the Friends brought back more energy and more learning into the province, and the diligence and thrift they displayed in all matters were equally felt in their care of the younger generation. Gabriel Thomas, in his *Historical Description of the Province of Pennsylvania, including an*

account of the City of Philadelphia, written in 1697, records, "In the said city are several good schools of learning for youth, in order to the attainment of arts and sciences, as also reading, writing, &c." It may be without design that his following sentence has it that "here is to be had, on any day in the week, tarts, pies, cakes, &c.," as his thoughts naturally would turn to the latter upon the consideration of children's schools and their lunches. And later he says, "the christian children born here are generally well favored, and beautiful to behold;" and "of lawyers and physicans I shall say nothing, because this country is very peaceable and healthy;" also "jealousy among men is here very rare, nor are old maids to be met with; for all commonly marry before they are twenty years of age."

The earliest Friends' school of which we find mention is in the minutes of a Council held 26 December, 1683, at which William Penn was present, when

having taken into their serious consideration the great necessity there is of a School Master for the instruction and sober education of youth in the town of Philadelphia, sent for Enoch Flower, an inhabitant of the said town, who for twenty years past hath been exercised in that care and employment in England, to whom having communiated their minds, he embraced it upon certain terms, [but this only included the rudiments of an ordinary English education]; for boarding a scholar, that is to say, diet, washing, lodging, and schooling, Ten pounds for one whole year [But at a council held on the 17 January following,] it was proposed, that care be taken about the learning and instruction of youth, to wit: a school of arts and sciences.

Following these efforts came in 1689 the Friends "Publick School, founded by Charter in ye town and County of Philadelphia in Pensilvania," under William Penn's Charters of 1701, 1708, and 1711, which confirmed the charter of 1697, granted by William Markham, Lieutenant Governor, and which we know to this day as the Penn Charter School, whose reputation in efficiency and success in imparting a good and true education make it rank with the best schools in the land. Its first teacher was a native of Aberdeen, and a graduate of the University of his native city, of which the first Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia had been a matriculate.

George Keith and William Smith both have left their mark in the annals of Philadelphia; but the former made for himself a stormy life and for his old associates here much contention. George Keith was born in 1638, and at the University was a student while Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury and five years his junior, was there; he was originally a member of the Scotch Kirk, but afterwards embraced the doctrines of the Friends of which he became a bold and shining advocate, "and who by his remarkable diligence and industry in all parts of his ministerial office, rendered himself beloved 'of them all, especially the more inferior sort of people.'" ¹ In 1682 he came to America; in 1687 as Surveyor he was employed on the boundary line between East and West Jersey, and in 1689 came to Philadelphia to take charge of the new Public School. In less than two years time dissensions arose from his assuming conduct; Proud ² describes him "to be of a brittle temper, and over-bearing disposition of mind. * * * His great confidence in his own superior abilities seems to have been one, if not the chief, introductory cause of this unhappy dispute." Doubtless his confidence in Friends views was slackening, and his adherence to their peculiar ways was weakening, unknown to himself at first, and his strong will let loose became impatient at the Society's restraints. However this may be, he was disowned by them on 20 June, 1692. He, and those who clung to him, called themselves Christian Quakers, and the others Apostates, and appealed to the London Yearly Meeting, but without avail, although he crossed the ocean to champion his own cause. Eventually he sought membership in the Church of England, and was ordained to her ministry in May, 1700. He was sent out to the colonies as a Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, where his zeal against the Friends equalled in force the zeal he had displayed on their behalf twenty years before. He returned to England, and died in his living of Edburton in 1716.

¹ Gerard Croese, quoted in *Collections P. E. Historical Society*, 1837, p. xi.

² History of Pennsylvania, i. 363.

Bishop Burnet said of his college mate³ "he was esteemed the most learned man that ever was in that Sect; he was well versed both in the Oriental tongues, in Philosophy and Mathematics." Dr. Wickersham says "his success was not great" at the school, and his disappointment may have opened the door for his restlessness in the Society.

He was succeeded by his usher, Thomas Makin, who continued in charge for many years. Franklin, in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 29 November, 1733, announces his death by drowning, and speaks of him "as an ancient man, and formerly lived very well in this city, teaching a considerable school." His *Descriptio Pennsylvaniae*, anno 1729, Proud gives us and also favors us with an English version. He refers to the Publick School thus :

Hic in gymnasiis linguæ docentur & artes
 Ingenuæ; multis doctor & ipse fuit.
 Una Schola hic alias etiam superemivet omnes
 Romano & Græco quæ docet ore loqui.

The charter of 1701 placed the management of this school in the Monthly Meeting. That of 1708 took this from the Meeting and gave it to "fifteen discreet and religious persons of the people called Quakers" as a Board of Overseers. James Logan and Issac Norris were overseers when becoming Trustees of the College and Academy, but their acceptance of this trust in 1749 was deemed by the Friends inconsistent with their duties as Overseers of the Publick School. The opening of the new College and Academy by a form of divine service and a set sermon probably disqualified Friends from serving in its behalf, or at least made their presence in its counsels not in accord with the Society's testimony. James Logan attended for the only time a meeting of the Trustees of the Academy on 26 December, 1749. He had been from the outset an Overseer of the Publick School, the minutes of which show him to have been

³ "One George Keith, a Scotchman with whom I had my first education at Aberdeen; he had been thirty six years among them; * * * after he had been about thirty years in high esteem among them he was sent to Pensilvania (a colony set up by Pen where they are very numerous) to have the chief direction of the education of their youth." *History of My Own Times*, ii. 248, 9.

an infrequent attendant at their meetings, indeed he had not been at any for nine years. His meeting with the Academy Trustees could not be overlooked, and on 21 February, 1751, the Overseers recorded a Minute, namely, "inasmuch as James Logan hath been for some time past by several Fitts of the Palsy rendered quite incapable of any further service as an overseer, without any prospect of his recovery and as he some time before his being so indispos'd express'd his declining the Trust, as he could not give his attendance, it is therefore concluded to choose another in his place." On James Logan's death only a few months following, the vacancy in the Academy Board was supplied by electing his son-in-law, Isaac Norris, on 12 November, 1751. He likewise was an Overseer, succeeding his Father in the Board, but his attendance there was as rare as Logan's: and the Overseers at a meeting on 30 March, 1752 gave it as their sense that

Isaac Norris having for several years past neglected attending the meetings of this Board and having lately accepted of the Trusteeship of the Academy it is the opinion of this Board that it is necessary to enquire whether he still inclines to continue a member of this Corporation and if he does to acquaint him, that it is expected and desired by us that he should demonstrate his concern for promoting the Institution by attending of our meetings, and Joshua Comly and Samuel Preston Moore having at a former meeting undertaken to converse with him on this subject, the latter of them is now reminded of it and desired to take an opportunity of doing it before our next meeting.

The only time Isaac Norris attended a meeting of the Academy Trustees was on 11 August following, when "the Trustees visited the Latin School and did no other Business." He resigned this Trusteeship on 17 March, 1755, owing to his residence out of town and to his ailments; in the meanwhile the Friends dealt tenderly with him for his neglect of his Overseership. And it is not until 6 March, 1756, that we find this disposing Minute:

Isaac Norris by the committee appointed to wait on him informed the Board of the satisfaction this account of the present state of the schools affords him, and of his inclinations to promote the service of it which he is willing to manifest by any assistance he can give the master and occasion-

ally visiting the school and examining the scholars, but that as he is often indisposed and lives out of town he cannot duly attend the meetings of the Board and therefore desires to resign his Trust and that the Board would chose another Overseer in his place.

The principal school building of the Overseers was on the East side of Fourth Street south of Chestnut, to this were added certain charity schools in different sections of the city. The usefulness of the Penn Charter School is greatly enlarged to day by their increased means derived from the modern improvements of their Fourth Street property. Nothing can be added here on the subject of early educational labors in our city to Dr. Wickersham's *History of Education in Pennsylvania*, which is a storehouse of information and an interesting record of the efforts of our forefathers to secure efficient training to the coming generations. There were other schools, of moderate influence; Christ Church had its school building before 1709 where a plain education was furnished at moderate or at no cost; and some of the other churches labored in the same direction. But the Penn Charter School maintained the lead; yet it could not have filled all the needs of the growing community, otherwise in 1749 Franklin's efforts for a school of broader scope and higher aims could not so speedily have been organized, and the aid secured by him of the leading Quaker citizens in the town to further the project. With all Franklin's friendship with the Friends, he realised the importance of establishing a school on a more catholic basis, in whose management all classes and all churches could have a reasonable representation. The faithful performance by the Overseers of the simple requirements of their charter was all that could be asked of them, and to this they were true; but his foresight of the needs of the future showed him plainly that no time now should be lost in laying the foundations of something larger and more elastic. Harvard and Yale he had heard of and known in his earliest days; and the young college at Princeton had already graduated a Stockton and a Burnet, and among its matriculants were a Frelinghuysen, a McClintock, a Scudder, and a Livermore.

X.

Such was the spirit and effect of Franklin's Proposals, and the zeal and personal influence of its author, that the plan reached consummation within a few weeks time. He tells us, "the subscribers, to carry the project into immediate execution, chose out of their number twenty-four trustees, and appointed Mr. Francis, then Attorney General, and myself, to draw up constitutions for the government of the academy."⁷ These constitutions are worthy of entire perusal, as they embody a widely useful plan of education, and an admirable system of government. From their style in parts, we find good reason to think that Franklin's ideas were committed to the Attorney General for a fitting phraseology, but we miss the terseness and lucidity of expression, though recognizing here and there his interlineations, as for instance, where in the first section the "English tongue is to be taught grammatically" we see Franklin adding the words "and as a language," by which he would emphasize his sense of the importance of keeping our Mother tongue foremost in the aims of the institution. Later on it will be seen how tenacious he was of this when other influences appeared to be making what he called the dead languages the principal aim in the curriculum.

CONSTITUTIONS
OF THE
PUBLICK ACADEMY
IN THE
CITY OF *PHILADELPHIA*.

As nothing can more effectually contribute to the Cultivation and Improvement of a Country, the Wisdom, Riches and Strength, Virtue and Piety, the Welfare and Happiness of a People, than a proper Education of Youth, by forming their Manners, imbuing their tender Minds with Principles of Rectitude and Morality, instructing them in the dead and living Languages, particularly their Mother Tongue, and all useful Branches of liberal Arts and Science. For attaining these great and important Advantages, so far as the present State of our Infant Country will admit,

⁷ Bigelow, i. 225.

and laying a Foundation for Posterity to erect a Seminary of Learning more extensive and suitable to their future Circumstances; An ACADEMY for teaching the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages, the *English Tongue* grammatically, and as a Language, the most useful living foreign Languages, *French*, *German*, and *Spanish*: As matters of Erudition naturally flowing from the Languages, *History*, *Geography*, *Chronology*, *Logick* and *Rhetorick*; *Writing*, *Arithmetick*; the several Branches of the *Mathematicks*; *Natural* and *Mechanic Philosophy*; *Drawing* in *Perspective*; and every other Part of Useful Learning and Knowledge, shall be set up, maintained and have Continuance within the City of *Philadelphia*, in manner following. Twenty-four Persons, *To wit*, *James Logan*, *Thomas Lawrence*, *William Allen*, *John Inglis*, *Tench Francis*, *William Masters*, *Lloyd Zachary*, *Samuel McCall*, junior, *Joseph Turner*, *Benjamin Franklin*, *Thomas Leech*, *William Shippen*, *Robert Stretzell*, *Philip Syng*, *Charles Willing*, *Phineas Bond*, *Richard Peters*, *Abraham Taylor*, *Thomas Bond*, *Thomas Hopkinson*, *William Plumstead*, *Joshua Maddox*, *Thomas White*, and *William Coleman*, of the City of *Philadelphia*, shall be TRUSTEES to begin and carry into Execution this good and pious Undertaking, who shall not for any Services by them as Trustees performed, claim or receive any Reward or Compensation; which number shall always be continued, but never exceeded, upon any Motive whatever.

WHEN any Trustee shall remove his Habitation far from the City of *Philadelphia*, reside beyond Sea, or die, the remaining Trustees shall with all convenient speed, proceed to elect another, residing in or near the City, to fill the Place of the absenting or deceased Person.

THE Trustees shall have general Conventions once in every Month, and may, on special Occasions, meet at other Times on Notice, at some convenient Place, within the City of *Philadelphia*, to transact the Business incumbent on them; and shall, in the *Gazette*, advertize the Time and Place of their general Conventions.

NOTHING shall be transacted by the Trustees, or under their Authority, alone, unless the same be voted by a Majority of their whole Number, if at a general Convention; and if at a special Meeting, by a like Majority, upon personal Notice given to each Trustee, at least one Day before, to attend.

THE Trustees shall at their first Meeting elect a PRESIDENT for One Year, whose particular Duty it shall be, when present, to regulate their Debates, and state the proper Questions arising from them, and to order Notices to be given of the Times and Places of their special Conventions. And the like Election shall be annually made, at their first Meeting, after the Expiration of each Year.

THE Trustees shall annually choose one of their own Members for a TREASURER, who shall receive all Donations, and Money due to them, and

disburse and lay out the same, according to their Orders ; and at the end of each Year, pay the Sum remaining in his Hands to his Successor.

ALL Contracts and Assurances for Payment of Money to them, shall be made in the name of the Treasurer for the Time being, and declared to be in Trust for the Use of the Trustees.

THE Trustees may appoint a *Clerk*, whose Duty in particular it shall be, to attend them in their general and special Conventions, to give Notice in Writing to the Members, of the Time, Place and Design of any special Meetings ; to register all their Proceedings, and extract a State of their Accounts annually, to be published in the *Gazette* ; for which they may pay him such Salary as they shall think reasonable.

THE Trustees shall, with all convenient Speed, after signing these Constitutions, contract with any Person that offers, who they shall judge most capable, of teaching the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages, *History*, *Geography*, *Chronology* and *Rhetorick* ; having great Regard at the same Time to his Polite Speaking, Writing, and Understanding the *English Tongue* ; which Person shall in Fact be, and shall be stiled, the RECTOR of the *Academy*.

THE Trustees may contract with the *Rector* for the Term of Five Years, or less, at their Discretion, for the Sum of *Two Hundred Pounds* a Year.

THE *Rector* shall be obliged, without the Assistance of any Tutor, to teach twenty scholars, the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages, and at the same Time, according to the best of his Capacity, to instruct them in *History*, *Geography*, *Chronology*, *Logick*, *Rhetorick*, and the *English Tongue* ; and Twenty-five Scholars more for every Usher provided for him, who shall be entirely subject to his Direction.

THE *Rector* shall upon all Occasions, consistent with his Duty in the *Latin School*, assist the English Master, in improving the Youth under his Care, and superintend the Instruction of all the Scholars in the other Branches of Learning, taught within the *Academy* and see that the Masters in each Art and Science perform their Duties.

THE Trustees shall, with all convenient Speed, contract with any Person that offers, who they shall judge most capable, of teaching the *English Tongue* grammatically, and as a Language, *History*, *Geography*, *Chronology*, *Logick* and *Oratory* ; which Person shall be stiled the ENGLISH MASTER.

THE Trustees may contract with the *English Master* for the Term of Five Years, or less, at their Discretion, for the Sum of *One Hundred Pounds* a Year.

THE *English Master* shall be obliged, without the Assistance of any Tutor, to teach Forty Scholars the *English Tongue* grammatically, and as a Language ; and at the same Time, according to the best of his

Capacity, to instruct them in *History, Geography, Chronology, Logick, and Oratory*; and Sixty Scholars more for every Tutor provided for him.

THE Tutors for the *Latin* and *Greek* School, shall be admitted, and at Pleasure removed, by the Trustees and the *Rector*, or a majority of them.

THE Tutors for the *English* School, shall be admitted, and at Pleasure removed, by the Trustees and the *English Master*, or a majority of them.

THE Trustees shall contract with each Tutor, to pay him what they shall judge proportionable to his Capacity and Merit.

NEITHER the *Rector*, nor *English Master* shall be removed, unless disabled by sickness, or other natural Infirmary, or for gross voluntary Neglect of Duty, continued after two Admonitions from the Trustees, or for committing infamous Crimes; and such Removal be voted by three Fourths of the Trustees; after which their Salaries respectively shall cease.

THE Trustees shall, with all convenient speed, endeavour to engage Persons capable of teaching the *French, Spanish, and German* Languages, *Writing, Arithmetick*, the several Branches of the *Mathematicks, Natural and Mechanic Philosophy*, and *Drawing*; who shall give their Attendance, as soon as a sufficient Number of Scholars shall offer to be instructed in those Parts of Learning; and be paid such Salaries and Rewards, as the Trustees shall from Time to Time be able to allow.

EACH Scholar shall pay such Sum or Sums, quarterly, according to the particular Branches of Learning they shall desire to be taught, as the Trustees shall from Time to Time settle and appoint.

No Scholar shall be admitted, or taught within the *Academy*, without the Consent of the major Part of the Trustees in Writing, signed with their Names.

IN Case of the Disability of the *Rector*, or any Master established on the Foundation, by receiving a certain Salary, through sickness, or any other natural Infirmary, whereby he may be reduced to Poverty, the Trustees shall have Power to contribute to his Support, in Proportion to his Distress and Merit, and the Stock in their Hands.

FOR the Security of the Trustees, in contracting with the *Rector*, Masters and Tutors; to enable them to provide and fit up Convenient Schools; furnish them with Books of general Use, that may be too expensive for each Scholar; Maps, Draughts, and other Things, generally necessary, for the Improvement of the Youth; and to bear the incumbent Charges that will unavoidably attend this Undertaking, especially in the Beginning; the Donations of all Persons inclined to encourage it, are to be cheerfully and thankfully accepted.

THE *Academy* shall be open'd with all convenient speed, by Accepting the first good Master that offers, either for teaching the *Latin* and *Greek*; or *English*, under the Terms above proposed.

ALL Rules for the Attendance and Duty of the Masters, the Conduct of the Youth, and the facilitating their Progress in Learning and Virtue, shall be framed by the *Masters*, in Conjunction with the *Trustees*.

IF the Scholars shall hereafter grow very numerous, and the Funds be sufficient, the Trustees may at their Discretion augment the Salaries of the *Rector* or *Masters*.

THE Trustees, to increase their Stock, may let their Money out at Interest.

IN general, the Trustees shall have Power to dispose of all Money received by them, as they shall think best for the Advantage, Promotion, and even Enlargement of this design.

THE Trustees may hereafter add to or change any of these Constitutions; except that hereby declared to be invariable.

ALL *Trustees*, *Rectors*, *Masters*, *Tutors*, *Clerks*, and other Ministers, hereafter to be elected or appointed, for carrying this Undertaking into Execution, shall, before they be admitted to the Exercise of their respective Trusts or Duties, sign these *Constitutions*, or some others to be hereafter framed by the Trustees in their stead, in Testimony of their then approving of, and resolving to observe them.

UPON the Death or Absence as aforesaid of any Trustee, the remaining Trustees shall not have Authority to exercise any of the Powers reposed in them, until they have chosen a new Trustee in his Place, and such new Trustee shall have signed the established *Constitutions*; which if he shall refuse to do, they shall proceed to elect another, and so *toties quoties*, until the Person elected shall sign the *Constitutions*.

WHEN the Fund is sufficient to bear the charge, which it is hoped thro' the *Bounty* and *Charity* of well disposed Persons, will soon come to pass, *poor children* shall be admitted, and taught *gratis*, what shall be thought suitable to their capacities and circumstances.

It is hoped and expected, that the Trustees will make it their Pleasure, and in some Degree their Business, to visit the *Academy* often, to encourage and countenance the Youth, countenance and assist the Masters, and, by all Means in their Power, advance the Usefulness and Reputation of the Design; that they will look on the Students as, in some Measure, their own Children, treat them with Familiarity and Affection; and when they have behaved well, gone thro' their Studies, and are to enter the World, they shall zealously unite, and make all the Interest that can be made, to promote and establish them, whether in Business, Offices, Marriages, or any other Thing for their Advantage, preferable to all other Persons whatsoever, even of equal merit.

The Trustees shall in a Body visit the Academy once a year extraordinary, to view and hear the Performances and Lectures of the Scholars, in such Modes, as their respective Masters shall think proper, and shall

have Power, out of their Stock, to make Presents to the most meritorious Scholars, according to their several Deserts.

The fourteenth Day of November, in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty-nine ;

FOR the Encouragement of this useful, good and charitable Undertaking, to enable the Trustees and their Successors to begin, promote, continue and enlarge the same, humbly hoping, thro' the Favour of Almighty GOD, and the Bounty and Patronage of pious and well-disposed Persons, that it may prove of great and lasting Benefit to the present and future rising Generations ; WE the subscribers do promise to pay to *William Coleman, the Treasurer*, elected according to the above Constitutions, or to his Successor or Successors for the Time being, the several sums of Money by us respectively subscribed to be paid, at the Times in our Subscriptions respectively mentioned. Witness our Hands.

Per Annum, for Five Years.

<i>James Hamilton</i> , Fifty Pounds,	£50	00	00
<i>Thomas Lawrence</i> , Fifteen Pounds,	15	00	00
<i>Joseph Turner</i> , Twenty Pounds,	20	00	00
<i>William Allen</i> , Seventy-five Pounds,	75	00	00
<i>William Masters</i> , Twenty Pounds,	20	00	00
<i>Lloyd Zachary</i> , Twenty Pounds,	20	00	00
<i>William Plumsted</i> , Fifteen Pounds,	15	00	00
<i>Abraham Taylor</i> , Fifteen Pounds,	15	00	00
<i>Samuel M Call</i> , Junior, Fifteen Pounds,	15	00	00 .
<i>John Inglis</i> , Ten Pounds,	10	00	00
<i>Charles Willing</i> , Fifteen Pounds,	15	00	00
<i>Thomas Bond</i> , Fifteen Pounds,	15	00	00
<i>Tench Francis</i> , Ten Pounds,	10	00	00
<i>William Shippen</i> , Ten Pounds,	10	00	00
<i>Benjamin Franklin</i> , Ten Pounds,	10	00	00
<i>Phineas Bond</i> , Ten Pounds,	10	00	00
<i>William Coleman</i> , Ten Pounds,	10	00	00
<i>Richard Peters</i> , Ten Pounds,	10	00	00
<i>Joshua Maddox</i> , Ten Pounds,	10	00	00
<i>Robert Strettell</i> , Ten Pounds,	10	00	00
<i>Philip Syng</i> , Six Pounds,	6	00	00
<i>Thomas Leech</i> , Six Pounds,	6	00	00
<i>Thomas White</i> , Six Pounds,	6	00	00

On Monday, 13 November, 1749, nineteen of the Trustees had assembled for due organization, but of the place of their meeting we are not told. The first Minute recites :

On the thirteenth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred forty and nine, the following persons, to wit, Thomas Lawrence, William Allen, John Inglis, Tench Francis, William Masters, Lloyd Zachary, Samuel M'Call, Jun^r, Joseph Turner, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Leech, William Shippen, Robert Strettell, Philip Syng, Charles Willing, Phineas Bond, Richard Peters, Abraham Taylor, Thomas Bond, and Thomas Hopkinson, met, and having read and approved of the foregoing Constitutions, signed them with their names, and thereby took upon themselves the execution of the Trusts in those Constitutions expressed.

Whereupon Mr Benjamin Franklin was elected President and Mr William Coleman Treasurer for the ensuing year.

The five remaining Trustees, namely James Logan, William Plumsted, Joshua Maddox, Thomas White, and William Coleman, appeared at the next meeting, which did not occur until 26 December, and signed the Constitutions. This was the only meeting of the Trustees attended by James Logan, although he remained a Trustee until his death two years later ; his absences, before referred to, were due to declining years and ill health and not from want of interest in a work whose character he was in sympathy with and whose propounder he warmly supported. Here we can quote Proud's reference to the two greater or public seminaries of Philadelphia, at this time, as follows :

Besides the numerous private *Schools*, for the education of youth, in this city, there are two public *seminaries* of learning, incorporated by charter, and provided with funds ; the first, in order of time, is that of the *Quakers*, already mentioned in another place, incorporated by the first Proprietor, *William Penn* ; * * * * * The second is the *College and Academy of Philadelphia*, of a much later standing, and not existing as such, before the year 1749 ; but greatly improved of late years ; and is likely, if its present prudent management be continued, to become hereafter, the most considerable of the kind, perhaps, in *British America* : the corporation consists of twenty four members, called *Trustees* ; they have a large commodious building, on the West Side of *Fourth Street*, near *Mulberry Street*, where the different branches of learning and science are taught, in the various parts of the institution.¹

¹ *History of Pennsylvania*, ii. 281. 1st edition, 1797.

XI

Before we enter upon the further proceedings of the Trustees, let us inform ourselves upon the men, in their personal or public characters, who now took upon themselves this Trust, and who laid upon strong foundations an edifice of learning whose history their well matured plans make it worth our while to pursue through these its earliest years. In enumerating them we follow the order of their precedence which was observed in the deed of conveyance to them of the Tenth street property in 1750 and followed in their first minutes; in the conveyance they are thus recited and described :¹

James Logan, Esquire	Robert Strettell, Esquire
Thomas Lawrence, Esquire	Philip Syng, Silversmith
William Allen, Esquire	Charles Willing, Esquire
John Inglis, Merchant	Phineas Bond, Practitioner
Tench Francis, Esquire	in Physic
William Masters, Esquire	Richard Peters, Esquire
Lloyd Zachary, Practitioner	Abraham Taylor, Esquire
in Physic	Thomas Bond, Practitioner
Samuel M'Call, jr, Merchant	in Physic
Joseph Turner, Esquire	Thomas Hopkinson, Esquire
Benjamin Franklin, Printer	William Plumsted, Esquire
Thomas Leech, Merchant	Joshua Maddox, Esquire
William Shippen, Practitioner	Thomas White, Esquire
in Physic	William Coleman, Merchant

JAMES LOGAN, born in Ireland in 1674 of honorable Scotch lineage, was now seventy-five years of age, and the foremost man in the province, eminent in public life, and a faithful adherent of the dominant religion. He had been the patient

¹ I am greatly indebted in compiling the personal notices of many of the Trustees to that admirable compendium of local biography and genealogy *The Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania* by Mr. Charles Penrose Keith of the class of 1873. And for records of civic and judicial life, reference is also made to Mr. John Hill Martin's *Bench and Bar of Philadelphia*.

Secretary to William Penn who later made him Provincial Secretary, Commissioner of Property, and Receiver General. He also in turn was Recorder of the City of Philadelphia, Presiding Judge of Common Pleas, Chief Justice of the Province, and as President of the Council between the death of Governor Gordon in 1736 and the arrival of Governor Thomas in 1738 he governed the province. "Fidelity, integrity, and disinterestedness were eminently conspicuous in his character, which was indeed of that sterling worth that needs no meretricious ornament."² Mr. J. Francis Fisher says of him,

A history of James Logan's public life would be that of Pennsylvania during the first forty years of the last century. Venerating William Penn, with whose noble and generous nature he was well acquainted, he stood up at all times in his defence against the encroachments of the Assembly; and, if he forfeited his popularity, and endured calumny and persecution, he preserved his fidelity, the confidence of his employers, and the respect of all good men. Weary of the burden of public office, he retired in 1738 from all his salaried employments, remaining only a short time longer a member of the Provincial Council. At his estate, called Stenton, near Germantown, he passed in retirement the remainder of his days, devoted to agriculture and his favorite studies.³

At an early age he showed great proficiency in classics, comprehending Latin, Greek and Hebrew before he was thirteen years of age. His leisure days after his retirement from public concern found ample employment in his classical studies as well as his interests in matters of science. His rare collection of books "he left a legacy to the public, such at least was his intention and his children after his death fulfilled his bequest,"⁴ and these testify to his wide reading and general knowledge. It was while the humble glazier, Thomas Godfrey, was working at

² Deborah Logan in *Penn and Logan Correspondence*, i. liv.

³ Contributed to Sparks, vii. 25, and copied by Bigelow, ii. 94. Mr. Fisher was a descendant through his father from James Logan, and through his mother from two other Trustees, Tench Francis and Charles Willing. He was a graduate of Harvard in 1825 as was also his cousin Dr. Charles Willing. See a letter addressed to them while at Harvard by Bishop White 25 October, 1822. *Memoir* by Wilson, p. 414. Mr. Fisher was a member of the American Philosophical Society and a Vice President of the Pennsylvania Historical Society; he died 21 January, 1873 aged 67 years.

⁴ Deborah Logan P. & L. Corres. i. lv.

Stenton and had his thoughtful attention drawn by a falling piece of glass, that there sprang up in his mind the ideas of the Quadrant, which he first imparted to Logan, who found him immediately after this incident in his library consulting a volume of Newton to aid him in elucidating his thoughts; and it was due to Logan's help in furthering his experiments, that success was reached and due honor granted Godfrey as the inventor of the Quadrant, preceding by two years the claim of Hadley to the discovery.⁵

Logan was a staunch Friend but he could not fully share in the Society's absolute views on non resistance; and quite consistently he not only took an interest in but also contributed to the Association which Franklin in 1747 originated for the defence of the city against foreign invasion which was then feared, and for which the Friends, then controlling the Assembly, would appropriate no funds. Logan writes to Franklin 3 December, 1747: ⁶

I have expected to see thee here for several weeks, according to my son's information, with Euclid's title page printed, and my Mattaire's Lives of the Stephensens; but it is probable thy thoughts of thy new excellent project have in some measure diverted thee, to which I most heartily wish all possible success. * * * Ever since I have had the power of thinking, I have clearly seen that government without arms is an inconsistency, for Friends spare no pains to get and accumulate estates, and are yet against defending them, though these very estates are in a great measure the sole cause of their being invaded, as I showed to our Yearly Meeting, last September was six years, in a paper then printed. But I request to be informed, as soon as thou hast any leisure, what measures are proposed to furnish small arms, powder, and ball to those in the country; and particularly what measures are taken to defend our river, especially at the Red Bank, on the Jersey side, and on our own, where there ought not to be less than forty guns, from six to twelve pounders. What gunners are to be depended on? Thy project of a lottery to clear £3000. is excellent, and I hope it will be speedily filled; nor shall I be wanting. But thou wilt answer all these questions and much more, if thou wilt visit me here, as on First day, to dine with me, and thou wilt exceedingly oblige thy very loving friend, James Logan.

⁵ Deborah Logan P. & L. Corres. i. liv.

⁶ Sparks, vii. 24.

To which in a letter written next day Franklin replied :⁷

I am heartily glad you approve of our proceedings. * * * I have not time to write larger, nor to wait on you till next week. In general all goes well, and there is a surprising unanimity in all ranks. Near eight hundred have signed the *association*, and more are signing hourly. One company of Dutch is complete.

In his autobiography he says : "Mr. Logan put into my hands Sixty pounds to be laid out in lottery tickets for the battery, with directions to apply what prizes might be drawn wholly to that service."⁸

Logan's classical studies were not intermitted during his public career, for it was in 1734 he undertook his well known translation of Cicero's *De Senectute*, which with explanatory Notes was published for him by Franklin in 1744. Franklin makes a preface to the book, entitled the "printer to the reader," and says :

some friends, among whom I had the honor to be ranked, obtained copies of it in MS. And, as I believed it to be in itself equal at least, if not far preferable to any other translation of the same piece extant in our language, besides the advantage it has of so many valuable notes, which at the same time they clear up the text, are highly instructive and entertaining, I resolved to give it an impression, being confident that the public would not unfavorably receive it.

He closed by adding

his hearty wish that this first translation of a classic in this Western World may be followed with many others, performed with equal judgment and success ; and be a happy omen, that Philadelphia shall become the seat of the American muses.

Had Franklin known of George Sandy's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in Virginia when Treasurer of that colony, more than a century before, he would not have claimed for Logan the honor of making the first American translation of a classic, but while that was "the first English literary production penned in America, at least which has any rank or name in the general history of literature,"⁹ it was printed in London in 1626, and it may be claimed for Logan that his was the first American print of such a translation. Other translations of

⁷ Bigelow, ii. 94.

⁸ Ibid, i. 219.

⁹ Duyckinck, i, 1,77.

Logan from the ancient and essays on matters of practical import testify to his learning and industry. With such training and tastes he would naturally welcome any effort to secure and extend the advantages of learning to the young generations around him, and having confidence in Franklin's executive ability to carry to maturity any scheme he would formulate in furtherance of this, and reliance on his practical judgment, he naturally gave his interest and influence to it; and his name heading the new trust in compliance with Franklin's desire, was in itself an augury of success to the enterprise. Logan writes to Peter Collinson in London 1 July 1749, "Benjamin Franklin has been here to day, to show me some new curiosities in electricity, but the weather was too warm and moist." And on 20 October

our most ingenious printer and postmaster, Benjamin Franklin, has the clearest understanding, with as extreme modesty as any man I know here. Thou hast seen several of his pieces on electricity, wherein he almost excels you all.

His practical interest in the new Academy was evidenced in his early offer to the Trustees of "the gift of a lot of ground on Sixth Street to erect an Academy upon, provided it should be built within the Term of Fourteen Years." This lot was opposite the State House Square, probably immediately North of the building for his Library which Logan had before this date erected on the northwest corner of Walnut and Sixth Streets, at that time considered out of town.¹⁰ To this however the President was desired to acquaint Mr. Logan [at the meeting of 26 December] that the Trustees had a most grateful sense of his regard to the

¹⁰ In a note to the *Proposals* of 1749, Franklin refers to this Library, viz: "Besides the English Library begun and carried on by subscription in Philadelphia, we may expect the Benefit of another much more valuable in the Learned Languages, which has been many years collecting with the greatest Care, by a Gentleman distinguish'd for his Universal Knowledge, no less than for his Judgment in Books. It contains many hundred Volumes of the best Authors in the best Editions, among which are, * * * . A handsome Building about 60 feet in front, is now erected in this city, at the private Expense of that Gentleman, for the Reception of this Library, where it is soon to be deposited, and remain for the publick use with a valuable yearly Income duly to enlarge it; and I have his Permission to mention it as an Encouragement to the propos'd Academy; to which this noble Benefaction will doubtless be of the greatest Advantage, as not only the Students, but even the Masters themselves, may very much improve by it." *Proposals*, p. 8.

Academy, but as the New Building was in all respects better suited to their present circumstances and future views, they could only return him their sincere thanks for his kind and generous offer.

In his late years he suffered from ill health, and on 31 October, 1751 he died at Stenton. The new Trustee selected in his place was Isaac Norris, his son-in-law.

Franklin's obituary to him which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 7 November fittingly records his estimation of the man who was first in the list of the Trustees of the Academy :

Thursday last, after a long Indisposition, died the honourable JAMES LOGAN, Esq. : in the 77th Year of his Age, and on *Saturday* his Remains were decently interr'd in the Friends Burying ground in this city, the Funeral being respectfully attended by the principal Gentlemen and Inhabitants of *Philadelphia* and the neighbouring Country. His Life was for the most Part a Life of Business, tho' he had always been passionately fond of study. He had borne the Several Offices of Provincial Secretary, Commissioner of Property, Chief Judge of the Supreme Court, and for near two Years govern'd the Province as President of the Council, in all which publick Stations, as well as in private Life, he behav'd with unblemish'd Integrity : But some Years before his Death he retired from publick Affairs to *Stenton* his Country Seat, where he enjoy'd among his Books that Leisure which Men of Letters so earnestly desire. He was thoroughly versed both in ancient and modern Learning, acquainted with the oriental Tongues, a Master of the *Greek* and *Latin*, *French* and *Italian* Languages, deeply skilled in the Mathematical Sciences, and in Natural and Moraj Philosophy, as several Pieces of his writing witness, which have been repeatedly printed in Divers Parts of *Europe*, and are highly esteemed by the Learned. But the most noble Monument of his Wisdom, Publick Spirit, Benevolence and affectionate Regard to the People of *Pennsylvania* is his LIBRARY ; which he has been collecting these 50 Years past, with the greatest Care and Judgment, intending it a Benefaction to the Publick for the Increase of Knowledge, and for the common Use and Benefit of all Lovers of Learning. It contains the best Editions of the best Books in various Languages, Arts and Sciences, and is without Doubt the largest, and by far the most valuable Collection of the Kind in this Part of the World, and will convey the name of LOGAN thro' ages with Honour, to the latest posterity.

THOMAS LAWRENCE was born in New York 4 September, 1689, the grandson of Thomas Laurenszen, whose arrival in New York in 1662 and marriage in the year following are found in the records of the Old Dutch Church, where is also the record of Thomas' baptism on 8 September, 1689. He appears to have settled in Philadelphia about the year 1720, shortly after his marriage. He here entered into mercantile life, James Logan mentioning him as associated with him in shipping, and in 1730 he became partner of Edward Shippen, the elder brother of Dr. William Shippen, and who was later known as Edward Shippen of Lancaster, whither he removed about 1752, the firm being Shippen & Lawrence. He was elected a Common Councilman 3 October, 1722, an Alderman 6 October, 1724, and Mayor of the City in 1728, 1734, 1749, and 1753, during which last incumbency he died. Governor Gordon called him to a seat in the Provincial Council in April 1727, but he did not qualify until 10 May 1728. In September, 1745 he was deputed one of the Commissioners from Pennsylvania to treat with the Six Nations at Albany. When Franklin declined the Lieutenant Colonelcy of the Philadelphia Association, he recommended, his autobiography tells us, "Mr. Lawrence, a fine person, and a man of influence, who was accordingly appointed."¹¹ He was for some time Judge of the County Court; and in 1721 and '22 a Warden of Christ Church. He was a frequent attendant on the meetings of the Trustees, rarely missing one in their first two years, notwithstanding his business engagements and his manifold public duties, in those securing a handsome property for his children and in these a constantly widening reputation and influence. The last meeting of the Trustees he attended was on 17 November, 1753. He died 21 April, 1754, and was buried in the Family Vault in Christ Church Burying Ground, not far from the spot where the remains of Franklin were laid thirty-five years later. We can read the latter's authorship in the obituary notice on him which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on 25 April, 1754.

Last Sunday, after a tedious fit of Sickness, died here, very much

¹¹ Bigelow, i. 214.

lamented, Thomas Lawrence, Esq. He had the Honour to be a Member of the Council of this Province, was President of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Philadelphia, had been five times elected Mayor of this City, and in the enjoyment of these Offices ended his life. Characters are extremely delicate, and few or none drawn with Exactness and at Length, are free of Blemish. Of this Gentleman we think it may be truly said, he was an affectionate Husband, a tender Parent, a kind indulgent Master, and a faithful Friend. The Funeral was respectfully attended on Tuesday Evening by a great number of the principal Inhabitants of the Place, who justly regret the Death of so able and diligent a Magistrate as a public loss.

But the same hand did not write the Epitaph on his Tomb Stone, namely

In Memory of
Thomas Lawrence, Esq
An eminent Merchant
A faithful Counsellor
An active Magistrate
Of Pennsylvania

Whose private virtues endeared him to his family and friends ;

Whose public conduct gained him respect and esteem.

Expecting everlasting life he ended this

During his ninth Mayoralty of this city

the 25th day of April MDCCLIII.

Aged 64 years

Mr. Lawrence married at Raritan 25 May, 1719, his kinswoman Rachel, daughter of Cornelius Longfield of New Brunswick whose daughter Catherine married John Cox, and their son John Cox of Bloomsbury became father in law to Hon. Horace Binney and John Redman Coxe, M. D. Of the children of Thomas and Rachel Lawrence, the eldest Thomas was twice Mayor of the City, in 1758 and 1764; the second, John, was Mayor from 1765 to 1767, and in the latter year was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court, and in 1750 married the daughter of Tench Francis, a Trustee of the Academy and College; and their daughter Mary married a few months after her father's death William Masters, also a Trustee. It was she who, when the Widow Masters—her husband had died in 1760—, built the house on the south side of Market Street below Sixth, which her son-in-law, Richard Penn the Councillor, Sir William

Howe during the occupation of the city by the British, and Benedict Arnold successively occupied, and on the site of which Robert Morris built the house in which Washington resided during his Presidency.

Mr. Lawrence's place in the Board was filled by the election at the September meeting of the Hon. James Hamilton, Governor of the Province. He had been a faithful attendant at its meetings; the last one he attended was on 17 November, 1753, just prior to his fatal illness.

WILLIAM ALLEN was born in Philadelphia, 5 August, 1704, the son of William Allen a merchant in that city and a native of Ireland who married about 1700, Mary daughter of Thomas Budd. Mrs. Allen's sister Rose became the wife of Joseph Shippen and step mother to Dr. William Shippen. His father brought William up to the study of law, and at the time of his death in 1725, the son appears to have been in London pursuing these studies.

The father's death, however, hastened his return home, for we find him in Philadelphia prior to September 1726, as his signature appears to the agreement of the merchants and chief citizens to take the money of the Lower Counties at their face value. He now engaged in trade, relinquishing the Law. He was elected a Common Councilman of Philadelphia 3 October, 1727. In 1731 he became a member of the Assembly, serving until 1739. In 1730 he secured property for the new State House on Chestnut Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets, his father-in-law Andrew Hamilton, Thomas Lawrence, and Dr. John Kearsley being the Trustees of the State House fund; he advanced money for the purchase of certain of the lots, taking the title in his own name until the Province reimbursed him. In 1732 the building appears to have been begun.

He was chosen Mayor of the city in October, 1735; and at the close of his term, in the Hall of Assembly now just finished, he opened by a collation customary from the outgoing Mayor. This must have been had in one of the lower rooms, the upper story not being yet completed. Franklin gives us a participant's

account of this notable feast in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 30 September, 1736 :

Thursday last William Allen, Esq., Mayor of this city for the year past made a Feast for his citizens at the Statehouse, to which all the Strangers in Town of Note were also invited. Those who are Judges of such Things say That considering the Delicacy of the Viands, the Excellency of the Wines, the great Number of Guests, and yet the Easiness and Order with which the Whole was conducted, it was the most grand and the most elegant Entertainment that has been made in these Parts of America.

Mr. Allen became the partner of Joseph Turner, also with him a Trustee of the Academy, and in his business he was very successful and amassed a fortune which was enlarged by fortunate land investments. He was appointed Recorder of Deeds by the Common Council, 7 August, 1741, succeeding therein his father-in-law Andrew Hamilton who had died 4 August. In the local struggle to secure proper appropriations from the Quaker Assembly to put the colony in a state of defence against threatened enemies, for the war of England with Spain promised to involve the American provinces in its issues, Allen became the head of the anti-Quaker party, but the result of what was long known as the bloody election of 1742 was the return of the leader of the other party, Isaac Norris, to the Assembly ; but as Recorder he could maintain the policy of the city in support of the Governor in his struggle against Norris' friends in the Assembly. Yet, but seven years later, these two united in support of Franklin's efforts to establish the great educational institution he had been planning. He continued Recorder of the City, then an important judicial office, until 2 October, 1750, when he resigned the office having been appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province. "He was the only Chief Justice before the Revolution who was a native of Pennsylvania, and the only one before or since excepting Shippen and Sharswood who has been a native of Philadelphia." He, however, continued his business interests uninterruptedly, and from 1756 up to the Revolution was a member of the Assembly from Cumberland County. About 1750 his country seat was

established at Mount Airy, now in the Twenty-second Ward of the City of Philadelphia, and in the possession of the family of the late James Gowen, Esquire. In 1765 he laid out a town in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, on a tract of land lying on the Lehigh River, which we now know as the flourishing city of Allentown.

Allen was a public spirited man, generous with his means, giving his services as Chief Justice gratuitously that he might devote the salary of the station to charities. Besides his advances on the State House purchases, he advanced on one occasion a good part of the tax payable by the Proprietaries under a bill proposed for raising revenue, in the deadlock between the Lieutenant Governor and the Assembly, the former pressing for money for military uses, and not being free to consent to a law which included the Proprietary estates in the assessment for taxation, and the Assembly refusing to vote the means of defence unless such assessment with taxation was agreed to; the gentlemen of Philadelphia made up the sum which it was estimated would be due from the Proprietaries, and then the Assembly passed the necessary money bills. When in England on a visit in 1763 he labored with the home authorities against any stamp duty, and to him was given the credit of securing the postponement of its consideration to another session of Parliament. He joined the American Philosophical Society shortly after its reorganization in 1769, as did also his three sons.

His presence at the meetings of the Trustees was sufficiently uniform to attest his continued interest in the welfare of the institution, though his regular attendance at the Trustees' meetings in the early years of its work was more marked and regular. But amid all his public duties he attended at intervals, and the last meeting we find his name recorded was 1 June, 1779, a few months prior to the abrogation of the charter. He was one of the organisers of St. John's Lodge Philadelphia, and in 1732 was elected Grand Master for one year.¹² He was after-

¹² *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 24 June, 1732.

wards appointed Provincial Grand Master, by the Grand Master of England in 1750. He and Franklin were now making a divergence in their public paths; the sharpness of the political contests of the time began to cut into all relations of life: while Allen's sympathies were naturally with the Proprietaries, Franklin's were with the people; and though they had labored side by side to induce the Proprietaries to submit their lands to general taxation for the public weal, they separated, because while one saw in the attitude of resistance a special though limited cause of complaint, the other found in it heated controversies. It gave rise to the germs of those broader views which were the basis of all Franklin's services in behalf of his country; Allen saw only the present popular clamor against the Proprietaries; the other with a wiser apprehension saw that greater and more lasting principles were involved, out of which grew further those feelings in his mind of personal disrespect for the Penns which continued with him through life, and which would necessarily in some measure alienate those friends of his, such as Allen whose friendship for the Penn family continued unbroken, strongly cemented as it was by the marriage of his eldest daughter Anne in 1766 to John Penn, then a Councillor and afterwards Governor of Pennsylvania. Allen misconceived Franklin's course in regard to the Stamp Act, and in his absence abroad charged him with double dealing in the matter; yet when Allen called him "that Goliath," nothing more need be added showing his opinion and perhaps fear of the ability and powers of this remarkable man.¹³

William Allen in the preliminary skirmishes of the Revolution sided with the Colonies, and he went so far as to donate shot to the Council of Safety. But his efforts to maintain peace between them and the mother country drew him away from the thought of a bloody contest, and as there could be no midway, his alienation from his country's cause was complete. He resigned the Chief Justiceship in 1774. He retained his seat in the Assembly as late as June, 1776, but it is thought he went abroad shortly after. However, he was in

¹³ See his letters in The Burd Papers for evidences of his later feelings against Franklin.

Philadelphia a few months later, as he attended a meeting of the Trustees on 31 October, and again his presence is recorded at the three meetings in March 1777. This would seem to refute the statement which has been accepted that he returned to Philadelphia on the entrance of the British troops in September, 1777. We find him also at the meetings of the Trustees in February, March, May, and June 1779. He died 6 September, 1780; and it is believed his death occurred in Philadelphia, or at Mount Airy. By a codicil to his will dated 1 December, 1779 he freed all his slaves.

Chief Justice Allen married 16 February, 1734, Margaret only daughter of Andrew Hamilton, the Councillor, the most eminent lawyer of his time in Pennsylvania, who died in 1741. Her only brothers James and Andrew Hamilton were also Councillors, and the former was Lieutenant Governor of the Province from 1748 to 1754 and died unmarried. Andrew was elected a Trustee in 1754 of the Academy, in the vacancy made by the death of Thomas Lawrence. His second son William Hamilton who was born in 1745 was the builder of the beautifully located and well known Woodland Mansion, near the University Buildings, where he died in 1813. Of William and Margaret Allen's children, besides Anne who married John Penn, there was another daughter Margaret who married in 1771 James DeLancey eldest son of James DeLancey, Chief Justice and Governor of New York, whose second son John Peter DeLancey was the father of the Rev. William Heathcote DeLancey, D. D., Provost of the University of Pennsylvania from 1828 to 1833. Of their three sons, Andrew married Sarah Cox, granddaughter of Tench Francis, and was himself a Councillor in 1770, but becoming a loyalist, as was his father, went abroad and died in London in 1825; and James, whose wife was a granddaughter of Thomas Lawrence the Councillor, who died in 1778. Both Andrew and James Allen were graduates of the Academy in the class of 1759.

JOHN INGLIS was born in Scotland in 1708. He came to Philadelphia in 1736 from the Island of Nevis where he had been a merchant. He here pursued the same career, soon rising into prominence as a successful merchant, and was in partnership with Samuel M'Call, senior, his wife's brother-in-law and cousin. He was elected a Common Councilman 1 October, 1745. On 1 January, 1747-8 he was commissioned Captain of the First Company of the Associated Regiment of Foot, of which Samuel M'Call senior was a Major; and in the Association Battery Company of 1756 he was a private with his wife's brother Archibald M'Call and brother-in-law William Plumsted. During the absence of Abraham Taylor, he was Deputy Collector from 1751 to 1753. He was in the Commission of 1756, of which Alexander Stedman at that time a Trustee of the Academy was also a member, to audit the accounts of the farmers of Pennsylvania and others, who had claims for losses of horses and wagons under the contracts which Franklin had made in 1755 to supply Braddock's needs. He signed the war Importation Resolutions of 1765. He was one of the organizers of the St. Andrew's Society in 1749, and succeeded Governor Morris as its President. He died 20 August, 1775. We may recognize a familiar pen in the obituary notice of him in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 23 August:

On Sunday morning last, after a lingering and painful indisposition, which he supported with great equanimity, died John Inglis, Esq., of this city in the 68th year of his age; a gentleman who early acquired, and maintained to the last, the character of a truly honest man. Possessing a liberal and independent spirit, despising everything which he thought unbecoming a gentleman, attentive to business, frugal but yet elegant in his economy, he lived superior to the world, beloved and respected as an useful citizen, an agreeable companion, a sincere friend, and an excellent father of a family.

He married 16 October, 1736, Catherine, daughter of George M'Call, a native of Scotland then settled in Philadelphia, whose wife was a daughter of Jasper Yeates and a descendant of Joran Kyn the founder of the Swedish settlement at Upland. Of their numerous children, John was engaged in the merchant marine service, and secured a commis-

sion as Captain in the Royal Navy in which he obtained the rank of Rear Admiral; Samuel was elected in 1777 a member of the Philadelphia Troop of Light Horse and died in 1783; and Katharine lived with her cousin Margaret M'Call, daughter of Samuel M'Call, junior, who were "United through life. United in the grave" as we are told on their joint tombstone erected "Sacred to Friendship," in Christ Church Burying Ground. Mrs. Inglis' brother Samuel M'Call, junior, was a Trustee of the Academy, as was also her sister Mary's husband William Plumsted.

Mr. Inglis' attendance at the meetings of the Trustees was almost continuous; a long interval occurred from May 1762 to September 1764, which is not explained, but on his return his accustomed regularity was resumed. His last attendance was on 22 February, 1774, when the request of the Provost for the erection of a house for him on the College Grounds was unanimously granted. His place on the Board was filled on 17 October, 1776, by the election of Hon. James Tilghman.

TENCH FRANCIS was born in Ireland, the son of the Very Reverend John Francis, Dean of Lismore in 1722, who was the grandson of Philip Francis who was Mayor of Plymouth in 1622. Mr. Francis came to Maryland, as others of his countrymen had done under the attractions held out by the Calverts; and it was while acting as Attorney for Lord Baltimore that he married in 1724 Elizabeth Turbutt of Talbot County, Maryland. He had two brothers, Richard, author of *Maxims of Equity*, first published in 1729, with an American edition in Richmond in 1823; and the Rev. Philip Francis, D.D. who was father of Sir Philip Francis to whom the authorship of *The Letters of Junius* was for many years attributed. He appears early to have moved to Pennsylvania for we find him Clerk of the County Court from 1726 to 1734. He was Attorney General of Pennsylvania from 1741 to 1755, and Recorder of Philadelphia from 1750 to 1755. His attendance at the meetings of the Trustees was very uniform up to within eighteen months of his death, which occurred on 16 August, 1758; his last attendance was on 9 May, preceding.

The family tomb in Christ Church Burying Ground was erected by his son Tench and bears this inscription in part: "The Vault over which this Monument is erected was built by the late Tench Francis, for the purpose of depositing the remains of Tench and Elizabeth Francis his Parents, and a Sepulchre for himself and his descendants." The vacancy in the Trustees made by his death was filled at the meeting of 12 September by the election of Edward Shippen, jr.

Of Mr. Francis' children, Anne married in 1743 James Tilghman the Councillor; Mary married William Coxe of New Jersey, and her daughter married Andrew Allen the Councillor; Tench married Anne daughter of Charles Willing, a Trustee of the Academy; and Elizabeth married John the son of Thomas Lawrence also a Trustee.

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 24 August, 1758, records the following obituary to his memory:

On Wednesday, the 16th Instant, died here TENCH FRANCIS, Esq., Attorney at Law. He was no less remarkable for strict Fidelity than for his profound skill in his profession. He filled the Stations of Attorney General of this Province and Recorder of this city, for a Number of years, with the highest Reputation; and when declining Health had called him from the Bar, he continued his Usefulness to his Country, by carrying on a large and honourable Trade. His domestic virtues made him dear to his Family; his Learning and Abilities, valuable to the Community; to both his Death is a real Loss.

WILLIAM MASTERS was the son of Thomas Masters, who came with his children from Bermuda to Pennsylvania perhaps prior to the year 1700, and who built at Front and Market Streets in 1704 what was said to be the first three-story house in Philadelphia. He was an Alderman of the city in 1702, and Mayor from 1707 to 1709, and died in December, 1723. William inherited from his father and brother Thomas (who died in March 1740-1) a valuable tract of land in the Northern Liberties, running West from the Delaware River to beyond Broad Street and lying between the present Girard and Montgomery Avenues. He was a representative from Philadelphia County in the assembly for many years, and a commissioner to disburse the

money appropriated for the defence of the Province. His sister Mercy married Peter Lloyd, the first cousin of Dr. Lloyd Zachary, a fellow Trustee. The story of William's early courtship, and reputed engagement to, William Penn's daughter Letitia, who was his senior in years, and who after reaching England at the close of 1701 forgot him and soon afterwards married William Aubrey, which was referred to with feeling by James Logan in his letter to Penn written in May 1702, forms one of the earliest romances in high life in the Province.¹⁴ However that may be, he remained single during her life; she died in 1746, and we find him, an elderly man, marrying in 1754 Mary, daughter of Thomas Lawrence the Councillor, who must have been his cotemporary in years. He died 24 November, 1760; of his two daughters who grew to adult years, Mary married, in 1772, Richard Penn the Councillor, the grandson of William Penn, and died in London in 1829; and Sarah married, in 1795, Turner Camac of Greenmount Lodge, County Louth, Ireland.

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 27 November, 1760, thus noticed his death:

Yesterday were interred the Remains of WILLIAM MASTERS, Esq., who was one of the Representatives of this City in Assembly, and a Provincial Commissioner, for several years. He was not more remarkable for his Superior Fortune, than for his firm Adherence to the Constitution of his Country, and the common Rights of Mankind.

His will which was probated 30 January, 1761, appointed Benjamin Franklin, Joseph Fox and Joseph Galloway executors of his Estate and guardians of his three minor daughters; but as Franklin was absent in England, he did not qualify.

Mrs. Masters, in the year following that of the death of her husband, took conveyance from her father of a large lot on the South side of Market Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets, upon which she decided to build a handsome mansion. Here her daughter Mary lived with her, and on the occasion of her marriage to Richard Penn, who had come from England in 1771 commissioned as Lieutenant Governor, the mother conveyed the property to her. During the possession of the city

¹⁴ The element of doubt that appears in this colonial romance, is stated by Mr. Jenkins in his *The Family of William Penn*, pp. 62-63.

by the British, General Howe occupied the Mansion, the stateliest in the city. When the city came again under home rule, and Arnold was in command, the latter here lived sumptuously until his final departure. The house was then occupied by the French Consul General Holker, and during his occupancy it was burnt down in 1780. The lot with the ruins Robert Morris leased, rebuilt the house in its former style and purchased it in 1785, and here remained until he vacated it for the use of our first President, and it then became the residence of Washington during his two terms of office, and hence bears in local history the name of the Washington Mansion. The building afterwards erected by the State on Ninth Street for the use of his successors in office was never so occupied, and was sold to the University of Pennsylvania in 1801.

Mr. Masters attendance at the meeting of the Trustees was sufficiently regular to evince his interests in their concerns, but for three years prior to his death his name does not appear as present, the last meeting at which he appears being 11 January, 1757. He was succeeded in the trust by the Rev. Jacob Duché, who was elected 10 February, 1761.

DR. LLOYD ZACHARY, was born in Philadelphia in 1701, the son of Daniel Zachary a native of England who had emigrated to Boston, and who married 9 April, 1700, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Lloyd, Lieutenant Governor of the Province. Deborah Logan says of him : "This worthy man, who had settled in Boston, but had married a Pennsylvanian, a daughter of Thomas Lloyd, upon the decease of his wife, went home to England, where shortly after his arrival he also died. He left one son, Lloyd Zachary, who became afterwards a distinguished physician in Philadelphia." ¹⁵ Young Zachary studied medicine under Dr. Kearsley, and afterwards abroad, and returning to Philadelphia began the practice of his profession with zeal and skill, becoming one of the first physicians in the city. In 1741, when Dr. Thomas Graeme was superseded as Quarantine physician wherein he had served twenty years, Dr. Zachary

¹⁵ *Penn & Logan Correspondence*, i. 348.

was elected in his stead. When the new Hospital was opened in February, 1752 in John Kinsey's house on Market street, on the site of which Widow Masters built her mansion in 1761, Dr. Zachary with the two Doctors Bond, and Graeme, Moore, Cadwalader and Redman were its first active physicians, bestowing their medicines free to its patients. The hospital received from his Aunt and Uncle Hannah and Richard Hill a valuable tract on the Ridge Road. He died unmarried 25 November, 1756. His attendance at the Trustees meetings was more constant the first two years than later. He did not qualify under the Charter of 1755; as his place was filled 11 January, 1757, by the election of Benjamin Chew.

Franklin wrote the following expressive memorial notice of him for the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 16 December, 1756:

On the 26th past died here Doctor LLOYD ZACHARY, who in Sweetness of Temper, Politeness of Manners, and universal Benevolence, had few Equals, no Superiors. He was a Trustee of the Academy, and Charity School, and one of the first Subscribers, having given *one Hundred Pound* towards their Establishment. He was also an early Contributor to the *Pennsylvania Hospital*, and one of the first Physicians who agreed to attend it *gratis*; which he continued to do as long as his Health would permit. In his last Will he bequeathed *Three Hundred and Fifty Pounds* to that charitable Institution as a Means of continuing to do good after his Decease. An uncommonly great Number of the Inhabitants testify'd their Respect for him, by attending his Funeral.

SAMUEL M'CALL, junior, as he was known by way of distinction from his cousin Samuel M'Call, senior, who married his sister Anne, was born in Philadelphia, 5 October, 1721, the son of George M'Call, before mentioned as the father of the wife of John Inglis. He early engaged in mercantile life, inheriting his father's store and wharf, and taking his younger brother Archibald into partnership. He was a Common Councilman, being chosen 6 October, 1747, and with his brother-in-law John Inglis was on the Commission to audit the accounts of Pennsylvania claimants for losses sustained in their supplies to Braddock's expedition. He became a member of the St.

Andrew's Society in 1751. With his brothers George and Archibald, and brothers-in-law Inglis and Plumsted, he joined in the petition to the Proprietaries 1 August, 1754 asking the grant of the lot at Third and Pine Streets for a church and yard for the use of members of the Church of England, whereon St. Peter's Church was afterwards erected. Mr. M'Call died in September, 1762. He had married in 1743 Anne, a daughter of Capt. John Searle. His eldest daughter Anne married Thomas Willing, himself also a Trustee in 1760, and eldest son of Charles Willing, one of the original Trustees of the Academy; and Catherine married Tench Coxe the grandson of Tench Francis the Trustee. His brother Archibald's grandson, Peter M'Call, Esq., became a Trustee of the University in 1861.¹⁶

Mr. M'Call's attendance at the Trustees' meetings was less regular in the years 1752, '53, and '54, than prior or subsequent, the last at which his name appears was on 1 May, 1760 when the Trustees attended the Commencement services of that day. He was succeeded by Dr. John Redman who was elected 14 December, 1762.

JOSEPH TURNER, a native of Andover, Hampshire, England, was born 2 May, 1701, and came to America in January 1714. He appears to have engaged in shipping, and we find him in 1724 as the Captain of the ship *Lovely*. In 1726 he was one of those who signed to take the bills of credit of the Lower Counties at their face value. In 1729 he was elected a Common Councilman, and in 1741 an Alderman. He declined election to the Mayoralty in 1745, and submitted to the appropriate penalty of £30. For nearly a half century he was in partnership in commercial business with William Allen, the house of Allen & Turner for a long time before the Revolutionary War being the most prominent in the Colony; and they also engaged in the manufacture of iron, owning several mines in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. He was a member of the Provincial Council, qualifying on 14 May, 1747. He died 25 July, 1783, unmarried, leaving the bulk of

¹⁶ *Pennsylvania Magazine*, v. 471, in Mr. Keen's *Descendants of Joran Kyn*, for reference to Mr. McCall's ancestry and kin.

his extensive property to the children of his sister Mary, who married Captain James Oswald, namely, Elizabeth who married Chief Justice Chew as his second wife, and Margaret who married Frederick Smythe, Chief Justice of New Jersey. Another sister of Joseph Turner married John Sims a merchant in Jamaica, and was the mother of Joseph and Buckridge Sims, eminent merchants of Philadelphia. There was a brother Peter, whose possessions in the Northern Liberties gave rise to the name of Turner's Lane when that road was opened, but it is now no more, the rectangular streets of modern municipal geography obliterating all traces of it.

Mr. Turner's presence in the meetings of the Trustees was very constant up to 1762, when for some years long intervals occurred between his attendances, and the last time his name is entered as being present was on 23 July, 1769, the condition of his health forbidding him to continue his attendance. This continued for another ten years when on 22 June, 1779, he wrote to the Trustees, "My advanced age and bodily infirmities not permitting my attendance as one of the Trustees of the College, Academy and charitable Schools of Philada., I think it my duty to *resign a trust* which I am no longer able to execute." This was accepted at a meeting on that day, and at the meeting on 28 June, Mr. George Clymer, the Signer, was elected in his place, but the abrogation of the charter before the end of that year gave him a very brief Trust.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, "who first projected the liberal plan of the institution over which we have the honor to preside," as the Provost, Vice Provost and Professors addressed him 16 September, 1785 on his final return home from his manifold foreign duties, finds a place at this point in the list of the original Trustees. While a sketch is here attempted of the lives and actions, personal or professional or political, of his associates, but a brief one should be attempted in this place of the man whose Autobiography has to this day remained unapproached in style or instruction by any who have attempted his Biography. Nor is it needed to record in these pages in any detail the doings and

works of a man who has but one peer in his country's annals, so familiar are they to all who have any knowledge of its history. In previous pages some attempt has been made to mark the various important steps in his walk of life, each one seeming to establish him more firmly in general and useful knowledge as well also in local reputation and influence. A study of this wonderful progress of one from an alien in Philadelphia in 1723, in a quarter of a century to a commanding position in the community, leaves no room to wonder how easy it was for him to draw around him for the furtherance of education in a new and liberal form men of the characters and influence whose lives are in a measure here portrayed, men who did not merely grant him the use of their names by which to manufacture a standing for the institution, but who gave their time to the meetings and committee work in a degree unusual to men who all were actively engaged in their own affairs, yet who made time to share with him in all its deliberations, and whose spirit of directness and thoroughness so infused itself into their minds as to enable the institution to proceed with the same force during his various absences, unhappily continued however at a time when his calmness and skill might have averted the charter abrogation of 1779.

We shall follow him in the coming years of his life, and give some heed to his political and diplomatic course as we proceed in the narrative of the institution, which Mr. Matthew Arnold has happily named the University of Franklin.¹⁷ For although new influences came with its counsels and strove for its mastery in but a few short years, to the extent of belittling his influence and clouding his title to its parentage, we must note his patience throughout all, and realise his continued interest in the institution, even to the last; and must perforce step abreast of his own busy years at home or abroad, and keep alive that connection with our Commonwealth's and indeed our Nation's history his own close participation in both of which makes

¹⁷ In his paper on "Foreign Education" which he read to a distinguished audience in the University Chapel, 8 June, 1886. Mr. Sidney George Fisher makes the like nomination in his *True Benjamin Franklin*, p 77, "it should have been called, Franklin University."

it all the more necessary for those to study who claim it as their Alma Mater.

He had entitled himself among his fellow trustees bearing honored titles of rank or profession or of courtesy, simply as PRINTER; this he claimed as his proper designation and of equal honor to his last days, his will reciting "I Benjamin Franklin, Printer," in precedence of his further titles, "late Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America to the Court of France, now President of the State of Pennsylvania," when he wrote it on 17 July, 1788. Having a competency by his success in business, he had retired from the active work of his calling in September 1748, disposing of his printing establishment to David Hall, his foreman, on favorable terms to both, which were to be met by Hall within the term of eighteen years during which it was to be carried on in the names of Franklin and Hall, the former assisting in the editing of the *Gazette* and his *Poor Richard's Almanac*. But through all his changes and diversities of labors, he clung with tenacity and in honor to his cognomen of PRINTER.

The leisure he gained by this made no contribution to any personal idleness; he simply turned his activities into more congenial channels of science or education or philanthropy, or indeed politics. His electrical pursuits, begun in 1747, continued unremittingly over a series of years;¹⁸ his Academy and Charitable School of 1749 opened up still further opportunities for

¹⁸ These earlier experiments of Franklin were carried on in the house built by John Wister, No. 141 (now 325) Market street in 1731. "It was in this house that Dr. Franklin made his first attempt to 'snatch the lightning from Heaven' and guide it harmlessly to the earth. With this object he here erected his first lightning rod, an hexagonal iron rod, still in our possession, connecting it with a bell which gave the alarm whenever the atmosphere was surcharged with electric fluid. The ringing of this bell so annoyed my grandmother that it was removed at her request." *Memoir of Charles F. Wister*, by his son, 1866, vol i. pp. 21, 33. John Wister's son, Daniel, who was born 4 February, 1738-39, was a pupil at the Academy 1752-1754, as was also his cousin Caspar in 1752. Watson tells us that in 1750 Franklin owned and was dwelling in the house at the South East corner of Race and Second Streets. *Annals* i. 532-33.

The earliest residence of Franklin's family known to us was in the building owned by Benjamin Hornor on Market Street above Front, now No. 131, where some of Mr. Hornor's living descendants recollect being shown in their early years traces then remaining of Franklin's printing work. See *Family Memorials* by Miss Mary Coates, Philadelphia 1885, p. 60. It was here that Franklin writes to Thomas Hopkinson, in 1747: "The din of the Market increases upon me, and that, with frequent

his time and thought; and the new Hospital in 1752, in which his fellow trustees in the Academy, the two Bonds, Zachary, and Shippen were the great promoters, found him a willing and ready coadjutor, as we in the same year find him lending his countenance and aid to the honored Friend, John Smith, who founded the first Insurance Company formed in the Colonies, the Philadelphia Contributionship. He tells us:¹⁹

When I disengaged myself from private business, I flatter'd myself that by the sufficient tho' moderate fortune I had acquir'd, I had secured leisure during the rest of my life for philosophical studies and amusements. I purchased all Dr. Spencer's apparatus, who had come from England to lecture here, and I proceeded in my electrical experiments with great alacrity; but the publick now considering me as a man of leisure, laid hold of me for their purposes; every part of our civil government, and almost at the same time, imposing some duty upon me. The governor put me into the commission of peace, [in 1749 and again in 1752] the corporation of the city chose me one of the common council [4 october, 1748]; and soon after Alderman [1 october, 1751]; and the citizens at large chose me a Burgess to represent them in Assembly [1750]. * * * My election to this trust was repeated every year for ten years without my ever asking any elector for his vote, or signifying, either directly or indirectly, any desire of being chosen. On taking my seat in the House, my son was appointed their clerk. * * * I would not, however, insinuate, that my ambition was not flattered by all these promotions; it certainly was; for, considering my low beginning, they were great things to me and they were still more pleasing as being so many spontaneous testimonies of the public good opinion, and by me entirely unsolicited.

His first hearing on the Bench in the case of William *vs.* Till, (noted later) he was associated with Thomas Lawrence, Edward Shippen and Joshua Maddox, two of whom were to become his co-trustees in the Academy before this year was out.

The office of justice of the peace I tried a little, by attending a few courts, and sitting on the bench to hear causes; but finding that more

interruptions, has, I find, made me say some things twice over, and I suppose, forget some others." Bigelow, ii. 103.

In 1764 he built on his lot on the South side of Market Street between Third and Fourth Streets, the house standing southwards from the line of the street nigh where Hudson Place now bisects the block; this is the "new house" Mrs. Franklin speaks of in the letter to her husband 7 April, 1765, Bigelow, iii. 374, and where he resided the remainder of his years. For a description of these premises and the Mansion and printing offices see Scharf & Wescott's *History of Philadelphia*, I. 460, for a letter from Robert Carr to John A. McAllister written 25 May, 1864.

¹⁹ Bigelow, i. 227.

knowledge of the Common Law than I possessed was necessary to act in that station with credit, I gradually withdrew from it; excusing myself by being obliged to attend the higher duties of a legislator in the Assembly.²⁰

He was on 3 September, 1776, appointed Presiding Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and in October, 1785, while President Supreme Executive Council was appointed President Judge; but there is no certainty of his ever sitting. Gordon says of him, in connection with his Assembly duties:

His active, comprehensive, and discriminating mind qualified him at all times to lead in a popular body; but his knowledge of provincial affairs at once placed him at the head of the assembly, and caused him to be appointed upon every important committee.²¹

His rank as a Philosopher was earned by his success and discoveries in Electricity which had begun about this period in his life. Mr. Peter Collinson, a member of the Royal Society, who had been commissioned to send books to the Philadelphia Library, sent out early in 1747 an "electric tube with directions for using it," which Franklin in acknowledging it said "has put several of us on making electrical experiments, in which we have observed some particular phenomena, that we look upon to be new." His friends referred to were Hopkinson, Syng and Kinnersley, the latter of whom in 1753 became the Head Master of the English School connected with the Academy, and in 1755 was chosen Professor of Oratory and English Literature in the College. In writing to Mr. Collinson 29 July, 1750 he says: as you first put us on electrical experiments, by sending to our Library Company a tube, with directions how to use it; and as an honorable Proprietary enabled us to carry those experiments to a greater height, by his generous present of a complete electrical apparatus; it is fit that both should know, from time to time, what progress we make.

These experiments unfolded new ideas, and new forces were discovered in the Electrical Fire, and Franklin's correspondence abroad detailing them to Collinson and others, though not at first heeded in regular Scientific circles in England, found a

²⁰ "In the days of the Province nearly all the Justices, both of the Common Pleas and the Supreme Court, Franklin excepted, were merchants." David Paul Brown, *Forum*, i. 256.

²¹ *History of Penn'a.* Thomas F. Gordon, 268.

warm welcome in France and on the Continent. To enter here upon them with any description would open a most entertaining chapter in Franklin's life, but indulgence can only be given to a summary of their results as placing Franklin's name at the head of the practical discoverers of the sources and powers of this wonderful natural force, which we one hundred and thirty years later are just beginning to chain to our will and utilize in all our practical arts.²²

Dr. Priestly says of Franklin's records of his discoveries : it is not easy to say, whether we are most pleased with the simplicity and perspicuity with which these letters are written, the modesty with which the author proposes every hypothesis of his own, or the noble frankness with which he relates his mistakes, when they were corrected by subsequent experiments. * * * Dr. Franklin's principles bid fair to be handed down to posterity as equally expressive of the true principles of electricity, as the Newtonian philosophy is of the true system of nature in general.

Before Priestley wrote this, Kinnersley had written to Franklin 12 March, 1761 :

I most heartily congratulate you on the pleasure you must have in finding your great and well grounded expectations so far fulfilled. May this method of security [referring to the lightning rod] from the destructive violence of one of the most awful powers of nature meet with such further success, as to induce every good and grateful heart to bless God for the important discovery. * * * May it extend to the latest posterity of mankind, and make the name of FRANKLIN like that of NEWTON *immortal*.

To which Franklin refers in his letter from London 20 February, 1762, in conclusion " Your kind wishes and congratulations are very obliging." ²³

This reference to the lightning rod is to Franklin's happy experiment with his kite in June 1752, in the open fields not far from his residence, by which he drew lightning from the clouds, establishing his theory that under some circumstances of peculiar attraction the electric fluid could be drawn to earth.²⁴ His theories had been known abroad, and the " Philadelphia experi-

²² Bigelow, ii. 59.

²³ Ibid. iii. 178.

²⁴ See his Communication of 19 October, 1752, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for December, 1752, p. 560.

ment" had been successful in France in May of that year, M. Dalibard drawing electricity from a thunder cloud by a pointed rod. When the tidings of this reached America, Franklin had not publicly announced his success with the silken kite, and it was not until 19 October following in a letter to Peter Collinson he wrote,

as frequent mention is made in public papers from Europe, of the success of the Philadelphia experiment for drawing the electric fire from clouds by means of pointed rods of iron erected on high buildings, &c., it may be agreeable to the curious to be informed, that the same experiment has succeeded in Philadelphia, though made in a different and more easy manner ;

and he then proceeds to a description of his June experiment, though in an entirely impersonal manner.²⁵ This letter was read at the Royal Society on 31 December following, and in the following November he was granted by the Society the Copley Medal for that year "on account of his curious experiments and observations on electricity, as a mark of distinction due to his unquestionable merit," and on 29 April, 1756, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

The Rev. Ebenezer Kinnersley, alike interested in these studies, gave public exhibitions of many of these experiments, and quite reasonably at the time was granted to him by the public the meed of praise as their discoverer ; but Franklin's correspondence, now all brought to light, shows their letters, and the relative claims of the two to distinction in the premises can be properly measured. Franklin took the scientific into his confidence rather than the curious public. But traces of Franklin's observations can be found from time to time in the news columns (so-called) of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, where frequent record is made of instances of the destructive power of lightning which had been reported to him, doubtless in answer to his request, published in the *Gazette* of 21 June, 1753, namely :

Those of our Readers in this and the neighboring Provinces, who

²⁵ Bigelow, ii. 262. On Franklin's Lightning Rod *vide* Dr. Andrew D. White's *History of the Warfare of Science and Theology*, i. 365, for an interesting statement of the early opposition it engendered, and of its practical usefulness winning its way among its theological opponents.

may have an opportunity of observing, during the present Summer, any of the Effects of Lightning on Houses, Ships, Trees, &c., are requested to take particular Notice of its Course, and Deviation from a Straight Line, in the Walls or other Matter affected by its different Operations, or Effects on Wood, Stone, Bricks, Glass, Metals, Animal Bodies, &c., and every other Circumstance that may tend to discover the Nature and compleat the History of that terrible Meteor. Such observations being put in writing and communicated to *Benjamin Franklin* in *Philadelphia*, will be very thankfully acknowledged.

In April, 1751, Mr. Kinnersley gives²⁶ "Notice to the Curious" of a "course of Experiments in the newly discovered Electric Fire," adding at foot "the experiments succeed best when the air is dry;" and "to be accompanied with Methodical Lectures on the Nature and Properties of that wonderful element." Three years later, he gave for the "Entertainment of the Curious" "in one of the chambers of the Academy, a course of experiments in that new Branch of Natural Philosophy called Electricity." And as the "modern Prometheus," as Kant had now called him, had drawn the fire down from Heaven, Kinnersley adds an expostulatory paragraph in his Advertisement, "and as some are apt to doubt the Lawfulness of endeavoring to guard against Lightning, it will be farther shewn, that the doing it, in the Manner proposed, cannot possibly be chargeable with Presumption, nor be inconsistent with any of the Principles either of Natural or Revealed Religion."²⁷ This good Baptist Minister did not recognise any divorce between Religion and Science.

When Franklin was sent out in 1757 on a political errand to represent his adopted colony at the home government, his reception in England was that due to a savant rather than a politician. Local politics in their intensity found but little room for the recognition of those high scientific attainments which gave a warmth to the welcome, which otherwise would have been a cold one, to a protesting colonist.

Franklin's attendance at the meetings of the Trustees of the Academy and College was constant and regular, his first absence

²⁶ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11 April, 1751.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 26 March, 1754.

being at the meeting of August 1751,²⁸ and there was but one absence to note in 1752, "when the Trustees visited the Schools, but did no other business," the year of his most interesting electrical experiments; the year 1753 shows absence from only three regular meetings in the summer of his first duty as Postmaster General which engaged him in his travels to the Eastward, besides his two Indian Missions; in 1754 his absences were more notable, due largely to his visit to Albany with the Commissioners; in 1755 being early in the year absent on a visit to New England, and later engaged in aiding Braddock²⁹ his name does not appear in two of the regular meetings; in 1756 his absence was more notable owing to his frequent journeys from home. Visiting Virginia on his post office duties in the Spring he received from William and Mary College in person on 2 April the degree of A.M., "conferred upon him by the Rev G. Dawson, A.M., President, to whom he was in public presented by the Rev. Wm Preston A.M." ³⁰ On his return from there early in June we find him at the close of the month in New York, and in November at Easton attending an Indian Conference. In April 1757, he sailed on his first foreign mission to the mother country. Arriving home in November, 1762, he resumes his attendance at the meetings, but in 1763 he was frequently absent, his public duties withdrawing him from other concerns; and in November, 1764, he set sail for London on his second mission. He was elected the first president of the Board of Trustees, being succeeded by Richard Peters who was elected 11 May, 1756. The minutes give us no indication of the cause of his declining a re-election at this time: his journey to Albany in the previous year, his absences now from the first five meetings of the current year, may be indications of his accumulating public duties, but there were thus early developing some of those causes

²⁸ His absence from a meeting of the Common Council that day, also, would show that absence from the city was the cause.

²⁹ Bigelow, ii. 414. Sparks, vii. 85. "Since my return, I have been in such a perpetual hurry of public affairs of various kinds," he writes 11 Sept. 1755. Paxton, i. 342.

³⁰ Faculty Proceedings, *Historical Sketch of the College of William and Mary*, p. 42. He writes to his wife from Williamsburg, 30 March, 1756: "Virginia is a pleasant country; now in full spring; the people obliging and polite." Bigelow, ii. 458.

which were working to take the institution not only further out of the practical lines he had in the outset marked for its course, but also to make it more agreeable to the political party to which he was opposed. He attended the regular meeting subsequent to Dr. Peters election ; but infrequently afterwards, and in the April following as stated before, he sailed for England. The heat of local politics may have fused some antagonisms which served to counteract his influence in the Board, and indicated for the welfare of the College that some one identified with the Proprietary interest should preside over their deliberations, and who so fitting as the constant churchman and faithful Secretary Richard Peters, whose election if any other was to be chosen could not but be acceptable to his friend Franklin.

THOMAS LEECH was the son of Toby and Hester Leech of Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, who came to America in the year 1682, and settled in Cheltenham township, now in Montgomery County. They are buried in Trinity Church, Oxford, Philadelphia, the inscription on their joint stone being quoted by the Rev. Dr. Buchanan in his *Early History of Trinity Church*.³¹ Thomas Leech was clerk to the Assembly from 1723 to 1727, and a representative of Philadelphia County for nearly thirty years, and was Speaker pro tem in 1758 "in the room of Isaac Norris, who fell sick." In the controversy in the assembly over Judge Moore's case, which must be reviewed in later pages on account of Provost Smith's part in it, Mr. Leech was an active participant, and was Chairman of the committee which framed the address to the Governor asking Moore's removal. He was a Vestryman of Christ Church for many years, and Warden in 1728 and again in 1746-47. He was with his fellow Trustees, Lawrence and Peters, signer of the letter of 23 April, 1741, from the Vestry of Christ Church to the Bishop of London announcing the death of the Rector, Rev. Archibald Cummings. And we find him in 1760 joining with many of his fellow trus-

³¹ *Two Discourses, &c.*, Philadelphia, 1885, p. 108. Their second son John born in Philadelphia shortly after their arrival was said to have been the first male child born here of English parents: *Old York Road and its Early Associations*, Philadelphia, 1890, p. 67.

tees, viz: Allen, Masters, M'Call, Syng, Willing, Taylor, the two Bonds, Plumsted, and Coleman, on a subscription for restoring the Glebe House of Oxford Parish which had been destroyed by fire. He was a very regular attendant on the meetings of the Trustees until within two or three years of his death which occurred 31 March, 1762, his last attendance being on 28 November, 1761. At the meeting of 8 June, 1762, Mr. Lyn-Ford Lardner was elected to succeed him. He married in 1722, Ann Moore, and had two sons, Thomas and William. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 8 April, 1762, thus records his obituary:

On the 31st ulto in the Evening, departed this Life, Thomas Leech, Esq, in the 77th year of his age; and in the afternoon of the Sunday following was interred in St. Paul's Church in this city, where a Sermon suitable to the occasion, was preached by the Reverend Mr. William M'Clanachan, A. M. and Minister of that Church, to a crowded and weeping Audience. He was a citizen, not more distinguished for the Honour conferred on him, in several Offices of Public Trust (which he discharged for a long series of Years, with the approbation of his country) than for his amiable and familiar virtues in

the mild Majesty of private Life

where he shone as a practical Philosopher, and a sincere Christian, abounding with unaffected Goodness and exemplary Piety, and a most rare Pattern of that ancient Simplicity which so beautifully characterised the first Fathers of our Metropolis; so that the words of the Poet may, with the greatest Propriety, be applied to him.

'Born to no Pride, inheriting no strife,'
But led by Virtue through the Paths of life;
'Stranger to Discord, and to civil Rage
The good Man walked innoxious thro' his Age
No Courts he saw, no Suits would ever try,
Nor said an Oath, nor hazarded a Lye.'

* * * *

Doctor WILLIAM SHIPPEN was born in Philadelphia 1 October, 1712, the son of Joseph Shippen, a native of Boston, who moved to Philadelphia about 1704, and who became in 1727 one of Franklin's Junto. He was the son of Edward Shippen, who was named by William Penn in his charter of 25 October, 1701, as the first Mayor thereunder of the City of Philadelphia,³² and who was President of the Council, 1702-04, and in May, 1703, became the actual head of the government until Governor Evans arrival in December following. Joseph's connection with the Junto shows him to have been a man inclined to self improvement, and whose leisure enabled him to pursue any special line of study. His eldest son Edward, William's senior by nine years, entered mercantile life under James Logan, and later was in business with him as Logan & Shippen, and in 1749 with Thomas Lawrence, one of the College Trustees, as Shippen and Lawrence; he was also Mayor of the City in 1744, and afterwards Judge of the Common Pleas. In 1748, he was one of the founders of Princeton College and one of its first Trustees, which he remained until his resignation in 1767 and was a subscriber to the Philadelphia Academy, of which his brother William was now one of the first trustees. William himself became a Trustee of Princeton College in 1765 which he remained until his resignation in 1796. His tastes for scientific pursuits were fostered by his father, and an early inclination for the study of medicine developed the rare talent he possessed for a successful practice of it, by which he attained a high reputation and secured an extensive business which remained to him through his long life. But diligent as he was in his professional duties, and reliant as he was in the medical knowledge of his day for the cure of all the ills that flesh is heir to, the story is told of him that on occasion of his being complimented by a friend on the number of cures he effected, he replied, "My friend, Nature does a great deal, and the grave covers up our mistakes." He was sensible of the necessity of more education than could

³² Humphrey Morrey was the first Mayor of the City of Philadelphia under the charter of 1691. See Allison & Penrose, *Philadelphia, a History of Municipal Development*.

be had in the colonies, and when he found his son William intending the same profession, he sent him to Europe when he was twenty one years of age, and in 1761 the latter received his degree of Doctor in Medicine at Edinburgh, and four years later we find his election in the minutes of the Trustees as the first Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in the new medical school of the college. Doctor William Shippen, Senior, as he now became known on his son's rising reputation, found his name worthily reproduced in his son, who added fresh honors and dignity to it.

Dr. Shippen interested himself in public affairs, and foresaw the coming shadows of the Revolution. On 20 November, 1778, when these shadows were the heaviest, he was elected a member of the Continental Congress by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, and was re-elected in the November following. He retained an interest in his father's associations and was Vice President in 1768 of the American Philosophical Society, the child of the Junto. He was one of the first members of the Medical Staff of the Pennsylvania Hospital, from 1753-1778; and one of the founders of the Second Presbyterian Church and a member of it for sixty years. His life was serene and useful; and possessing a temper calm and equable, and the affection of all who knew him, he died 4 November, 1801, in the ninetieth year of his age.³³ He retained his trusteeship in the College until the abrogation of the charter in 1779, and was made one of the Trustees of the new institution created in its place, the University of the State of Pennsylvania, which he remained until 1786. His attendance at the meetings of the Trustees testifies to his interest in the institution, as his absences were very few; and the action of the Trustees were often influenced by his sage counsel, though for two years from April, 1761, he did not attend, and most of the meetings in 1764 and 1765 he missed.

Dr. Shippen married 19 September, 1735, Susannah daughter of Joseph Harrison of Philadelphia, who died some years

³³ His mode of life was simple and it was said that up to his final illness he had never tasted wine nor spirits. His temper was never ruffled and his benevolence was without stint. Dr. Morton's *History of the Pennsylvania Hospital*, p. 489.

before him. His sons William and Joseph were graduates of Princeton, 1754 and 1758. The latter also studied medicine under his father, and going abroad for further studies, took his degree at the University of Rheims. Dr. Shippen's nephew, Joseph, the son of his elder brother Joseph, was a graduate of the college in 1761. His sister Anne was wife of Charles Willing, his fellow trustee.

ROBERT STRETTCELL was born in Dublin in 1693 the son of Amos Strettell, a native of Cheshire who had moved to Ireland about fifteen years before this. Robert left Dublin as a young man to try his fortune in London, where he passed about twenty years of his life, but losing his property in the South Sea Bubble, he came to America about 1736 to retrieve his affairs. He soon took an active part in public concerns, and was one of the Friends who favored Logan's views as to the needs of the Province to defend itself against foreign enemies. He was invited by Governor Thomas to the Council, and he qualified 14 December, 1741. He became an Alderman in 1748, and Mayor in October 1751, and on the close of the latter term, instead of giving the customary collation, contributed £75. to the Public Building. In council he was an active member, and supported the more warlike members during the French War. He died in June 1761, and was buried in the Friends Ground. He married in 1716 Philotesia daughter of Nathaniel Owen of Seven Oaks, Kent. Of their children, Frances married Isaac Jones who was a Trustee of the College and Academy in 1771; Amos succeeded to his father's interest in provincial politics and in the Trusteeship of the College and married a daughter of Samuel Hasell the Councillor; John became an opulent merchant in London; and Robert died before his father.

Mr. Strettell was not behind his fellows in their attendance on the meetings of the Trust; his last years of service found him less able to attend with regularity. The last meeting at which his name appears was 31 March, 1760; and at the meeting of 8 June, 1762, his son Mr. Amos Strettell was elected a Trustee.

PHILIP SYNG was born in Ireland in November 1703 the son of Philip Syng, who with his son arrived at Annapolis, Md. in September 1714, and who there died in 1739. The son had before this settled in Philadelphia, as we find him in the Franklin circle, a member of the Junto and in 1731 one of the first Directors of the new Library Company. He acquired a high reputation as a silver-smith, his skill being shown by several works of art yet in existence, one being an inkstand made by him in 1752 for the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and used by the Continental Congress while in Philadelphia, and at the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and yet preserved in the Hall to which the latter gave its name. He engraved the first seal for the Library Company. He was a member of the noted "Fishing Company of the State in Schuylkill" as it was called. He was one of the Associators of 1747; a Vestryman of Christ Church from 1747 to 1749; and a signer of the Non Importation Resolutions of 1765. He was devoted to scientific pursuits, and the developments of the times in the use and force of Electricity were aided by his experiments and discoveries, and Franklin made acknowledgment of the aid he had furnished him in many of his experiments. In a note to his letter of 11 July, 1747 to Mr. Collinson, Franklin refers to certain experiments "by means of little, light windmill wheels made of stiff paper vanes" as "made and communicated to me by my worthy and ingenious friend Mr Philip Syng;" and of another experiment, thus, "His simple, easily made machine was a contrivance of Mr. Syng's."³⁴ Franklin could appreciate the ingenuity of such a skilful craftsman. He lived to a great age, and dying 8 May, 1789, was buried in Christ Church Burying Ground. One of his daughters married Edmund Physick and became the mother of

³⁴ Bigelow, ii. 66. He writes Franklin the following letter:

PHILADELPHIA, March 1, 1766.

DEAR SIR—I received yours of 26th of September last with your very agreeable Present Doctor Lewis's new Work. You judged very right that I should find in it entertaining Particulars in my Way—the Management of Gold & Silver is treated of in it better & more particularly than I have met with in any Author.

The regard you have always shewn me requires my acknowledgment, which I wish to make by serviceable Actions, because they speak louder than Words, but I fear I shall be insolvent. The Junto fainted last Summer in the hot Weather and

Philip Syng Physick, a graduate in 1785 of the University, for whom the Chair of Surgery was created in 1805, which he filled until 1819 when he took the Chair of Anatomy in which he continued until 1831. The name of Philip Syng was borne to a later generation by this worthy descendant who has been called the Father of American Surgery.

Mr. Syng's attendance on the meetings of the Trustees was very constant up to the time of Franklin's departure on his first mission; but from 14 June, 1757 to 12 May, 1769 he attended but four meetings these inclusive; and this last attendance may have been due to a Minute of the meeting of 8 May previous, viz :

Dr. Smith is desired to wait upon Mr. Philip Syng to ask him whether he will be pleased to attend the future meetings of the Trustees, as the Business of the College suffers greatly for want of a regular attendance of the members; Mr. Syng in particular, not having attended more than once or twice for several years. If Mr. Syng should mention any particular Inconvenience in his attending the Duty of a Trustee, it is desired that he may be asked whether it would be agreeable to him that another should be chosen in his Room.

However, nothing was done, nor did Mr. Syng again attend, until at the meeting of 8 June, 1773 notice was given of "a new Trustee being wanted in the Room of Mr. Philip Syng who has removed with his Family to more than five Miles Distance from the City;" when at the meeting of 15 June Mr. Samuel Powel was elected. He was a member of St. John's Lodge in 1734, Junior Grand Warden in 1737, Deputy Grand Master in 1738, and Grand Master in 1741.

CHARLES WILLING was born in Bristol, England, 18 May, 1710, the son of Thomas Willing, a merchant of that city, who brought the son to Philadelphia about the year 1828. A cousin of the father, also a Thomas Willing, founded and laid out Wil-

has not yet reviv'd, your Presence might reanimate it, without which I apprehend it will never recover.

I am dear Sir your affectionate Friend and oblig'd Humble Serv't, PHIL SYNG.
Addressed: To Benjamin Franklin, Esq, Postmaster general of North America in London. pr Capt Sparks.—MS letter with the American Philosophical Soc'y. The gift referred to was doubtless the *Commercium Philosophico-technicum*, in its new and last edition, of Dr. William Lewis, who died in 1786. *Allibone.*

ling's Town now Wilmington, Delaware. Charles entered into mercantile business and took charge of the house his elder brother Thomas, who returned to England, had founded in 1726. He was successful in his operations and speculations, and established a credit at home and abroad which redounded to the welfare and influence of his adopted city. He was very active in the formation of the Philadelphia Associators in 1747, and must here have been much with Franklin in his efforts to make this defensive association a success. He was Mayor of the City in 1748, and again in 1754, dying 30 November, 1754, of ship fever contracted it is said whilst in the discharge of some of his official duties. Mr. Willing married 21 January, 1731, Anne, daughter of Joseph Shippen, son of the Councillor, and sister of William Shippen, M. D., the Elder, a Trustee. Of his children, his eldest son Thomas became a Trustee in 1760, and in 1761 a Justice of the Supreme Court, and married Anne, daughter of Samuel M'Call junior, also a Trustee, and was father of Thomas Mayne Willing a Trustee of the University in 1800, and of Anne who married William Bingham, a Trustee in 1789; Anne, married Tench Francis, son of Tench Francis a Trustee; Mary, married Col. William Byrd of Westover, Virginia; Elizabeth, married Samuel Powel, a Trustee in 1773; and Margaret, married to Robert Hare, a Trustee in 1789, and became the mother of Charles Willing Hare, whose son Rev. George Emlen Hare, D. D. was Assistant Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in the University in 1844, and of Dr. Robert Hare, Professor of Chemistry in the University from 1818 to 1848, whose son John Innes Clark Hare, a graduate of the University in 1834, was a Trustee in 1858, resigning in 1868, to take the Professorship of the Institute of Law which he held until 1889, when he became Emeritus Professor.

The following obituary notice by Franklin of Mr. Willing appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 5 December, 1754. The portion which is a quotation, is by the Rev. William Smith.

Last *Saturday*, after a short Illness, departed this Life, in the 45th Year of his age, CHARLES WILLING, Esq^{re}; Mayor of this City. As it may be truly said that this Community had not a more useful Member, his

Death is justly lamented as a public Loss to his country, as well as an almost irretrievable Loss to his Family and Friends.

In the Character of a Magistrate, he was patient, indefatigable, and actuated by a Steady Zeal for *Justice*. As a *Merchant*, it was thought that no Person amongst us understood COMMERCE in General, and the trading Interests of this Province in particular, better than he, and his Success in Business was proportionably Great. As a *Friend*, he was faithful, candid and sincere. As a *Husband* and *Parent* few ever exceeded him in Tenderness and Affection. Being himself a *sincere Christian*, he was strictly attentive to the Education of his children in every virtuous Qualification, and in a particular Manner he was remarkable in the Discharge of that essential part of a Parent's Duty, so little considered,—a regular attendance, together with his numerous Family, on the *public Worship of God*. And for this accordingly, they will now have Reason to bless his Memory ; since the Impression, thereby received, will go farther to teach them how to bear their present heavy Affliction, and recommend them to the Favor of the *World* (*degenerate* as it is) than all the external Advantages—all the Fortune, Graces, and Good Nature he has left them possessed of.

Mr. Smith also supplied an "Ode to the Memory of Charles Willing, Esq.," of which the first Stanza is

Once more I seek the cypress shade,
To weave a garland for the dead,
Alone, dejected, wan !
Shall Willing quit this mortal strife,
And not a verse show him, in life
And death—AN HONEST MAN ?

Mr. Willing gave much attendance to the meetings of the Trustees, with only an interval from July 1750 to November, 1751. The last he attended was on 17 September 1754. At the meeting of 11 February, 1755, Mr. Alexander Stedman was elected to fill the vacancy made by his death.

Doctor PHINEAS BOND was born in Maryland in 1717, the younger brother of Dr. Thomas Bond, also a Trustee. He was, as well as his brother educated in his native state, and pursued his studies during foreign travel, visiting at length Leyden, Paris, Edinburgh and London for this purpose. He did not devote himself to surgery as did his brother ; but Dr. Thacher says of him "no medical man of his time in this country left behind him a brighter character for professional sagacity, or the

amiable qualities of the heart." He shared with his brother many of his tastes for scientific and philosophic pursuits, and was under Franklin's lead one of the organizers of the American Philosophical Society; Franklin writes to Cadwallader Colden on 5 April, 1744, "I can now acquaint you, that the Society, as far as it relates to Philadelphia, is actually formed, and has had several meetings to mutual satisfaction." And in enumerating the members he describes Dr. Phineas Bond as General Natural Philosopher, and Dr. Thomas Bond—who heads his list—as Physician.³⁵ His interest also in public affairs was evidenced by being a member of Common Council from 1747 until his death.

He married 4 August, 1748, Williamina daughter of William Moore of Moore Hall, Chester County, Penn'a, her younger sister Rebecca marrying Dr. William Smith, the Provost of the College in 1759. Dr. Bond's eldest son, Phineas,³⁶ was a loyalist during the Revolution, and later was made British Consul at Philadelphia, which he remained for several years at the end of the last and the beginning of this century; he died in London 29 December, 1815. Of Dr. Bond's daughters, Williamina married General John Cadwalader who became a Trustee of the College in 1779, and Elizabeth married John Travis of Philadelphia. Dr. Bond died 11 June, 1773, and he was buried in Christ Church Burying Ground, where a simple stone marks the last resting place of "Doctor PHINEAS BOND, Esq. " His attendance at the Trustees meetings was frequent to the last, with sometimes only intervals of a few months. His last attendance was on 1 January, 1773. On the 18 June following, Mr. Thomas Mifflin was elected his successor. An obituary to him in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 14 June, 1773 recites: "Early on Friday morning last, to the inexpressible grief of all who knew him, departed this life in his fifty-sixth year, Dr. Phineas Bond, a gentleman long and justly acknowledged to be of the first eminence in his profession."

³⁵ Bigelow, ii. 1.

³⁶ A letter from Deborah Franklin of introduction to her husband of young Phineas Bond, dated 11 Octo., 1770, is given in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, v. 510.

RICHARD PETERS, was born in Liverpool about 1704, the son of Ralph Peters, town clerk of that place. He was sent when quite young to Westminster School, where he finished before he was fifteen years of age. Instead of going to Oxford, his parents sent him to Leyden, and on his return to England he undertook the study of law, although against his will, for he had an inclination to take orders. He was five years in the Inner Temple, but his predilections for the ministry increasing with time, his father finally consented to his taking orders and he was ordained by the Bishop of Winchester 20 September, 1729, Deacon, and was ordained Priest 24 March, 1730. He became curate at Latham Chapel in the parish of Ormskirk, and subsequently became tutor of two young wards and kinsmen of the Earl of Derby, and lived with the latter until July, 1735. A youthful marriage which he contracted while at Westminster school, but which was not consummated, with a domestic, was the cause of his going to Leyden instead of Oxford; but the woman was supposed to have died about 1733, and he married in 1734 Miss Stanley, sister of his pupils. But within a few months, the information of the death of the woman having proven unfounded, he left England and his wife and came to Bristol, Pennsylvania, the residence of Andrew Hamilton's wife, whose first husband, Preeson, had been a maternal relative of his. He became assistant to the Rev. Archibald Cummings at Christ Church.

But in a brief space, dissensions arose between him and his Rector, and eventually the Bishop of London suspended his license. However, the Vestry showed their estimation of him in their letter of 28 July, 1737, to the Bishop, "though this gentleman," they say,

for reasons which we humbly beg leave to say appear to us to be just, has thought fit to decline continuing to give his assistance * * * yet it is true that, during the time he has exercised his ministerial function in this city, he has given great satisfaction in general to our congregation, and has been of real service to the Church of England; to which, by his conduct, both in the pulpit and out of it, he has drawn great numbers of the more understanding Dissenters of all persuasions,

Failing now work in the ministry, his energies found employment as Secretary in the Land Office, and for twenty-five years he continued in that capacity, becoming in fact the real estate agent for the Proprietaries. In this office, he attained great discretion, showing how well the confidence of the Penns in him was justified. Referring to this parochial controversy, Bishop White says of it: "It was said that Dr. Peters' acquaintance had been cultivated by the genteel families in the city; but that, being no favorite with the then rector of Christ Church, the Rev. Archibald Cummings, he accepted from the proprietary government the secretaryship of the land office, which laid the foundation of a considerable fortune." Thomas Penn said of him a few years after this appointment, "he has always discharged it with great faithfulness and his understanding and temper render him very fit for such an office where he must transact business with a great number of ignorant people closely tied to their own interests." This was in 1741, when on the death of the Rev. Mr. Cummings, the Vestry of Christ Church recommended him to the Bishop of London for a license, designing to make him Mr. Cummings' successor in the Rectorship. The petition, however, failed; his connection with the proprietary interests led to jealousies lest such influence would prevail in the Church and mar its ecclesiastical independence. Peters submitted, to save contention, though his influence was so great in the parish as to have caused an entire independency of the Bishop's license had he in any way encouraged it. He became a member of the Vestry in 1740, and again from 1745-1752 and served the Church faithfully in this capacity for these years. His secular work meanwhile grew upon him, he being appointed 14 February, 1743, Secretary of the Province and Clerk to the Council. It was in this year that Franklin having drawn up his first plans for the establishment of a charity school relied upon Peters to take the matter in hand and become the head of the needed institution; but this Peters declined. On 19 May, 1749, on a suggestion from the Proprietaries, he was made a member of the Council and at once qualified. This year saw the consummation of Franklin's proposal for an Academy and Charitable

School, and he became a hearty co-worker in it, and preached a sermon at the opening. He became President of the Board of Trustees in 1756. He was one of the four representatives of Pennsylvania in the Congress at Albany in 1754; and in the year 1756, in a conference with the Indians at Fort Stanwix, he baptized several of them, of which he had record made in Christ Church registers on his return. Though thus in actual secular duties, and entitled Esquire in the organization of the Academy, he yet could not forego special exercises of his ministry. In the beginning of 1762 he resigned his Secretaryship, but continued member of the Council. In the same year, he consented to officiate regularly at Christ Church in young Duché's absence abroad seeking priests orders, and when the old incumbent Dr. Jenney died, he was elected Rector of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peters in December, 1762. This met the confirmation of the Bishop of London the following year. In this incumbency he continued until his resignation 23 September, 1775. He died 10 July following, and was buried in front of the chancel of Christ Church. The degree of Doctor of Divinity had been conferred on him by Oxford in 1770. In 1772 he sought the aid of two Assistants in his cure, in addition to the aid rendered by Mr. Duché, who had been Assistant from 1759, and the Vestry appointed on his recommendation two young graduates of the College and Academy, William White of the class of 1765 and Thomas Coombe of the class of 1766; and on his resignation he was succeeded as Rector by Mr. Duché who was of the class of 1757.

As Bishop White was associated with Dr. Peters in Church and in College, we may find a fitting description of him by the Bishop's pen. "Dr. Peters was a native of England * * * he was then a young clergyman, of a respectable family in Liverpool, of an excellent education, and of polished manners * * * At an age turned of sixty, he gave up his lucrative offices, and became more serious in religious concerns than at any former period of his life; although his morals had been correct, his attendance on public worship constant and solemn, and his preaching occasional. * * * He adopted the notions of

Jacob Boehm and William Law; in consequence of which his sermons were not always understood. In social discourse, he could be exceedingly entertaining * * * yet from the moment of turning the conversation to religion, he was in the clouds."³⁷

Dr. Peters interest in the College and Academy was second only to that of Franklin, and he shared in all the counsels of the latter in its inception and firm establishment. He succeeded the latter as President of the Board and continued the leadership for many years. His attendance at the meetings was more constant than any other, not even excepting William Coleman, the only interval of any note being that from July 1764 to December 1765 inclusive. The last time he attended the meetings was on 19 March 1776. At the meeting of 5 October, 1778, Mr. Robert Morris by election succeeded him as Trustee. His connection with the Proprietary interests furthered the material recognition of the new institution by the Penns, and both financially and politically the association was valuable. In Franklin's early absences abroad, Dr. Peters with the Trustees and Dr. Smith in the Faculty kept in motion the busy work of the College. But, on the other hand, this particular influence may signally have failed of advantage in the trying times of the Revolution, and have contributed to those suspicions which claimed to be the basis of the charter abrogation of 1779, which alone could have been prevented by Franklin's presence, who was then too far across the seas on public duties to wrestle with a suspicious Governor and unstable Legislature.

Dr. Peters' brother, William, was father of Richard Peters, a graduate of the College and Academy in 1761, Judge of the U. S. District Court from 1791 to 1828, a Trustee of the College from 1789 to 1791; he was the owner of Belmont Mansion on the Schuylkill, now in Fairmount Park.

³⁷ *Memoir*, by Dr. Wilson, p. 27.

ABRAM TAYLOR was born in England about 1703, and came to Philadelphia from Bristol, and was soon engaged in a successful business; it is said his partner desiring to return to England in 1741 sold him his interest in the business for £7000 stg. Taylor was at this time in the City Corporation, and on 29 December, 1741, qualified as a member of the Governor's Council. In the latter part of 1744 the office for the collection of the customs being vacant by the death of Mr. Alexander he assumed its duties under a Deputation from Bedford the titular Collector, "rather than a friend should suffer by the office being depreciated and undervalued since the commencement of a French War." He was elected Mayor in 1745, but declining to serve was fined £30. He was made Colonel of the regiment of Associators for Defence formed under Franklin's lead in the latter part of 1747, the Lieutenant Colonelcy being offered to the latter but declined when Thomas Lawrence was commissioned. He fell into a contest with the Proprietaries on the purchase by him of a claim to about 20,000 acres of land, which they were unwilling to grant. So persistent was he in this, that they directed Governor Hamilton to strike his name from the Council. He urged his claim in England in 1750; and returning to Philadelphia, he continued one of the members of the City Corporation until his final departure from the Province, in 1762, returning to the old country and taking up his residence in Bath where he died in 1772. His departure from the Province was signalled by a public dinner given him by his friends which attracted a notice in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 1 July, 1762:

On Thursday last an elegant Entertainment was prepared in the State House by a Number of the principal Gentlemen of this city, in order to bid Adieu to, and take their final Farewell of ABRAHAM TAYLOR, Esq., late one of the Council, an Alderman of the City, and Deputy Collector of the Customs in this Port, now going to reside in England. Upwards of One Hundred Gentlemen attended Mr. Taylor on this occasion, and the greatest pleasure appeared on every countenance. Towards the close of this very agreeable Entertainment Mr. Taylor was addressed by one of the Company, in the Name of the Whole, and Thanks returned him for his faithful and upright Discharge of the several offices he had the Honour to

fill, during a Residence of upward of Thirty Years among us ; and for his kind, prudent, blameless, and affectionate Behaviour, as a Friend, Fellow Citizen and Companion ; and the best and most cordial Wishes of the whole Company attended him, for his safe Passage to, and future Health and Happiness in his native Land. Mr. Taylor then took the most decent and affectionate Farewell of the Company, wished them, and the whole Province, all possible Blessings, Happiness and Prosperity. The Entertainment closed in the Evening with great Harmony, becoming good Citizens parting with a most worthy member.

He married about 1733, Philadelphia, daughter of Patrick Gordon, Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania from 1726 to 1735.

Mr. Taylor's attendance at the Trustees meetings resembled that of Mr. Syng's somewhat, in that they were quite regular up to the forepart of 1757, when Franklin had departed on his first mission abroad, his last meeting that year being 10 May, after which he attended one in May 1761, and his last on 18 May 1762. At the meeting of 14 December, 1762 election was had for a Trustee "to be chosen in the room of Abraham Taylor Esquire, departed out of the Province," when Mr. Andrew Elliott succeeded him.

Doctor THOMAS BOND was born in Calvert county Maryland, in 1712. He prepared himself for the medical profession under the well-known Dr. Hamilton, and afterwards traveled in Europe in furtherance of his studies, passing some time in Paris, where he attended the practice of the Hotel Dieu.³⁸ Returning to America, he began the practice of medicine in Philadelphia in 1734, and soon attracted the attention and gained the confidence of the public. The pursuit of his profession did not engross his attention, for we find him an active member of the circle of young inquirers and students which grew into the American Philosophical Society, and he gave constant attention to the affairs of the young Academy and College by diligent attendance at the meetings of the Trustees, and in 1751 "conceived the idea of establishing a hospital in Philadelphia * * * which was originally and truly his," as Franklin

³⁸ *American Medical Biography*, James Thacher, i. 177.

records in his autobiography; and was a member of the first board of managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital, as were Benjamin Franklin and Richard Peters, his fellow trustees in the Academy. On the opening of the Hospital in 1752, the patients were regularly attended by him and three other of his fellow-trustees, Drs. Zachary, Cadwalader and Phineas Bond, his brother; and in 1769 he gave the first course of clinical lectures in the Hospital. Of his introductory lecture to this course, delivered 3 December, 1766, Dr. Carson says "it is a clear exposition of the advantages of clinical instruction in connection with medical education, at the same time evincing a deep interest in the medical school recently established, to which, as a Trustee of the College, Dr. Bond had most zealously given his influence."³⁹

In 1782 he delivered the annual address before the American Philosophical Society, the subject being, "The rank and dignity of man in the scale of being, and the conveniences and advantages he derives from the arts and sciences, and a prognostic of the increasing grandeur and glory of America founded on the nature of its climate." Dr. Thacher says of him, "he was for half a century in the first practice in Philadelphia, and remarkable for attention to the cases under his care, and his sound judgment. He was an excellent surgeon, and in the year 1768 performed two operations of lithotomy in the Pennsylvania Hospital with success."

He continued his intercourse by correspondence with Franklin during the latter's long sojourn abroad, and a letter of the latter written at Passy, 16 March, 1780, acknowledges Dr. Bond's "kind letter of September 22d, and I thank you," he says⁴⁰

for the pleasing account you give me of the health and welfare of my old friends, Hugh Roberts, Luke Morris, Philip Syng, Samuel Rhoads, &c., with the same of yourself and family. Shake the old ones by the hand for me, and give the young ones my blessing. For my own part, I do not find that I grow any older. * * * Advise those old friends of ours to

³⁹ *History Medical Department University of Pennsylvania*, Joseph Carson, M. D., 57.

⁴⁰ Bigelow, vii. 36.

follow my example : Keep up your spirits, and that will keep up your bodies ; you will no more stoop under the weight of age, than if you had swallowed a handspike.

It is in a postscript to this letter he adds :

I have bought some valuable books, which I intend to present to the Society, but shall not send them till safer times.

Dr. Bond's daughter, Rebecca, married 21 September, 1768, Thomas Lawrence, the grandson of Thomas Lawrence, the Councillor and his fellow-Trustee, and their second daughter, Sarah Rebecca, married Warren de Lancey, a grandson of Governor Cadwallader Colden, and cousin of Provost de Lancey's father.

He was described as of a delicate constitution, and disposed to pulmonary consumption, but by unremitting care of his health he passed beyond the threescore and ten years, though his life was an unceasingly active one, both in practice and authorship ; he died 26 March, 1784. His remains lie in Christ Church Burying Ground, and on his stone is engraven this epitaph :

In memory of
THOMAS BOND M D
who practised Physic and Surgery
with signal reputation and success
nearly half a century.
Lamented and beloved
by many
Respected and esteemed
by all
and adorned by literary honors
sustained by him with dignity.

He was as constant as his brother in his attendance on the Trustees meeting and was one of the faithful ones who attended the last meeting on 22 November, 1779, under the charter of 1755, the only one of the original Trustees who then attended. He was a member of St. John's Lodge in 1734, Junior Grand Warden in 1741, and Senior Grand Warden in 1755.

THOMAS HOPKINSON was born in London 6 April, 1709, the son of Thomas Hopkinson a merchant of that city. His education was a liberal and practical one, and though he is said to have been at Oxford did not complete his studies there. He took up the study of law, and at twenty-two years of age decided on venturing himself in the colonies, coming to Pennsylvania in 1731, and at once engaging in the practice of his profession. He became deputy to Charles Read, Clerk of the Orphans' Court of Philadelphia County, and on the latter's death in January, 1737, succeeded him. He was Master of the Rolls from 1736 to 1741, Deputy Prothonotary and afterwards Prothonotary of Philadelphia County, and chosen in October, 1741, a Common Councilman. In the latter year he succeeded Andrew Hamilton as Judge of Vice-Admiralty for Pennsylvania, and on 13 May, 1747, became a member of the Provincial Council. But his interests were not confined to legal or political channels, and were equally given to literary and scientific pursuits in association with Franklin and his circle, and of the American Philosophical Society which had its origin in the Junto he was made the first President. And when the Academy was planned he became an active Trustee and warmly co-operated with Franklin in all its concerns, as he had in the institution of the new Library Company which was established in the year of his arrival in the Province. In scientific affairs he was a zealous amateur, and shared with Franklin in some of the wonderful developments in the knowledge of electricity. Franklin writing to his friend Peter Collinson, 11 July, 1747, "in pursuing our electrical inquiries, * * * of the wonderful effect of pointed bodies, both in *drawing off* and *throwing off* the electrical fire,"⁴¹ adds in later years the acknowledgment:⁴² "This power of points to *throw off* the electrical fire, was first communicated to me by my ingenious friend, Mr. Thomas Hopkinson, since deceased, whose virtue and integrity, in every station of life, public and private, will ever make his memory dear to those who knew him, and knew how to value him." Mr. Hopkinson died in Philadelphia 5 November, 1751. Mr. Sparks says of

⁴¹ Bigelow, ii. 66.⁴² Ibid. 68,

him, "He was distinguished for his classical attainments, general learning, the brilliancy of his conversation, and his fondness for philosophical studies."⁴³

But we must record the testimony of his friend Franklin to his worth, which we find in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 14 November, 1751 :

Last week died here the honourable THOMAS HOPKINSON, Esq. ; Judge of the Admiralty for this Province, one of the Governor's Council, and Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of *Philadelphia*, &c. A Gentleman possessed of many Virtues, without the Alloy of one single Vice ; and distinguished for his attachment to the Cause of Justice and Honesty ; which he practised in private Life with a scrupulous Exactness, and in Publick Affairs, with an Intrepidity and Firmness of mind that was not to be shaken ; an excellent Ingredient in his character, where a quick Conception, a clear Discernment, and a solid Judgment, were happily United : In Matters of Truth so faithful, that the nearest Concerns of his own Interest had not a greater Share of his Application. His Benevolence was as extensive as the proper Object of it, the whole human Race, but his great Modesty, and his not seeking to be known caused the Number of his intimate Friends to be but small : Among those, in the Hours of Recreation, he had the particular Faculty of tempering the *Facetious* with the *Grave*, in so agreeable a Manner, as made his Conversation both delightful and instructive. He was reserved in Professions of Religion, but the Spirit of Christianity actuated the whole Conduct of his Life. Not conscious of any Guilt or Neglect of any Social Duty, he beheld the slow Approaches of Death with an amazing cheerfulness, without any Mixture of Anxiety or Fear ; and at last bid adieu to the world with all the Serenity of Mind that could flow from the Wisdom of a Philosopher joined to the Innocence of a Child.

Mr. Hopkinson married in 1736, Mary, daughter of Baldwin Johnson of Appoquinimink Hundred, Delaware.⁴⁴ Of their children, Francis, the eldest, we will learn somewhat of later as an honored alumnus of the College and Academy at its first commencement, together with Jacob Duché, Jr., and John Morgan afterward his brother-in-law ; Thomas was an alumnus of 1766 and afterward entered Holy Orders, dying in 1784 with-

⁴³ Sparks, vi. 87.

⁴⁴ Her first cousin, Dr. James Johnson, was Canon-residentiary of St. Paul's Cathedral, and was in 1752 made Bishop of Gloucester, whence in 1760 he was translated to Worcester, dying in 1774.

out family; Elizabeth married the Rev. Jacob Duché; and Mary married Dr. John Morgan, who in 1765 became the first medical professor, that of the Theory and Practice of Physics, in the College and Academy, and consequently the first in America.

Mr. Hopkinson had attended but ten meetings of the Trustees up to 13 July, 1751, and his death made the first break among the active Trustees, for though James Logan had died but a few days before, his age and infirmities precluded his taking any active part in the proceedings. At the meeting of 12 November, 1751, Dr. Thomas Cadwalader was elected to take his trust. He was a member of St. John's Lodge, with Franklin, in 1733, was elected Junior Grand Warden in 1734, Deputy Grand Master in 1735, and Grand Master in 1736.

WILLIAM PLUMSTED was born in Philadelphia 7 November, 1708, the son of Clement Plumsted the Councillor, a native of Norfolk, England. In 1724 young Plumsted was taken abroad by his father. He subsequently became a partner of his father in business, and continued the establishment after his death. He became a Common Councilman in 1739. He was made Register General of Wills for the Province in 1745, "although it was thought remarkable that a wealthy man would take it:" this office he held until his death, and on 30 May, 1752 was commissioned a Justice of the Peace of the County Courts. Brought up a Friend, about middle age he renounced the Society and became a Churchman, and joined in the petition for the lot on which St. Peter's Church was erected in 1760, and of which he became the first Accounting Warden. He was three times Mayor of Philadelphia, viz.: in 1750, 1754, and 1755: it is said he spared himself the public entertainment called for from the retiring Mayor in 1750 by donating to the City the sum of £75. He with Chief Justice Allen and others in 1755 contributed to a sum which was to represent the tax properly derivable from the Proprietaries estates, at the time the Assembly was refusing to pass any bill for raising money for defence of the province which excused the Penns from contributing. In 1757

he was a member of Assembly from Northampton County. He died 10 August, 1765, and was buried in St. Peter's Church Yard. All that now can certainly be deciphered of the inscription on his tombstone speaks of him as "An Eminent Merchant. An Alderman, and some time Mayor of Philadelphia, Whose public character as a useful Citizen and Magistrate Let his country tell." He married first Rebecca, daughter of Philip Kearny of Philadelphia, and whose sister Mary was the wife of Chief Justice John Kinsey. She died in 1741, and he married secondly, in 1753, Mary daughter of George M'Call, the sister of Samuel M'Call junior, his fellow Trustee. His daughter Elizabeth, by the first marriage, married Andrew Elliott who was elected a Trustee of the College in 1762.

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* 14 August records this obituary notice of him :

On Sunday last died here, after a short, but severe, Illness, William Plumsted, Esq., one of the Aldermen of this City ; and the next Day was buried in St. Peter's Church Burying Ground, in the plainest Manner, at his own Request, according to the new Mode, lately used in Boston and New York, having no Pall over his Coffin, nor none of his Relations or Friends appearing in Mourning. We flatter ourselves, that this frugal and laudable Example of burying our Dead, so seasonably set by People of Family and Fortune, will be imitated by all, both in City and Country ; the good Effects of which must soon be felt, especially by those in low Circumstances.

Mr. Plumsted was more regular in his attendance at the Trustees meetings in the earlier years of his service, but to the last he evinced his interest by as frequent attendance as he could give. His last meeting was that of 11 September, 1764. At the meeting of 23 September, 1765, Mr. John Lawrence was elected to succeed him. He was a member of St. John's Lodge, with others of his Fellow Trustees, in 1734, was Senior Grand Warden in 1735, Deputy Grand Master in 1736, Grand Master in 1737, and Grand Treasurer in 1755.

JOSHUA MADDOX was born in 1685, a native of England. He was a member of the Vestry of Christ Church for many years, at intervals from 1728 to 1746, and a Warden, 1731-33; and was made a Justice of the Orphans' Court 1 March, 1741, commissioned 4 April following on the same day with Robert Strettell, a justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and 6 October, 1747, an alderman and associate justice of the City Court. With his associate justices, Thomas Lawrence, Edward Shippen and Benjamin Franklin (probably the latter's first hearing) he sat in trial of a case in June Term, 1749 of Lawrence William vs. William Till, of unusual magnitude at the time for the Common Pleas. Mr David Paul Brown illustrates this in the following sentences :⁴⁵

We have in this record a singular exhibition of the social and judicial system of the province. Taken in connection with the large influence of Friends in the civil concerns of that day, it seems to present a mixture of the times of the patriarchal government with that of the reign of the merchant princes, and that of the highest state of artificial English law. We find here four persons, not one of whom was ever at the bar, nor, so far as we know, ever professionally educated, seated on the seat of judgment, hearing an important case of commerce, and adjudging it by rules of scientific common law jurisprudence * * * He sat from March 1741 until his death in April, 1759, a term of eighteen years, upon the seat of judgment, constantly partaking in its councils and attending its adjudications; and when he died at the age of seventy four, had almost become personified in this province with the administration of its local justice.

Mr. Maddox was engaged in mercantile pursuits, with success, and was a citizen of influence and honor. His education had been a liberal one, and his library in its choice of books showed him to be a man of studious and contemplative tastes. He died 12 April, 1759. His wife survived him many years, dying in 1783, at the advanced age of 102 years, as is told on their grave stone in Christ Church Yard. His only child, Mary, married John Wallace, of Hope Farm, Somerset County, New Jersey, a native of Scotland, and was mother of Hon. Joshua Maddox Wallace, an alumnus of the College in 1767.

Mr Maddox was a frequent attendant on the meetings of

⁴⁵ *Forum*, i. 237-238.

the Trustees; the last he attended was on 22 November, 1758. At the meeting of 8 July, 1760, Mr Thomas Willing was elected his successor.

THOMAS WHITE was born in London in 1704, the son of William White of London and Elizabeth Leigh his wife; his father died when he was but four years of age, and in 1720 he came to America as apprentice to Mr. Stokes the Clerk of the County of Baltimore; he eventually became his deputy and having pursued the study of law with the limited means then at command in the colonies, he practiced it at the Maryland bar. He became deputy surveyor of the province for the then County of Baltimore, which includes what we now know as Harford County created in 1773, and gradually acquired lands and was fortunate in developing them to the cultivation of tobacco, the great staple of the day, and was successful in producing bar iron from the ores found on his estates, thus becoming one of the earliest iron producers in the colonies. He married Sophia, daughter of John Hall of Cranbury, of one of the oldest settled families in Baltimore County; but when he was left a widower in 1742 with three young daughters, he was in a few years induced to make his residence in Philadelphia not alone for their better education but as well also to increase his business connections, for when settled in the commercial metropolis of the colonies, he could more readily export the produce of his plantations and make importations in exchange therefor. He attained the rank of Colonel in the provincial militia, and bore this title to his new home. He must early have made the acquaintance of Franklin in establishing himself in Philadelphia, through a common friend Richard Peters, who as Secretary to the Pennsylvania Council must have often encountered the Maryland Surveyor in the boundary controversies between the Penns and Calverts. He was at the early age of twenty-seven made a Vestryman of old St. George's, Spesutiæ, now in Harford County, his attachment to the Church of England being drawn from the traditions of several ancestral generations who leaned rather to the House of Stuart, and when he came to Philadelphia he at once attached

himself to Christ Church. He resigned his Trusteeship in the Academy and College in 1772 owing to increasing infirmities, but his young son was two years later elected a Trustee. He was one of the Commissioners of Peace in 1752, and on 30 May the same year was commissioned a Justice of the Peace of the County Courts of Philadelphia. He espoused the cause of the colonies in their struggles against the parliament, and perhaps his Jacobite traditions made it the more easy for him to seek a severance from a King of the House of Hanover; but an accident which had befallen him in 1757 forbade participation in any political or military movements of the time. When writing to his London correspondents, Messrs. David Barclay & Sons, 11 November, 1765, in ordering some articles, he adds, "But not if the Stamp Act be unrepealed." On one of his stated visits to Maryland he died, after a short illness, at his daughter's house at the head of Bush River, on 29 September, 1779, and his remains now lie in the old St. George's burying ground.

He married secondly, Esther, daughter of Abraham Hewlings of Burlington, N. J., of a family which early in the colony were Friends, but who became followers of George Keith and returned to the Church of England; and by her he had a son William, whom he lived to see Rector of the united Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's, but did not live to see him wearing the Mitre; and Mary, who became the wife of Robert Morris the Financier, a Trustee of the College from 1778 to 1791. His eminent son records of him,

He was indulgent to his Family in all their reasonable Desires and was attentive to the keeping of a plentiful and hospitable Table. Among his many good Qualities, was strict Temperance and scrupulous Integrity. Perhaps no Man ever lived and died with a more unreserved acknowledgment of these properties of character.

His oldest grandson, Thomas Hall, a graduate of the Academy and College in 1768, while reading law in Philadelphia served for the following year as tutor in his Alma Mater.

Col. White's attendance with the Trustees at their meetings was very regular and would have been almost without intermission but for his absences from the city. The last time he

attended was that of 30 May, 1769; and on 19 May, 1772, he wrote the Trustees:

As it is not any longer convenient for me to give that attendance at your Meetings which the Duty of a Trustee requires, I would request you to accept my Resignation, which I do not make out of any Disregard to the Institution, the Prosperity of which I shall always wish; but because my continuing longer in the office of a Trustee prevents you from having some more useful and active member.

And at the meeting of 25 May following:

The Hon'ble Richard Penn, Esqr., the present Governor of the Province, is unanimously elected a Trustee in the Room of Col. White who has lately resigned; and Dr. Peters, Mr. Inglis, and the Provost are desired to wait upon his Honor, and request his acceptance of a share in the Trust and Direction of this Institution.

WILLIAM COLEMAN, of whom Franklin so tenderly speaks when reciting⁴⁶ the names of his friends of the Junto, as having "the coolest, clearest head, the best heart, and the exactest morals, of almost any man I ever met with," was born in 1704, the son of William Coleman. "Our friendship," he says, "continued without interruption to his death, upwards of forty years." The meagre information we have of him does not satisfy our desires to know more of the man of whom Franklin gives such a testimony. He early attained eminence as a faithful citizen and a successful merchant. He was a Common Councilman in 1739, was appointed Clerk of the City Court, 18 September, 1747, and on 30 June, 1749, a Justice of the Peace of the County Courts of Philadelphia together with Thomas Lawrence, Abram Taylor, Robert Strettell, Joseph Turner, Thomas Hopkinson, William Allen, Joshua Maddox, Charles Willing, and Benjamin Franklin, with whom he was to be a co-trustee of the new Academy organized before the close of that year. He was again commissioned 25 May, 1752, others of the Trustees then being included, William Plumsted, Thomas White, and John Mifflin. On 27 November, 1757, he was made Presiding Justice of the Court of Quarter Sessions, and on 8 April, 1758, an associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province, to which he was

⁴⁶ Bigelow, i. 143.

re-commissioned in 1761 and again in 1764. He was the first clerk to the Trustees of the Academy, resigning in 1755, and its first Treasurer, resigning this office in 1764 being succeeded by Edward Shippen, jr. The last meeting of the Trustees he attended—and no one was more constant in attendance than he—was on 10 July, 1764; and on 21 February, 1769, John Allen, Esquire, was elected to succeed him. His death occurred 11 January, 1769, and on 19 January following, we find in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* this obituary notice of him :

On Wednesday, the Eleventh instant, died at the age of 64, The Honourable William Coleman, Esq., an Assistant Judge of our Supreme Court. He was always esteemed a valuable and useful citizen, and a Gentleman of great good sense, and unblemished Virtue. Tho' much pleased with Study and Retirement, he possessed many social Virtues, and was ever fond of those Subjects which were most likely to render him serviceable to his Neighbor. He was an able and an upright Judge, and in that character gave the greatest Satisfaction to his Country. And we may say, with much Reason, that this Province has few such Men, and that few Men will be so much missed as Mr. Coleman. ⁴⁷

He married Hannah, daughter of George Fitzwater, whom he survived and without children. By his will he freed his slaves, and including his Books and Mathematical Instruments, he left his residuary estate, which was rich in realty, to his wife's favorite nephew, George Clymer, the Signer, who had been left an orphan at an early age, and whose care had devolved upon William Coleman and his wife. Judge Coleman superintended young Clymer's education, and with his cultivated mind instilled into him a love of reading, which better fitted him for his later political duties. George Clymer became a Trustee of the College and Academy in 1779.

⁴⁷ "Upon the whole I proposed to them to leave the matter to Reference, which was accordingly done by mutual consent to a very honest judicious man, Mr. William Coleman, a merchant of the place," Chief Justice Allen, 5 November, 1753. And again in a later letter to David and John Barclay of London he speaks of him as "Our Mutual Friend." *The Burd Papers*, 1897, pp. 9 and 75.

XI.

The first action the now organized Board of Trustees took was in the direction of securing a habitation for the new school, before entering upon any general plan of tuition; and to this end their thoughts turned to the New Building, as it was called, on Fourth Street near Arch which had been built nine years before for Whitefield's impressive ministrations, and which now could, it was thought, be had on advantageous terms, and as an investment would prove useful and also give an evidence to the community of the sincerity of the design the Trustees were now formulating.

Upon the appointment of the officers, the Minutes next record :

Messrs. William Allen, Abraham Taylor, Charles Willing, Richard Peters, Thomas Leech, and William Shippen are requested to treat with the Trustees of the New Building, about taking a part of it for an Academy, and report the Terms on which it may be had at the next meeting. And are further requested to treat with Workmen, on the expence of erecting what is necessary for that Purpose.¹

This Committee reported at the next meeting, namely 26 December, 1749, when all the members were present except Messrs. Shippen, Hopkinson, and Zachary. The proposals of the Trustees of the Lot of Ground whereon the House commonly called the New Building is erected for conveying the said Lot and House to the Trustees of the Academy for the uses in those proposals mentioned, were read and agreed to *Nemine contradicente*, and the offer by Mr. Logan of his lot on Sixth St., before referred to, was courteously declined, and the President requested to acquaint him with this result.

This building has a place in local history of great prominence, and a recital of its beginnings and consummation will be interesting. On a previous page it was noted how Whitefield's

¹ Between these first two meetings of the Board Franklin's friend Godfrey had died, and he thus notices his death in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 19 December, 1749: "Last week died here Mr. THOMAS GODFREY, who had an uncommon Genius for all kinds of *Mathematical Learning*, with which he was extremely well acquainted. He invented the *New Reflecting Quadrant* used in Navigation."

great Discourses drew extraordinary audiences to hear them and see him, and of the necessity for a place suitable in size for their accommodation ; for although his cure was in Savannah where he had made for himself a double duty in building up also an Orphanage, yet Philadelphia was the pivotal point of his great missionary tours, and this influential community drew more of his attention and labors than any other in the colonies outside of Savannah. As his adherents were not drawn from the upper classes, who merely tolerated if they did not oppose him, we find that the four of the former who took title in trust to the property on Fourth Street, were Edmund Woolly, carpenter, John Coats, brickmaker, John Howell, mariner, and William Price, carpenter. The purchase was made 15 September, 1740, from Jonathan Price and Wife, of the lot of ground, one hundred feet below Arch Street, with a front of one hundred and fifty feet on Fourth, opposite the old Friends Burying Ground, extending westward in depth one hundred and ninety-eight feet to the Burying Ground of Christ Church, which had been opened in 1719. On 14 November following these four made assignment of the property in trust to Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, of the province of Georgia, Clerk ; William Seward, of London, Esquire ; John Stephen Benezet, of Philadelphia, Merchant ; Thomas Noble, of New York, Merchant ; Samuel Hazard, of New York, Merchant ; Robert Eastburn, of Philadelphia, Blacksmith ; James Read, of Philadelphia, Gentleman ; Edward Evans, of Philadelphia, Cordwainer ; and Charles Brockden, of Philadelphia, Gentleman ; for the purposes as expressed in the following Preamble :

Whereas, a considerable number of Persons of different denominations in Religion had united their endeavours to erect a large building upon the land above described intending that the same should be appointed to the use of a Charity School for the instruction of poor children gratis in useful literature and of the Christian religion, and also that the same should be used as a House of Publick Worship. And that it was agreed that the use of the said Building should be under the direction of certain Trustees * * * which Trustees before named and thereafter to be chosen were from time to time to appoint fit and able school masters and school mistresses for the service of the said school and introduce such Protestant

Ministers to Preach the Gospel in the said house as they should judge to be sound in their Principles, zealous and faithful in the discharge of their duty and acquainted with the Religion of the Heart and experimental piety without any regard to those distinctions or different sentiments in lesser matters which have to the scandal of religion unhappily divided real Christians.

The building, elsewhere described, was erected about mid-way of the lot facing eastward, and though but partially completed, even before the roof was completed, Whitefield had gathered his first congregation in it five days before the conveyance. Franklin gave a very liberal construction to this liberty of preaching, in writing of it in after years, for he describes the "design in building not being to accommodate any particular sect, but the inhabitants in general; so that even if the Mufti of Constantinople were to send a missionary to preach Moham-medanism to us, he would find a pulpit at his service;"² but Whitefield and Tennent would hardly have extended their liberality to even a Mufti.

Franklin referring again to the New Building and the obligations resting on the property, which latter formed the occasion for the Trustees of the Academy to consider the expediency of securing it, writes :

The enthusiasm which existed when the house was built had long since abated, and its trustees had not been able to procure fresh contributions for paying the ground rent, and discharging some other debts the building had occasion'd, which embarrass'd them greatly.³ Of the four original trustees, one of each sect was appointed, viz : Church of England man, one Presbyterian, one Baptist, one Moravian, who in case of vacancy by death, were to fill it by election from among the contributors. The Moravian happened not to please his colleagues, and on his death they resolved to have no other of that sect. The difficulty then was, how to avoid having two of some other sect, by means of the new choice. Several persons were named, and for that reason not agreed to. At length one mentioned me, with the observation that I was merely an honest man, and of *no sect* at all, which prevailed with them to choose me. * * * Being now a member of both boards of trustees, that for the building, and that for the academy, I had a good opportunity of negotiating with both, and brought them finally to an agreement, by which the trustees for the building

² Bigelow, i. 207.

³ Ibid. i. 226.

were to cede it to those of the academy ; the latter undertaking to discharge the debt, to keep for ever open in the building a large hall for occasional preachers, according to the original intention, and maintain a free school for the instruction of poor children. Writings were accordingly drawn ; and, on paying the debts, the trustees of the academy were put in possession of the premises ; and, by dividing the great and lofty hall into stories, and different rooms above and below for the several schools, and purchasing some additional ground, the whole was soon made fit for our purpose, and the scholars removed into the building. The whole care and trouble of agreeing with the workmen, purchasing materials, and superintending the work, fell upon me ; and I went through it the more cheerfully, as it did not then interfere with my private business.

The question of an earlier date for the foundation of the University is said to arise from the purchase by the Trustees in 1749 of this incomplete building, which was erected by subscriptions procured in good faith in preceding years for the maintenance therein of a certain religious preaching as well also of a Charity School ; and a gain of nine years in the University existence is thus affirmed, inasmuch as the former enterprise was projected in 1740, and the building then shortly begun was designed to further these two objects. The first public claim in our own day of this earlier date is sanctioned by its publication in the University Catalogue of 1893-4. The year in which free preaching and a free school were thus projected, need not here be considered, particularly as the operations of the latter feature, a free school, were not consummated for ten years and more after, and then only under the efforts of the assignees, though the preaching privilege was at once exercised—even before the roof was on. The Academy Trustees in thus taking title to the premises obligated themselves “to discharge the debt, to keep for ever open in the building a large hall for occasional preachers * * * and maintain a free school for the instruction of poor children.” The trustees of 1740 having erected the building by subscriptions gathered upon these pledges, could not but seek from their assignees the condition that these objects be carried out in due time, which the Academy Trustees were in no wise loth to do, as these would not only prove attractions to the new movement but give them speedy possession of the needed edifice ; and they, in continuing good faith to the original

subscribers, under this assignment, eventually started and maintained the free school as one of the prominent features of their scheme of education, although some delay prevented their consummation of this until as late as September, 1751. Dr Peters in his *Sermon on Education Wherein Some Account is given of the Academy, Preach'd at the Opening thereof*, 7 January, 1750-51, says :

It became a matter of debate where to place the Academy, and many arguments were offered for some village in the country as best favouring the morals of the youth * * * but when it came to be considered that it would take a large sum to erect proper buildings at a distance from the city, that the circumstances of many of the citizens would not admit of a distant place on account of the expense, that the trustees were men of business who could not be absent from their habitations without much inconvenience, * * * it was thought proper to fix it somewhere within the city ; and the more so, when the minds of the trustees of the building, where we are now assembled, came to be imparted. These thoughtful persons had been for some years sensible that this building was not put to its original use, nor was it in their power to set forward a charity school, which was also a part of the first design, and that it was more in the power of the trustees of the Academy than in others to do it ; they therefore made an offer to transfer their right in it to the use of the Academy ; provided the debts which remained unpaid, might be discharged and the arrears of rent paid off. This was thankfully accepted, and a conveyance was executed.

The Trustees had thus taken over an encumbered and incomplete building from an insolvent association, which had also failed in its free schooling project, obligating themselves in part consideration to carry forward its free preaching and educational features. Had they accepted Mr. Logan's offer of his Sixth street lot, and utilized it by building thereon, no thought would have arisen for antedating their own creation of 1749. They accepted the tender of the Fourth street premises, even in its incompleteness, not only for greater convenience in location, but also to spare them the further loss of time which the erection of a building on the Logan lot would have entailed ; but they did not, indeed could not, assume that by taking title thereto on 1 February, 1750, with what may be entitled its philanthropic liens, they would thus add more years to

their associated life. The thought of an earlier date than 1749 for their beginnings was never entertained by them or by the five generations succeeding, and only recently arose to exercise the pleasing thought of a more extended existence by the term of nine years.

Neither Dr. Peters nor any of his associates could have entertained such a thought, for in the paragraph of the Sermon immediately preceding the one above quoted, he records the birth, which met with no contradiction by any cotemporary, as of 1749, as follows :

Nor should it be concealed, that this present institution, tho' one of those kind which generally have for their Founders, sovereign Princes, or branches of Royal Families, or Nobles of the first rank and dignity, owes likewise its being to a sett of private Men, who from the Necessity of such a Seminary of learning set themselves at the close of the war, seriously to think about one * * * At last they agreed on the general heads and confident of the continuance of the publick spirit of their fellow citizens, they ventured to publish their Proposals relating to the education of youth in this province. * * * After these were found to give general satisfaction, twenty-four Trustees, without regard to differences in religious persuasions, were appointed to carry them into execution : Merchants, Artificers, some likewise of the learned professions. * * * Thus successful, it became a matter of debate where to place the Academy, &c., &c., &c.

In announcing in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 2 August, 1750, the contribution of the City of Philadelphia, Franklin speaks of this as

for the encouragement and support of the Academy and of the Charity School which the Trustees of the Academy have likewise undertaken to open in this city, for instructing poor children, &c., &c.

Dr Smith wrote in June, 1753 :

A few private Gentlemen of this city have in the Space of two or three years, projected, begun, and carried to surprising Perfection, a very noble Institution, &c., &c.

And in his Eulogium on Franklin in 1791 :

the next institution in the foundation of which he was the principal agent, was the academy and charitable school of the City of Philadelphia ; the plan of which he drew up and published in the year 1749.

Indeed in his more formal statement to the Assembly in 1788, made in his *Address to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania in the case of the violated charter of the College, &c., of Pennsylvania*, presented to the Assembly 12 March, 1788, he recites :

The College of Philadelphia was a private corporation similar to the Exeter College in Oxford ; it had its foundation in the year 1749, from proposals made and published by that great friend of learning, DR FRANKLIN, with whom were associated the following gentlemen, * * * twenty-four in the whole ; and their chief funds were of their own private subscriptions for a number of years, aided by the voluntary benevolence of many of their fellow citizens ; it was first stiled an Academy ; and before it had a charter, was governed by certain fundamental constitutions agreed upon by the gentlemen above named as a voluntary society of founders.

Robert Proud, when writing his History a few years later, recorded the same date for the beginning of the institution. This date was also maintained by the late Provost Stillé in his Memoir of the Rev. William Smith, D.D., 1869, " my great predecessor." This was, further, officially held down to the printed *Catalogue* of the University for 1892-3, where the narrative reads :

A pamphlet called *Proposals Relative to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania* written in 1749 by DR FRANKLIN, led to an association by certain citizens of Philadelphia for the purpose of founding a School on the lines suggested by that wise counsellor.

This was confirmed in the *Biographical Catalogue of the Matriculates* of the College, 1749-1893, published in 1894 by the Society of the Alumni. *The General Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates of the Department of Arts*, published in 1849, also by the Society of the Alumni, had recited " from 1749 to 1849." But in the *Catalogue* for 1893-4 appears the earlier birth-date in the *Historical Sketch*, viz.:

A pamphlet called *Proposals Relative to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*, written in 1749 by DR FRANKLIN, led to an association by certain citizens of Philadelphia, for the purpose of raising to the dignity of an Academy the Charitable School which had been established in 1740, and which was then struggling under a debt upon the building erected for its use and the accommodation of the celebrated preacher Whitefield.

And for the first time the cover of this Catalogue bore the legend,

and claimed the earlier date, "Founded 1740";—for which there appears no warrant in the long and unbroken Annals of the University. It is certain that Franklin and Peters had themselves no thought of their building in 1749 "upon another man's foundation."

On the first of February, 1750, the "Trustees of the Academy met at Roberts's Coffee House, except James Logan, Tench Francis, and Thomas Hopkinson, Esquires;" when "the Trustees of the New Building being present, joined in directing Edmund Woolly and John Coats to convey, and they accordingly did convey the said Building Lot of ground and Appurtenances to the Trustees of the Academy, in consideration of the sum of Seven hundred seventy and five pounds eighteen shillings and eleven pence and three farthings to them in hand then paid by the Treasurer for order of the Trustees for discharging the debts and incumbrances of the said Building." And to meet this purchase the Trustees "agreed unanimously to borrow Eight hundred pounds of the Treasurers of the Lottery, which was accordingly done and bond given by all the Trustees for repayment of the same with interest; which is to be done out of the Stock of the Academy, as it shall arise."

This conveyance of 1 February, 1750, recites the death of Howell and Price, the associates of Woolly and Coats; and that William Seward and Thomas Noble being since deceased, the survivors of the Cestui que trust or a majority of them, namely, Benezet, Hazard, Eastburn, Read and Evans agree to Woolly and Coats assignment and sale. This conditioned that the Trustees should place, erect, found, establish, or keep a house or place of public worship, and also one free school for the instructing teaching and education of poor children or scholars within two years from the date of the conveyance; and likewise from time to time introduce such preacher or preachers whom they shall judge qualified as recited in the former indenture is expressed to preach and teach the word of God occasionally in the said place of publick worship but yet so that no particular sect be fixed there as a settled congregation and shall at all reasonable times permit and suffer in his reasonable turn any regular Minister of the Gospel to preach in the House or place on the premises which shall be set apart for Publick Worship who hath signed or hereafter shall sign certain articles of religion a copy whereof is hereto annexed and whom they shall moreover

judge to be otherwise duly qualified as aforesaid and particularly shall permit the free and uninterrupted use of the said Place of Worship to the said Revd. Mr George Whitefield whenever he shall happen to be in this city and desire to preach therein.

A meeting of the Trustees was held the following day to remove the alarm which some of Mr. Gilbert Tennent's friends raised, fearing that they might be forbidden the use of the New Building for his ministrations.

It being represented to the Trustees that previous to the conveyance of the New Building to them, Expectations were given to the Revd. Mr. Gilbert Tennent and his congregation that they should be permitted without interruption to continue the exercise of Divine Service on the Lord's Day in that part of the New Building that shall be set off for public worship until they shall be provided with an House of their own for that purpose which they are now about to erect with all convenient expedition. The Trustees esteeming the said Mr Tennent to be duly qualified according to the deed of Trust, and considering that the said Congregation is at present without a Meeting House, do concede and grant to him and them the free and uninterrupted use of the said Place of Worship on the Lord's Day and other stated times of Meeting, free of Rent (excepting only when the Revd. Mr. Whitefield shall be present and desire to use the same) from this time until their intended New Meeting House shall be fit to accommodate them, provided the same be ready to receive them within three years now next ensuing. [And under directions], a copy of the same was accordingly made and signed by the President by order of the Trustees and delivered to Mr. Samuel Hazard for Mr Tennent.

This was the congregation of the Second Presbyterian Church who were then building their large edifice on the North West corner of Arch and Third Streets, which however was not completed for their use until May, 1752.

The "certain articles of religion, a copy whereof is hereto annexed," above referred to, could be justly named the Whitefield Confession of Faith, and are duly recorded at length in Deed Book Letter A, No. 5, page 168, the only instance known of the Recorder of Deeds finding room in his volumes for the entry of a creed. The final sentence alone need be quoted here, as epitomizing its chief articles :

We do also give our assent and consent to the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th and 17th articles of the Church of England as explained by the Calvinists in their Literal and grammatical sence without any equivocation

whatsoever. We mention these in particular because they are a summary of the foregoing articles. We believe all that are sound in faith agree in these whatever other points they may differ in.

This Deed and the Articles of 1 February were made the subject of an entry in the Minutes of 25 June, 1750, namely, "Ordered, That the Treasurer pay to John Moland, Esqr., Twenty Pounds for his services in framing the conveyance of the New Building to the Trustees of the Academy."

The Trustees individually subscribed, as we have seen, for a term of three years sums aggregating annually Three Hundred and Forty-three pounds, saving the aged Logan, whose tender of a lot of ground probably took the place of a cash subscription. William Allen's subscription was the largest, amounting to £75. annually; the next in amount were those of Masters, Zachary, and Turner, for £20. each, Lawrence, M'Call, Willing, Taylor, Thomas Bond, and Plumsted, for £15. each, and Inglis, Francis, Franklin, Shippen, Strettell, Phineas Bond, Peters, Hopkinson, Maddox, and Coleman for £10. each, and Leech, Syng, and White £6. each. Governor Hamilton, through Mr. Peters, added his annual subscription of £50. Among the general subscribers there are found with varying sums, the names of John Baynton, Daniel Benezet, William and Ann Bingham, William Blair, Richard Brockden, James Burd, Thomas Burgess, Captain John Coxe, William Cradock, Jacob Duché, Robert Greenway, Lawrence Growden, David Hall, Alexander Hamilton, Samuel Hazard, Samuel Hasell, Edwards Hicks, Richard Hill, Andrew Hodge, James and William Humphreys, Abel James, Margaret Jeykill, Lynford Lardner, John and Thomas Laurence, jr., Archibald M'Call, David McIlvaine, Charles and Reese Meredith, Evan Morgan, Samuel Neaves, John Ord, Stephen Paschall, James Pemberton, Samuel Read, John Ross, Joseph Saunders, John Searle, Edward Shippen, Joseph Sims, Attwood Shute, Peter Sonmans, Amos and John Strettell, James Trotter, John Wallace, Townsend White, John Wilcocks, John Yeates; a representative constituency, evidencing the sympathy of all portions of the community in the new enterprise, and resulting in a first year's subscription of £322.8.

But the contributions were not confined to home sources, for Mess. David Barclay & Sons of London were contributors: it was recorded in the minutes of 25 June, 1750, "that Mr. Joseph Turner acquainted the members that they had generously presented the Academy with the sum of One Hundred Pounds Sterling Money, which they had ordered him to pay." Publicity was given to this by Franklin in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 2 August, 1750:

We hear that an eminent merchant of London hath generously given a Hundred Pounds to the Academy now erecting in this City, for the Education of Youth, which has accordingly been paid into the Hands of the Trustees by his Correspondent here.

But the minutes do not record the gift of the City of Philadelphia, which was the first tie that bound the corporation to what was to become its great institution. The Treasurer in his journal records the receipt on 20 August, 1750,

from Samuel Hasell, Esq., the sum given by the Corporation towards finishing the Building, £200. [And Franklin joyfully informs the readers of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of it on 2 August, 1750:] Tuesday last, the Mayor and Commonalty of this City met, and voted a Sum of *Two Hundred Pounds* to be paid down, and *One Hundred Pounds* a year, for the Encouragement and Support of the *Academy* and of the *Charity School* which the Trustees of the Academy have likewise undertaken to open in this city, for instructing poor children in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic: The Corporation only reserving a liberty of nominating yearly one scholar out of those that shall be taught in the Charity School, to be received into the Academy, and educated there gratis.

The subject had been presented to the Council on 30 July, 1750, by the Recorder, William Allen, a Trustee, who proposed that it might be considered. Whether this Design for the advancement of Learning, be not worthy of some encouragement from this Board as their circumstances may very well afford it. * * * It appearing to be a Matter of Consequence, and but a small number of the Members now present, [it was referred to a special Meeting to be called for] Tomorrow at four o'clock in the Afternoon to consider of the proposal.

At the Common Council held next day, of those present the Mayor, the Recorder, three of the Aldermen, and eight of the "Common Council Men," were Trustees, viz: Lawrence, Allen, Turner, Strettell, Plumsted, Francis, Franklin, M'Call,

Inglis, Shippen, Thomas Bond, Hopkinson and Coleman; "And a Paper containing an Account of what is already done by the Trustees of the Academy, and what Advantages are expected from that Undertaking being laid before the Board was read." This had been prepared by Franklin and is spread at length upon the minutes; it is given elsewhere. It recites:

The Trustees of the Academy have already laid out near £800. in the Purchase of the Building, and will probably expend near as much more in fitting up Rooms for the Schools, and furnishing them with proper Books and Instruments for the Instruction of Youth. The greatest Part of the Money paid and to be paid is subscribed by the Trustees themselves, and advanced by them; many of whom have no children of their own to educate, but act from a view to the Public Good, without regard to sect or party. * * * The Benefits expected from this Institution are: That the youth of Pennsylvania may have an opportunity of receiving a good Education at home, and be under no necessity of going abroad for it. * * * That a Number of our Natives will hereby be qualified to be our Magistracies, and execute other public offices of Trust, with Reputation to themselves and Country; there being at present great want of Persons so qualified in the several counties of this Province. And this is the more necessary now to be provided for by the English here, as vast numbers of Foreigners are yearly imported among us, totally ignorant of our Laws, Customs and Language. That a Number of the poorer Sort will hereby be qualified to act as Schoolmasters in the Country, to teach Children Reading, Writing, Arithmetick, and the Grammar of their Mother Tongue; * * * the Country suffering at present very much for want of good School masters. * * * It is thought that a good Academy erected in Philadelphia, a healthy place where Provisions are plenty, situated in the Center of the Colonies, may draw Numbers of Students from the neighboring Provinces, who must spend considerable Sums yearly among us, in Payment for their Lodging, Diet, Apparel, &c. * * * Numbers of people have already generously subscribed considerable sums to carry on this Undertaking; but others, well disposed, are somewhat discouraged from contributing, by an Apprehension, lest when the first Subscriptions are expended, the Design should drop. The great Expence of such a work is in the Beginning. * * * Some Assistance from the Corporation is immediately wanted and hoped for * * * it will greatly strengthen the Hands of all concerned, and be a means of Establishing this good work and continuing the good Effects of it down to an late Posterity. * * * The Board having weighed the great Usefulness of this Design, after several Propositions heard and debated, agreed that a Sum of Money by this Board and paid down towards completing the

Building which the Trustees have purchased, and are now fitting up for the Purpose; and likewise, that a sum or sums be given yearly by this Board, for five years to come, towards the support and Maintenance of the Schools under the direction of the said Trustees,

with the result as announced by Franklin in the next issue of his *Gazette*. Thomas Lawrence's Mayoralty terminated the following October, and he was succeeded by William Plumsted; and his year's salary he gave to the Academy, "which Proposal was approved by a great Majority at a Common Council" held 21 March, 1751; and Mr. Coleman enters the receipt "from Samuel Hassell, Esq., Treasurer to the Corporation, being presented by Thomas Lawrence, Esqr., late Mayor of this City (with the Approbation of the Common Council) in lieu of giving a Mayor's Feast the sum of £100;" and another Trustee makes, in the entry of the same date, the Academy the beneficiary of his civil fees, viz: "from William Allen, Esq, late Recorder, being his half year's Salary as Recorder he gives £12.10."

But with all the subscriptions and benefactions, the loan from the Philadelphia Lottery of Eight Hundred Pounds authorised by the Trustees at their third meeting was quite necessary, as the building required considerable alterations, besides the needed school outfit much of which would have to be imported. In twelve months there were expended in the New Building upwards of £598, to make it conform to their proposed requirements. This includes an item on 21 August, 1750, "paid for Provisions at second raising £4.4.11;" which was doubtless a wholesome and needful expenditure; but when the good Treasurer records in all gravity, 2 May, "given the Bricklayers to drink 2/3," and the same date "given ditto for drink 7/6," we are led from the object of the expenditure to consider what may be in grammatical correctness designed for a distinction in the two entries by the use of a different preposition. The Bricklayers were a favored crew, for they received at this "second Raising," "for drink, 15s." However, the Carpenters were later remembered, as on 31 October they were paid for drink 7/6, on 7 December, 10s, and on 3 January again 7/6. As Franklin had charge of the repairs and alterations in the Build-

ing and rendered exact accounts of every item expended to his worthy friend the Treasurer, which the latter faithfully records, he must have found local custom too strong to resist, and doubtless with resignation submitted and with a protest charged the idle expenditure to the Academy funds. These are the little pictures which display to us customs of time and place.⁴

An offer from Mr. Samuel Hazard made to the Trustees and reported to them at the meeting of 10 November, 1750, to sell them two lots, one on each side of the Academy lot, subject to Ground Rents, for the sum of three hundred pounds, was accepted. One of these was twenty-five feet on Fourth Street by one hundred and thirty-nine feet eight inches adjoining the Academy lot on the north, and the other thirty-four feet by one hundred and forty feet adjoining on the south. This gave the Trustees a frontage of two hundred and nine feet on Fourth Street. The first payment of £155 was made on 27 February, and the balance of £145 on 23 April following. This increase of Real Estate, which it will be seen was added to in 1753, by absorbing all the ground Northward to Arch Street, was simply an indication on the part of those interested that they were planting for the future an institution of far reaching capabilities and usefulness; the sagacity exhibited in these purchases was equalled only by the faith held by these gentlemen in the great promises of their Academy and Charity School.

Franklin's summary of the work now begun must be told by his own narrative, which cannot be equalled in another's language. To Jared Eliot he is writing on 13 February, 1750-51,⁵ and after giving "his thoughts about the northeast storms beginning to leeward," and an account of his visit to Schuyler's copper mines in New Jersey the previous Autumn, he proceeds,

It will be agreeable to you to hear, that our subscription goes on

⁴ In his essay on the Vice of Drunkenness in the *New England Courant* which Franklin had written more than twenty-five years before, he said: "I doubt not but *moderate Drinking* has been improved for the Diffusion of Knowledge among the ingenious Part of Mankind who want the Talent of a ready utterance, in order to discover the Conceptions of their Minds in an entertaining and intelligible Manner." Did he now recall this sentiment in the tipples to these workmen?

⁵ Bigelow, ii. 164.

with great success, and we suppose will exceed five thousand pounds of our currency. We have bought for the Academy the house that was built for itinerant preaching, which stands on a large lot of ground capable of receiving more buildings to lodge the scholars, if it should come to be a regular college. The house is one hundred feet long and seventy wide, built of brick, very strong, and sufficiently high for three lofty stories. I suppose the building did not cost less than two thousand pounds; but we bought it for seven hundred seventy five pounds, eighteen shillings, eleven pence, and three farthings; though it will cost us three and perhaps four hundred more to make the partitions and floors, and fit up the rooms. I send you enclosed a copy of our present Constitutions but we expect a charter from our Proprietaries this summer, when they may probably receive considerable alterations.

With what gratification must he have written to Mr Eliot on 12 September following "Our Academy flourishes beyond expectation. We have now above one hundred scholars, and the number is daily increasing."⁶

This large building, originally designed for one large audience room, or "great and lofty hall" as Franklin describes it, with two rows of windows as we see in many of our older churches, was divided into two stories, and rearranged substantially as we of our generation knew it before its complete destruction in 1844. The well known cuts of it in local histories afford a correct exterior view. The entrance opened into a large hall, on either side large class rooms, that to the north being occupied by the Charity School. The Western half of the first floor was occupied by the large school room, about ninety by thirty-five feet, in the centre of which was a platform whereon all the teachers from the unhappy Beveridge to the robust Crawford wielded their authority, from which however the latter would often descend to try his rattan on some heedless pupil who perchance had little thought then of commemorating the worthy Dominie in these pages. The hall here turned to the South between the large room and the front class

⁶ Bigelow, ii. 235, and he adds "We have excellent masters at present; and as we give pretty good salaries, I hope we shall always be able to procure such. We pay the Rector, who teaches Latin and Greek, per annum £200
The English master £150
The Mathematical professor £125
Three assistant teachers, each £60 £180

room, and then to the West, opening out into the play ground, about one hundred feet by fifty, where many a happy half hour was spent during recess, and where Alexander Graydon, the new pupil, perhaps earned his first laurels in the art of self defense.⁷ We moderns when relaxing thus in the midst of school hours, had little thought of the worthy and venerable associations which clustered around the building ; nor were John Beveridge's pupils a century before us any more mindful of these, when on a concerted signal a few hiding in the play ground closed the heavy wooden shutters to darken the room on his entrance, affording to the majority remaining within the fun of raising a Bedlam, from which the unlucky professor could only find refuge under a school form and escape from their missiles of books and rulers.⁸ In this side hall arose a heavy stair case with a solid balustrade which had stood the racket of hundreds of lads of all sizes and weights, and which on a turn opened into a large upper hall covering the width of the building and about ninety feet of its length. Across the south end, over the stairway, was a gallery, and the rostrum was against the north wall. Here were held the Commencements and all the public exercises, and on Sundays Divine service by Whitefield when he was in the city, by Dr Tennent with his new congregation, and by others who could subscribe the Creed recited in the deed of conveyance. Here we may picture Mr. Smith's first display of his pupils' oratorical accomplishments in the Christmas holidays of 1756 when they performed the Masque of Alfred, which they repeated the following spring before sundry of the colonial Governors then visiting Philadelphia. A space of perhaps eighty feet or more remained between the building and Fourth Street, the street being shut off by a high wall, in which was a modest gate. This front campus was devoted solely to the solemn entrance or the joyful exit of the pupils, and no play or pranks were here permitted. And even in our day there sat just outside of the gate the descendant of the old dame of Gabriel Thomas' time, vending "on any day in the week, tarts, pies, cakes, &c" which certainly were toothsome if not wholesome.

⁷ *Memoirs of a Life*, &c. Alexander Graydon, 28.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 35.

Herein continued the operations of the College and University until the purchase a half century later of the premises on Ninth Street, between Market and Chestnut Streets, whither they moved in 1802, and which is now succeeded by the United States Post Office; and by a happy coincidence there stands on the latter's front pavement the bronze statue of Benjamin Franklin, recently erected there to the memory of the great colonial Postmaster General, appointed in 1753, who was as well the Founder of the University, from which the Government holds its present title.

XII.

But in the midst of these material preparations for the accommodation of the future scholars, the mental provision for them was well undertaken. At the meeting of 29 March it was voted "that a sum not exceeding one hundred pounds sterling be paid by the Treasurer to the said Committee [Messrs Franklin, Allen, Coleman, Peters, Hopkinson and Francis] to be disposed of in Latin and Greek Authors, Maps, Drafts and Instruments for the use of the Academy;" which the Journal tells us was forwarded in a bill of Robert and Amos Strettell's for one hundred pounds sterling, which cost the Trustees at the current exchange £173.10, to Mr. Peter Collinson in London for his purchase of the required articles. It was through Mr. Collinson's friendly agency in January following that they bought "a parcel of Latin and Greek books of John Whiston, Bookseller, £30.11; prints bought of Bowles 59/, and Instruments bought of Adams £4.14, and Mathematical instruments bought of John Moyan £33.12'6," which with shipping, insurance, and current rate of exchange cost them £138.3.10. On the margin of this last entry, Franklin has himself made a note describing some of

the items in the bills, "Bowning's Phil^o 15/, Philipps Lang^a 5/, Map of the World 9/, Rectifer 3/6." ¹ Of Mr. Collinson, Franklin wrote to Jared Eliot, 12 September, 1751, ² in answer to inquiries about him :

the Collinson you mention is the same gentleman I correspond with. He is a most benevolent, worthy man, very curious in botany and other branches of natural history, and fond of improvements in agriculture, &c. He will be pleased with your acquaintance. In the late Philosophical Transactions, you may see frequently papers of his, or letters that were directed to him, on various subjects. He is a member of the Royal Society.

Franklin's correspondence with this gentleman in his Electrical experiments has been referred to on a previous page; his letter to Mr. Michael Collinson giving some biographical facts respecting himself is found in Sparks' *Franklin*, vii. 426, and contains the sentence : "The characters of good men are exemplary, and often stimulate the well disposed to an imitation, beneficial to mankind and honourable to themselves."

We are not told the places of meeting of the Trustees, except those of the 1st and 2nd February, which were held at Roberts's Coffee House. The subsequent meetings doubtless were held in one of the apartments of the New Building, other than those which were undergoing alteration and change.

¹ *Compendious System of Natural Philosophy*, by John Bonning, of which an edition had been printed in London in 1744, two vols. *Way of Teaching Languages*, London, 1723, by J. Thomas Philipps.

² Bigelow, ii. 235.

XIII.

Though Mr. Martin had been secured for the Rectorship, there had been higher aims in view, and Franklin bent his energies to secure a clergyman of the Church of England, the Rev. Samuel Johnson, D. D. of Stratford, Connecticut, to undertake the general direction of the Academy ; and it must have been with this design in view that Mr. Martin accepted the Rectorship. Under the Constitutions, the Rector was obliged, "without the Assistance of any Tutor, to teach twenty Scholars the Latin and Greek Languages, and at the same Time, according to the best of his Capacity, to instruct them in History, Geography, Chronology, Logick, Rhetorick, and the English Tongue ; and Twenty-five Scholars more for every Usher provided for him, who shall be entirely subject to his Direction." He was to be in fact, the first professor in honor and rank, and no reference was made to his general governance of the institution or to any responsibility attaching to the office as head of the faculty. Such a person was needed, although not so stipulated in the Constitutions, and came to be known afterwards under the amended charter of 1755 as Provost, when the then Rector, Dr. Alison, was made Vice-Provost, and the Rev. William Smith being the first incumbent of the Provostship. Such an one Franklin believed he found in Dr. Johnson, whose eminence as a divine and a scholar in the Eastern Provinces had brought to him in 1743 Oxford's degree of Doctor of Divinity. They were both correspondents of Cadwallader Colden, and through this learned intermediary Franklin formed Johnson's acquaintance, and the more he knew of him the more did he desire to secure him for his new Philadelphia enterprise. So earnest was he in the pursuit of this object, that he and his associate Trustee, Tench Francis, journeyed to Stratford in the early summer of 1750, hoping to secure his acquiescence in their plans. It appears that some talk of a college for New York had been had in 1749, and Johnson had been consulted in regard to it. The knowledge of this, and the present lack of certainty in the New York movement, must have led Franklin to the belief that the

good Stratford Rector would prefer engaging in the new institution in the metropolis of the British colonies than await the developments of one in New York. Johnson had sought upon this latter the advice and counsel of the good George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, whose few years residence in this new country had endeared him to all here who were his friends or correspondents. The Bishop's wise and friendly reply of 23 August, 1749, reached Stratford after the visit of the Philadelphia gentlemen, and Dr. Johnson enclosed it to Franklin, but his letter of inclosure is not preserved. The entire correspondence is given in the Appendix, as no mere extracts, for which the text can find a place here, can offer a just estimate of the communications which these two worthy men had one with the other on the subject.

In age, Samuel Johnson was ten years the senior of Benjamin Franklin, being born in Guilford, Connecticut, 14 October, (o. s.) 1696. At ten years of age his first schooling was under the tuition of Jared Eliot, a Yale graduate of 1706; although this tutelage continued but a year, as Eliot then entered the ministry and settled at Killingworth, yet the latter's affection for his pupil ripened into friendly relations in after life; and as Eliot and Franklin became correspondents the latter must have heard through him of his former pupil. Johnson graduated at Yale College when it was yet at Saybrook, in 1714, and following the example of his early preceptor he began teaching a school of the higher order in his native town. When the Trustees decided in 1716 to move the College to New Haven, Johnson was elected one of the Tutors, and he was for a time the only tutor in the new location, being joined in 1718 by his classmate Daniel Brown, the animosities engendered by the removal of the College keeping apart for some years the contending factions created by this removal. The controversies terminated in 1719, and Governor Yale's benefactions in money and books to the institution won for it the name it has honestly borne in the long years since. In March, 1720, he was ordained a Congregational Minister, but even at that moment, had written a paper which yet remains in manuscript entitled

“My present Thoughts of Episcopacy with what I conceive may justify me in accepting Presbyterian Ordination,” which prepares us to accept without surprise his eventual adoption of Episcopalian views. Many of his friends were moved in the same direction; and when the Rev. Timothy Cutler, the President of the College, Rev. John Hart, Rev. Samuel Whittelsey, Rev. Jared Eliot, Rev. James Wetmore, Rev. Daniel Brown, and himself, made a public declaration on Commencement Day, 17 September, 1722, “that some of them doubted the validity, and the rest were more fully persuaded of the invalidity of Presbyterian ordination in opposition to the Episcopal,” we can scarcely picture to ourselves in these later days the grief and surprise with which it was received not only in the College, but throughout the colony where State and Church were almost indissoluble. This was a theological and religious movement without parallel in colonial days. The public discussions held to convince them of their error, had the effect of preventing Eliot, Hart and Whittelsey actually seeking Episcopal ordination, and these remained to the end of their days in the Congregational ministry, and they continued friends but not members of Episcopacy. Johnson, Cutler, and Brown sailed in a few weeks for England, and on 22 March, 1723 they were ordained Deacons, and on 31 March, Priests, both ordinations being held at St. Martins-in-the-Fields, London; but Brown fell a victim to smallpox and died on 13 April, a disease Cutler was seized with on his arrival but happily recovered from. Johnson returned to Stratford by November following. There was no place of public worship for Episcopalians in Connecticut, but one had been begun in Stratford, of which Johnson took the Rectorship, and it was opened for religious services on the Christmas twelvemonth. Here he continued faithful in the discharge of his pastoral duties, with an affectionate interest for his *alma mater*, in whose early tribulations he had a share, and with a revival of his taste for teaching in the growth of his children, his eldest son being born in 1727 whose early years found all their mental training at his hands; and “that it might be more agreeable to them to have companions, he took several gentlemen’s sons of Newport and

Albany." On Bishop Berkeley's visit to this country and his residence at Newport, Rhode Island, he visited him, and began a lifelong acquaintance, and was to some extent a sharer in his peculiar views. The Bishop's scheme for a great college in some part of the new world growing up under England, must have found a sympathiser in Johnson; and when a College was talked of in New York, and Johnson was conferred with on the matter, he at once sought the advice and counsel of Berkeley, with the result already noticed.

Franklin's visit to Stratford must have afforded him some hopes of success with his appeal to Johnson. He writes him, 9 August, 1750,³

Mr Francis, our Attorney General, who was with me at your house, from the conversation then had with you, and reading some of your pieces, has conceived an esteem for you equal to mine. The character we have given of you to the other trustees, and the sight of your letters relating to the Academy, has made them very desirous of engaging you in that design, as a person whose experience and judgment would be of great use in forming rules and establishing good methods in the beginning, and whose name for learning would give it a reputation. We only lament that in the infant state of our funds we cannot make you an offer equal to your merit. But as the view of being useful has most weight with generous and benevolent minds, and in this affair you may do great service not only to the present but to future generations, I flatter myself sometimes that if you were here, and saw things as they are, and conversed a little with our people, you might be prevailed with to remove. I would therefore earnestly press you to make us a visit as soon as you conveniently can; and in the meantime let me represent to you some of the circumstances as they appear to be.

* * * It has long been observed, that our Church is not sufficient to accommodate near the number of people who would willingly have seats there. The buildings increase very fast towards the south end of the town, and many of the principal merchants now live there; which being at a considerable distance from the present church, people begin to talk much of building another, and ground has been offered as a gift for that purpose. The Trustees of the Academy are three fourths of them members of the Church of England, and the rest men of moderate principles. They have reserved in the building a large hall for occasional preaching, public lectures, orations, etc.; it is 70 feet by 60 feet, furnished with a handsome pulpit, seats, etc. In this Mr. Tennent collected his congregation, who

³ *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D. D.*, by Rev. Dr. Beardsley, p. 157.

are now building him a meetinghouse. In the same place, by giving now and then a lecture, you might, with equal ease, collect a congregation that would in a short time build you a church, if it should be agreeable to you. * * * And when you are well settled in a church of your own, your son may be qualified by years and experience to succeed you in the Academy ; or if you rather choose to continue in the Academy, your son might probably be fixed in the church. * * * I acquainted the trustees that I would write to you, but could give them no dependence that you would be prevailed on to remove. They will, however, treat with no other till I have your answer. * * * There are some other things best treated of when we have the pleasure of seeing you. It begins now to be pleasant travelling. I wish you would conclude to visit us in the next month at furthest. Whether the journey produce the effect we desire or not, it shall be no expense to you.

Dr. Peters wrote the same day to Dr. Johnson urging a visit and inviting him to his house: ⁴

I am obliged to you for the honor you did me in your compliments to Mr. Franklin and Mr. Francis. * * * Though personally unknown to you, I must take the freedom, from a hint that such a journey would not be disagreeable to you, to give you an invitation to my house. Let me, good sir, have the pleasure of conversing with a gentleman whose character I have for a long time esteemed. * * * I can tell you beforehand, that can my friends or I find any expedient to engage your residence among us, I will leave nothing unattempted in the power of, Reverend Sir, your affectionate brother and humble servant, RICHARD PETERS.

From Dr. Johnson's retention of his Stratford cure when he finally accepted the Presidency of King's College, we may see in this an obstacle in his way to coming to Philadelphia almost insuperable. Stratford was within easy stages of New York, where he would reside during College term. Franklin held out to him the hope of building up a new cure in Philadelphia, thus anticipating by ten years the formation of St. Peter's Church which grew out of Christ Church. But this would have been considered an intrusion, unless Dr. Jenney the Rector had made the way open for the effort ; however, Dr. Peters was at that time in the Vestry and could have facilitated the assent of the Rector.

⁴ Beardsley, 160.

Franklin in his rejoinder⁵ of 23 August endeavors to combat this, and with one of his apt similes :

Your tenderness of the Church's peace is truly laudable ; but, me thinks, to build a new church in a growing place is not properly dividing but multiplying ; and will really be a means of increasing the number of those who worship God in that way. Many who cannot now be accommodated in the church go to other places or stay at home ; and if we had another church, many who go to other places or stay at home, would go to church. I suppose the interest of the church has been far from suffering in Boston by the Building of two new churches there in my memory. I had for several years nailed against the wall of my house, a pigeon box that would hold six pair ; and though they bred as fast as my neighbors' pigeons, I never had more than six pair ; the old and strong driving out the young and weak, and obliging them to seek new habitations. At length I put up an additional box, with apartments for entertaining twelve pair more, and it was soon filled with inhabitants, by the overflowing of my first box and of others in the neighborhood. This I take to be a parallel case with the building a new church here.

The correspondence was continued, Franklin again writing him 13 September, but Dr. Johnson gave a final reply in January, 1752 :⁶

I am now plainly in the decline of life, both as to activity of body and vigor of mind, and must, therefore, consider myself as being an *Emeritus*, and unfit for any new situation in the world or to enter on any new business, especially at such a distance from my hitherto sphere of action and my present situation, where I have as much duty on my hands as I am capable of and where my removal would make too great a breach to be countervailed by any good I am capable of doing elsewhere, for which I have but a small chance left for much opportunity. So that I must beg my good friends at Philadelphia to excuse me, and I pray God they may be directed to a better choice. And as Providence has so unexpectedly provided so worthy a person as Mr. Dove for your other purpose, I hope the same good Providence will provide for this. I am not personally acquainted with Mr. Winthrop, the Professor at Cambridge, but by what I have heard of him, perhaps he might do. But I rather think it would be your best way to try if you cannot get some friend and faithful gentleman at home, of good judgment and care, to inquire and try if some worthy Fellow of one or other of the universities could not be obtained. Perhaps Mr. Peters or Mr. Dove may know of some acquaintance of theirs, that might do likely :

⁵ Beardsley, 163, also Bigelow, ii. 204. This is the only letter of this interesting correspondence included by Mr. Bigelow.

⁶ Beardsley, 165, 167.

dulcius ex ipso fortibus. * * * * Meantime you have, indeed, my heart with you as though I were ever so much with you in presence, and if there were any good office in my power you might freely command it.

From Franklin's press was issuing at this time the sheets of a work by Johnson on Ethics, entitled *Elementa Philosophica, containing chiefly Noetica, or Things relating to the Mind or Understanding; and Ethica, or things relating to the Moral Behaviour.* It bears the imprint of B. Franklin and D. Hall, Philadelphia, 1752. In Johnson's letter, last referred to, he refers to this: "I thank you for sending the two sheets of my 'Noetica,' which are done with much care. I find no defects worth mentioning but what were probably my own."

A work written by Samuel Johnson, printed by Benjamin Franklin, and dedicated to Bishop Berkeley, is singular in this happy conjunction of noted names. And it is a happy coincidence that a vice Provost of the University of Pennsylvania has given us the first American Annotations on Bishop Berkeley's Treatise on the Principles of Human Knowledge. Dr. Krauth says "the first place in the Berkeleyan roll of honor is due to Dr. Samuel Johnson," and describes his "*Elementa Philosophica* as thoroughly Berkeleyan in its main features."⁷

King's College had been less Catholic in its intentions and designs than the Philadelphia Academy, and was without a leading mind to direct its early steps such as the latter was favored with. As early as 1746 a provincial act was passed authorising a lottery for a College; the results of this, to which were added some benefactions of Trinity Church, produced more than £3400. which were placed in the hands of Trustees by enactments of the Colonial Legislature in 1753, a majority of whom were Church of England men.

The Presbyterian interest, under the leadership of William Livingston, thwarted its consummation for some years; but a charter was finally granted 31 October, 1754, and Samuel Johnson accepted the Presidency; leaving his pleasant home at Stratford in April, but neither removing his family or resigning

⁷ *A Treatise, etc., with Prolegomena and Annotations*, Charles V. Krauth, D. D., Philada., 1886, p. 36. See Sparks, vi. 125, note. Also letter of Franklin to Johnson about the slow sale of *Noetica*, 15 April, 1754, in Beardsley, 180.

his parish. On reaching New York he was unanimously chosen an assistant Minister of Trinity Church, which he declined. His labors for the College, his early building of it, do not find a place here; they are elsewhere more worthily written; but it is pleasant to contemplate here even at this late day, the interesting historic connection existing between Columbia College and the University of Pennsylvania in the associations with the latter which the first President of the former held; and the University may with peculiar interest reflect that perhaps it was the success of efforts of Benjamin Franklin and his colaborers in Philadelphia that hastened the work in New York and enabled the founders of Columbia to more effectively overcome the opposition of politics or of jealousy. A graceful reminder of this exists in a Library chair of Franklin's, the legacy of Mrs. Catharine Wistar Bache to Dr. Hosack and by him given to the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York in 1822, which is maintained in a place of honor in the Library of Columbia College. May the bond of friendship continued in their contemporary years of youth not be forgotten in the present day when both institutions are rising more fully into the recognition of University needs. Nor must it be forgotten that the funds in later years collected in the Mother country for the aid of both these institutions was done in a joint commission, upon which Jay and Smith so successfully planted their Appeal for aid in developing colonial education.

Dr. Johnson's advertisement of the opening of the new College in 1 July, 1754 was given in the *N. Y. Gazette: or the Weekly Post Boy*, of 3 June and its terms foreshadow the curriculum and discipline of the institution, and as it is worthy of perusal as not only showing the Doctor's present arrangements but his future plans, it is printed entire elsewhere. But the last Article seems such a reflex of the Philadelphia Proposals of 1749 that it will bear repetition here.

And, *lastly*, a serious, *virtuous*, and industrious Course of Life, being first provided for, it is further the Design of this College, to instruct and perfect the Youth in the learned Languages, and in the Arts of *reasoning* exactly, of *writing* correctly, and *speaking* eloquently: and in the Arts of

numbering and measuring ; of Surveying and Navigation, of Geography and History, of Husbandry, Commerce and Government, and in the Knowledge of all Nature in the Heavens above us, and in the Air, Water and Earth, around us, and the various kinds of Meteors, Stones, Mines and Minerals, Plants and Animals, and of every Thing useful for the Comfort, Convenience and elegance of Life, in the chief Manufactures relating to any of these Things : And finally, to lead them from the Study of Nature to the Knowledge of themselves, and of the God of Nature, and their Duty to him, themselves, and one another, and every Thing that can contribute to their true Happiness, both here and hereafter.

On 21 July we find Dr. Peters in New York preaching in Trinity Church and St. George's Chapel that day,⁸ where "his audiences were great, and the sermons universally approved of"; and we can picture him visiting Dr. Johnson amid his new classes, and telling him of the success of the Philadelphia Academy, not yet a College, and of their recent engagement with young William Smith, who gave promise of supplying that place in its administration which the Trustees had hoped Dr. Johnson would fill.

From age and ill health Dr. Johnson resigned his Presidency in 1763, and retired to his beloved Stratford, where he passed his remaining years among his books and in continuance of his correspondence, leaving his parochial duties in its details largely to his assistant; and died 6 January, 1772. His son wrote of him

He died as he had lived, with great composure and serenity of mind * * * He often wished, and repeated it the morning of his departure, that he might resemble in his death his friend, the late excellent Bishop Berkeley, whose virtues he labored to imitate in his life and Heaven heard his prayer.

Kings College suffered during the Revolution as did the University of Pennsylvania, but in 1787 it arose into freshened life under the new name of Columbia, and Dr. Johnson's eldest son, Hon. William Samuel Johnson, was its first President, resigning in 1800.

⁸ The *New York Gazette* of 22 July, 1754.

XIV.

By the end of March, 1750, the Trustees entertaining hopes of Samuel Johnson for the head of the institution, on the 29th, "Resolved that the Academy be opened as soon as possible by accepting the most suitable Person that can be procured for a Rector," or chief Professor, and apparently having such in view it was "ordered that Mr. David Martin be acquainted with the above resolution and be requested to accept of the Rectorship and enter into it on the 13th of May next." No further Minute bears on this appointment, but the Treasurer's books show that Mr. Martin's remuneration began on 13 July in the sum of two hundred pounds per annum. This action confirms the statement that some higher functionary was desired besides the Rector, for when Mr. Martin's salary began it has been seen that negotiations were pending with Dr. Johnson, which the Trustees kept alive for more than a twelvemonth. The term Rector had been given at Yale at the outset to the head of the College, Rector or Master as some time alternatively used; the Rector and Fellows, *i. e.* Tutors, his Fellows in tuition, was the style of the early Faculty, which became in 1745 the President and Fellows which it remains to this day. It was during the administration of Rector Clap, Franklin's correspondent, that this change of name took place at Harvard; the head of the infant seminary Rev. Henry Dunster, took the office and was first stiled President in 1642, and the corporation under the charter of 1650 became the President and Fellows, the Overseers under the Act of 1642 remaining the governing body.

Before the scholars could find accommodations, the Rector was secured, who could give his time to the Trustees in furtherance of their plans. Franklin in his Narrative of these events written perhaps forty years later describes this stage of the proceedings.¹

A house was hired, masters engaged, and the schools opened; I think in the same year, 1749. The scholars increasing fast, the house was

¹ Bigelow, i. 225.

soon found too small, and we were looking out for a piece of ground, properly situated, with intention to build, when Providence threw into our way² a large house ready built, which with a few alterations might well serve our purpose. This was the building before mentioned, erected by the hearers of Mr. Whitefield.

It has been affirmed there were at the time of this purchase some Charity School with its few scholars accommodated in this building, which led to Franklin in those later years relating without due exactness that his Academy had at once on its inception in 1749 begun with teachers and scholars, and hence the necessity of a larger building. But neither do the minutes nor the Treasurer's accounts confirm this, and indeed Franklin's letter to Mr. Eliot, of February, 1750, before quoted, leaves no room for any support of this statement.

At this meeting of 29 March, it was also

Ordered that Messrs. Benjamin Franklin, William Allen, William Coleman, Richard Peters, Thomas Hopkinson and Tench Francis be a Committee to consider and report whether it be most convenient for the Pupils to pay a Gross Sum for being instructed in all the branches of Learning to be taught in the Academy or distinct sums for each.

The results of their deliberations on this point were adopted at their meeting of 10 November following, when it was "Ordered, That the sum of twenty shillings quarterly, and twenty shillings entrance money, with a rateable share of the Expense of firing in the Winter Season, be paid by each Pupil, for which they may be instructed in any Branches of Learning to be taught at the Academy." Ere they were prepared to receive any Scholars or offer them any good tuition, many inquiries must have reached them early as to their procedure upon different details of their promising establishment; for besides the above consideration of fees, they had made a minute at the previous meeting, 6 February, 1750.

The Trustees being informed that an Objection is made to that Article of the Constitution which relates to the Admission of Scholars, Declare that the said Article is not intended for any other purpose than to accommodate the Number of Scholars to the number of Masters, and the cir-

² Mr. Sparks renders this, "when *accident* threw into our way, etc.," i. 159.

cumstances of the Academy ; and that in every Admission a regard will be had to the Priority of Application, without any View to Sect or Party.

It scarcely needed this affirmation to give the community the assurance that this very Catholic body of Trustees would countenance any favoritism in the admission of pupils according to the religious standing of the parent ; but it is quite possible that the purchase of the New Building with a reference to a Creed in the conveyance, and that Creed being as duly formally recorded as was the conveyance, may have led the unfriendly and the unsympathising to raise doubts in the minds of their friends as to the very broad and liberal scope the Founder desired to give to its operations.

At the meeting of 27 July it was " Resolved that the English Master's salary be increased from the sum of one hundred pounds to one hundred and fifty ;" but this is the first minute defining a salary, and the sum originally named must have been agreed to informally ; perhaps thus early began those differences of opinion among the Trustees as to the proper eminence of English in the proposed curriculum which Franklin so stoutly contended for, not that it should take any precedence of the classics, but that it should be maintained with equal dignity through all the Academy course.

But it was not until the meeting on 10 November that the Trustees felt confidence in naming a time for the opening ; their plans for a proper adaptation of the building to their purposes were to have been consummated for school uses in the usual Autumn term, but delays incident to such radical changes in construction as they found it necessary to make lost them these autumn months ; not discouraged, however, they proposed to lose no longer time than was essential to the comfort of their teachers and scholars, and would begin in midwinter ; and they ordered " That the Academy be opened on the Seventh day of January next, and the Rates of Learning and the opening be published in the Gazette a Fortnight hence." The Teachers were already under review, for we shall see that at their December meeting they were prepared to act and to create a faculty for the Academy. The public announcement of the opening is

couched in simple yet reverent language by the hands of the Founder, and we can perhaps imagine his hopes and expectations and those of his co-workers when they read their institution in print and found themselves committed to the public for the greatest venture in an educational line yet attempted in the Province. The time had not been misspent or misused since the announcement of his famed Proposals in the *Gazette* of 24 August, 1749, but a steady progress had been made and the twenty-four Trustees had worked together with unanimity and harmony under a wise leadership, until they now found themselves well equipped to fulfill to the community all their promises. The advertisement appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* as follows :

Phila. December 11. 1750

NOTICE is hereby given, That the Trustees of the ACADEMY of *Philadelphia*, intend (God willing) to open the same on the first *Monday* of *January* next ; wherein Youth will be taught the *Latin, Greek, English, French,* and *German* Languages, together with History, Geography, Chronology, Logic, and Rhetoric ; also Writing, Arithmetic, Merchants Accounts, Geometry, Algebra, Surveying, Gauging, Navigation, Astronomy, Drawing in Perspective, and other mathematical Sciences ; with natural and mechanical Philosophy, &c, agreeable to the *Constitutions* heretofore published, at the Rate of *Four Pounds* per annum, and *Twenty Shillings* entrance.

On the day following the opening the *Gazette* contained the following account of it :

Yesterday being the Day appointed for opening the Academy in this City, the Trustees met, and waited on His Honour our Governor, to the publick Hall of the Building, where the Rev Mr *Peters* made an excellent Sermon on the Occasion, to a crowded audience. The Rooms of the Academy not being yet compleatly fitted for the Reception of the Scholars the several Schools will be opened To-morrow, in a large House of Mr Allen's, on Second Street : Those who incline to enter their children or Youth, may apply to the Rector, or any one of the Trustees.

At a subsequent meeting " the thanks of the Trustees were given by the President to the Rev Mr *Peters* for his excellent Sermon preached in the Academy Hall on the Seventh Day of January, at the opening of the Academy ; which was done accordingly. Mr *Peters*' consent being desired for the publication of the said Sermon, he desires Time to consider thereof" ;

which, however, he finally agreed to, as Franklin and Hall before the close of the year printed :

A Sermon on Education wherein Some Account is given of the Academy Established in the City of Philadelphia. Preached at the opening thereof on the Seventh Day of January 1750-1 By the Reverend Mr Richard Peters.

Copies of this are now rare. The reasons for this delay he gives in his Preface which bears date 12 September :

When I came to consider that a Detail was made of the Rise of the Academy, and of the several Matters proposed to be taught therein, and that it might be of great service to publish this, in order to remove mistakes, and to enable the Publick to judge of its Usefulness and Seasonableness, I no longer hesitated to gratify you in the Publication, confident that your Adoption and Patronage will procure it a favorable Reception with my fellow citizens.

It is an admirable Discourse on Education and eloquent in its adaptation to the particular circumstances which called it forth ; and as it must be an instance of his pulpit powers, we feel a natural disappointment that we have left us so few of his sermons. From this Sermon previous quotations have been already given, when recording his views as to the foundation of the Academy.

XV.

We have no knowledge of the number of scholars offering at the opening, but an entry in the Treasurer's books shows those who first paid entrance money, namely, George Lea, William Peters, jun, and Richard Peters, the latter nephews of Rev Richard Peters. From Dr Peters Preface to his Opening Sermon, however, we obtain a gratifying sight of the progress of the work,

It affords no small Delight to every one who has the Success of this Academy at Heart [he is writing in September] that though many Things promised in this Discourse remain to be done, yet there is already more effected than in so small a space of Time could have been reasonably expected. The *Latin* and *English* Masters give entire Satisfaction ; indeed the Progress made by the Boys in both schools is truly surprising ; each has now the Assistance of an Usher, made necessary by the Number of Boys, who, notwithstanding the prevalence of the Small Pox in Town, amount to above one Hundred. Masters are provided for teaching Writing and *French*. The Mathematical School is daily increasing. A Charity School is established. Proper Prayers are composed for the Schools and used every Morning and Evening.

We cannot refrain from quoting his commendation of the Trustees :

I must do you the justice to say that much of this is owing to your Care and the Regularity of your Visitations ; and I have no small Satisfaction in being able to be thus particular, since it must needs be agreeable to the Publick to know that the most necessary and useful Parts of the Scheme are in such Forwardness ; and that there are in the Academy, two good Grammar Schools, one in the *English* and one in the *Latin* Language. No small Benefit this to the Province ! as in these are laid the proper Foundations for the higher Attainments in Learning which will likewise be gone into when the Difficulties of the Masters arising from the preparing and classing so many Boys as are daily admitted from different schools, of different proficiencies, and taught by different Methods shall abate.

Of the Rector, David Martin, M. A., we know but little ; he did not live to the end of the year ; and in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 17 December 1751 we find the simple record "Wednesday last died, greatly respected, Mr. *David Martin*, Rector of the Academy in this City." The Minutes of 11 December

record "upon occasion of the sudden Decease of Mr Martin, the Trustees met to consider of some Person to supply his place in the Latin School." We learn a little more of his death, and the action of the Trustees from Franklin's letter of 24 December, 1751, to Rev Dr Johnson.¹

I wrote to you in my last that Mr. Martin our Rector died suddenly of a quinsy. His body was carried to the church, respectfully attended by the trustees, all the masters and scholars in their order, and a great number of the citizens. Mr. Peters preached his funeral sermon, and gave him the just and honorable character he deserved. The schools are now broke up for Christmas, and will not meet again till the 7th of January. Mr. Peters took care of the Latin and Greek School after Mr. Martin's death till the breaking up. And Mr. Allison, a dissenting minister, has promised to continue that care for a month after the next meeting.

He was buried in Christ Church Burying Ground 13 December, but no stone marks the place of burial of the first Rector of the Academy.

The Rector's assistants were decided upon at the meeting of 17 December, 1750, in the following Minutes :

Mr. David James Dove having lately come hither from England where the Trustees are informed he had the care of a School for many years, and having offered himself for an English Master, The Trustees being in a great measure strangers to him do order that he be accepted for the English Master in the Academy for one year, to commence on the seventh day of January next, for the Sallary of one hundred and fifty pounds in order to make Tryal of his care and ability.

Mr. Theophilus Grew having offered himself as a Master in the Academy to teach Writing, Arithmetic, Merchants Accounts, Algebra, Astronomy, Navigation, and all other Branches of the Mathematics ; it is ordered that he be received as such at the rate of one hundred and twenty-five pounds a year, his service to commence on the Seventh day of January next.

Mr. Charles Thomson having offered himself as a Tutor in the Latin and Greek School, and having been examined and approved of by the Rector, is admitted as a Tutor in the Latin and Greek school at the rate of sixty pounds a year, to commence on the seventh day of January next.

¹ Beardsley, 166.

XVI.

DAVID JAMES DOVE, the English Master, is best known to us by the criticism on him by his young pupil Richard Peters who in later years described him as a "sarcastical and ill-tempered doggerelizer, who was but ironically *Dove* ; for his temper was that of a hawk, and his pen the beak of a falcon pouncing on innocent prey." This reference is to the part he took in all the political issues of the day with his caustic rhymes. Graydon tells us¹ he was

much celebrated in his day as a teacher, and no less as a dealer in the minor kind of satirical poetry. * * * It was his practice in his school, to substitute disgrace for corporal punishment. His birch was rarely used in canonical method, but was generally stuck into the back part of the collar of the unfortunate culprit, who, with this badge of disgrace towering from his nape like a broom at the mast head of a vessel for sale, was compelled to take his stand upon the top of the form, for such a period of time as his offence was thought to deserve.

Graydon was a pupil at his school about 1759 or 1760, from whence he went to the Academy, and these practices of Mr. Dove doubtless were displayed when he was at the Academy. He tells us Dove's school was "at this time, kept in Videll's Alley, which opened into Second, a little below Chestnut Street. It counted a number of scholars of both sexes, though chiefly boys."

Whether the duties of the Academy did not fully employ his talents, or his ambition found but little promise in its routine, he sought occupation to add to these stated duties. We find his advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* 29 August 1751 :

As the Scheme formed by the Gentlemen of Philadelphia, for the regular Education of their Sons, has been happily carried into Execution ; the Ladies excited by the laudable example, are solicitous that their Daughters too might be instructed in some Parts of Learning, as they are taught in the Academy. Mr Dove proposes to open a school at said Academy for young Ladies, on Monday next, in which will be carefully taught the English Grammar ; the true Way of Spelling, and Pronouncing properly ; together with fair Writing, Arithmetick, and Accounts : So that the Plan

¹ *Memoirs*, pp. 24, 25.

recommended by the Universal Spectator may be exactly pursued. Price Ten Shillings Entrance and Twenty Shillings per Quarter.

No reference is made in the Minutes of the Trustees to this, but their assent must have been had to the scheme. On 10 December 1751, a minute records.

There being above 90 Scholars now in the English School, and Mr. Dove having declared he found it impossible duly to instruct so great a number without another Assistant, the Trustees agreed to accept of one Mr Francis Peisley, who offered himself, and who Mr. Dove represented as a Person well qualified for a Tutor in that School, and to allow him at the Rate of £50. per annum

His first assistant was John Jones who had been appointed on 25 September. Before an assistant was given him, the Trustees had voted him 9 July, 1751,

an allowance, in consideration of his extraordinary Trouble in teaching a greater Number of Scholars for some time past than by the Constitutions he is obliged to do, and for the Board of a Lad whom he entertained for some time as an assistant, in the sum of Ten pounds.

At the meeting of 9 June 1752, reference was made to Mr. Peisley's departure, and there still being "above Ninety Scholars in the English School," and Mr. Jones, the remaining assistant not being sufficient, the President was desired to confer with him about providing another. But at the meeting of 10 October it was represented that

Mr Dove had since Mr. Peisley's Departure caused two of the most capable Boys in his School to assist him in teaching the Younger Scholars, acquainted the Trustees that he was willing to continue that Method if they approve thereof, and agree to make the said Boys a suitable allowance for their trouble. But upon considering the matter, the Trustees are of Opinion, it would be more advantageous to the School that a good Usher should be provided.

At the meeting of 15 November we find recorded the names of these "two of the most capable boys," namely, Edward Bidle and William Scull, who were allowed Twenty Dollars each as a Reward for assisting Mr. Dove.

But the cause for Mr Dove's anxiety for two ushers is found in a preceding minute of the same meeting, which testifies to his continuance of his own school. "The Trustees being informed

that Mr Dove makes a Practice of leaving his School at Eleven o'clock in the morning, and at four in the afternoon ; and such frequent absences of the Master being thought a Disadvantage to the School, Mr Franklin and Mr Peters are desired to speak to him about it, and request his Attendance during the School Hours." At the following meeting these gentlemen reported that " Mr Dove acknowledged what had been reported of him concerning his leaving the School, and that he seemed desirous of being indulged in that practice, but the Trustees considered it as of bad example and too great a Neglect of the children under his care, and desired him to be informed they would expect he will attend the School at the appointed Hours." Mr Dove, anxious to maintain his school, made a proposition for other hours, but finally on 13 February 1753

the Trustees having fully considered this Request and the ill Consequence such an indulgence would be attended with, adhered to their former opinion ; * * * and as he had said, in Case his present Request was not granted he would continue to take care of the School for a Quarter, or till they could provide another Master, so they, on their Part, would give him a Quarter's notice when they had provided.

On 10 July following Mr Kinnersley was provided for the English school, and Mr Dove was relieved. The detail of this transaction illustrates the care and watchfulness of the Trustees over the labors of their Teachers and Ushers. And it is also in some measure a testimony to Mr. Dove's merits and abilities as a teacher that they dealt so patiently with him, not wishing to lose his services on any peremptory notice. Franklin's sentiments regarding him were testified to in his letter of 24 December, 1751, to Dr. Johnson, where he says,

The English master is Mr Dove, a gentleman about your age, who formerly taught grammar sixteen years at Chichester in England. He is an excellent master, and his scholars have made a surprising progress.²

In later years, upon the discontinuance of the Videll's Alley School, he opened a private academy in Germantown in the house yet standing immediately west of the Germantown Academy, wherein however he was not very successful. He had taken

² Beardsley, p. 166.

lodgers in his house ; besides the lad he entertained who had assisted him, he at one time lodged Charles Thomson, the young Tutor, but Thomson found his hosts uncongenial and soon sought other quarters. The first English Master made a history for himself, other than the records of the Academy display, in teaching Graydon and being associated with Thomson, two historic characters whose writings have commemorated him, but not in flattering terms.

THEOPHILUS GREW styled himself "Mathematical Professor at the Academy in Philadelphia" where he "asks communications of observations on Eclipse of the Moon next Tuesday" from the public in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 23 May, 1751, and he thus officially signs the Constitution. Thus if his claim be admitted, we must put him third in the long list of Professors, as Martin and Dove who precede him in nomination must be allowed his peers in rank. But as he was at the meeting of the Trustees on 11 July, 1755, "unanimously elected Mathematical Professor," the confirmation of his title is assured. A later advertisement indicates that pupils to the new Academy were offering from the interior and from other places, as indeed did Mr. Dove's lodgers as well : "YOUTH for the *Academy* may be boarded in Arch Street, at the House of *Theophilus Grew*, MATHEMATICAL PROFESSOR," we are informed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 14 November, 1751. He pursued the even tenor of his way, following in his leisure hours scientific studies instead of indulging in political rhymes, and developing no peculiarities which a Thomson or a Graydon found worthy of record. In Dove's successor Kinnersley, and with Franklin, the President of the Board of Trustees, the Mathematical Professor found congenial friends, and remained in the service of the institution until his death in 1759. Provost Smith in his account of the Academy in the *American Magazine* for October, 1758, speaks of him as "having so long been an approved teacher of Mathematics and Astronomy in this city, that I need say nothing to make him better known than he is already." His tomb stone in Christ Church Burying Ground

erected over his remains which were laid within a few feet of the Academy Building where he so worthily taught, is but partially decipherable at this day.

Here lies interred
the Body of
MR THEOPHILUS GREW.
He distinguished himself in Life by
many exemplary Virtues
and many valuable Qualifications.
He was very deeply learned
in Astronomy and the Mathematics
whereby he rendered himself
a most useful Member of Society
He served as Professor of
those noble sciences
in the College of this City.
He discharged the trust with
honor and integrity.

CHARLES THOMSON, born in November 1729 a native of Ireland, became the first Tutor of the Academy when he was twenty-one years of age. He crossed the ocean with his father when but ten years of age, and his father dying at sea, he and an elder brother landed at New Castle orphans among strangers. By his peculiar energies he seized favorable opportunities for schooling, and was at one time under the tuition of the Rev. Francis Alison, also an Irishman, at his school at Thunder Hill, Maryland, and who succeeded Mr. Martin as Rector of the Academy. While here a schoolmate returning from Philadelphia brought with him a volume of the *Spectator*: he read it with such delight, that learning an entire set could be purchased for the amount of the small sum he had at command, he set off without asking permission on foot to Philadelphia to purchase it.³ His truancy was excused in consideration of its motive. This recalls to us the fascination Franklin found in this work. May it not be that his visit to Philadelphia brought him acquainted with Franklin at a time the Academy was being formed, and he was led eventually to offer himself to the Trus-

³ Duyekinek, i. 170.

tees as a Tutor in Latin and Greek, when he was accepted after due examination and proof by the Rector. Dr. Ashbel Green, President of Princeton College, in his Autobiography said of him in after years "he was one of the best classical scholars our country has ever produced." Young Thomson continued Tutor until his resignation in the spring of 1755, when we find by the Minutes of 17 March

a letter to the Trustees from Mr. Charles Thomson, one of the Tutors in the Latin School, was read, acquainting them with his Intention of leaving the Academy within two or three Months, having a Design to apply himself to other Business; Mr. Peters was therefore desired to assist Mr. Alison in providing another in his Room. The Trustees at the same Time, declared themselves well satisfied that the said Mr. Thomson had discharged the Duties of his Place with Capacity, Faithfulness and Diligence.

But the "other business" did not prevail, as we find him in the September following engaging himself as teacher in the Friends Publick School, then located on Fourth Street below Chestnut. It is not requisite that his life should be further sketched here, but reference must be made to the fact that it was the first tutor in the Academy who became the Secretary to Congress from 1774 to the close of the war, the "Perpetual Secretary" as he was often called. The acquaintance formed with Franklin through his connection with the Academy ripened into mutual esteem and continued through life, and their correspondence whether as friend to friend or as Secretary to Ambassador breathes on Franklin's part a warm appreciation of the younger man's faithfulness and intelligence. In his letter written from Passy, 13 May, 1784, on the Ratification of the Definitive Treaty with England, so full of patriotic advice to his countrymen now acknowledged by the parent to be free, and to be a Nation of like independence with her, he says to Thomson⁴ "Thus the great and hazardous enterprise we have been engaged in, is, God be praised, happily compleated; an event I hardly expected, I should live to see." But it was in a different tone that he wrote to his "Dear Old

⁴ Bigelow, viii. 492. Also, for the Thomson correspondence, vide N. Y. Historical Society's Collections for 1878, p. 185.

Friend" Thomson on 29 December, 1788, after his return home, upon the subject of his own public services which he deemed and with justice had not met with that recognition which they merited. No one but he at that day could weigh with accuracy the sum of those services as well as he, but later history has realised what was done by him in those weary and anxious years when for his country's sake he was exiled from the comforts of his home.

My good friend, excuse, if you can, the trouble of this Letter ; and if the reproach thrown on Republicks, that they are apt to be ungrateful, should ever unfortunately be verified with respect to your services, remember that you have the right to unbosom yourself in communicating your griefs to your affectionate ancient friend and most obed. humble servant, B. Franklin.⁵

Charles Thomson employed his later years in a translation of the entire Bible, an excellent contribution to Biblical literature ; this was printed in four volumes in Philadelphia in 1808. His own copy of this admirable version with his latest MS. corrections is in the Philadelphia Library. He lived to the age of 94, dying 16 August, 1824. His is one of the most interesting characters figuring in Revolutionary scenes, and is worthy of study by every young man. At the treaty with the Indians at Easton in 1757, they named him in their language "The Man of Truth," which clung to him always ; and upon doubtful tidings and uncertain rumors prevailing, his friends would say of him "Here comes the truth : here is Charles Thomson !" Thomson married secondly in 1774 Hannah Harrison a niece of Isaac Norris, the Speaker, for many years a Trustee of the College and Academy. He was called to the Secretaryship of Congress the day after his wedding ; his notes of its proceedings were taken in short hand, and on his return home from Philadelphia in the evening to Harriton it was this faithful wife who wrote out from them the Minutes of Congress.

⁵ Bigelow, x. 29. N. Y. Historical Society's Collections, 1878, p. 248.

XVI.

Six months from the opening of the Academy had only elapsed when a second Tutor was engaged; the Minutes of 9 July, 1751, recording "Mr. John Jones, late of Connecticut offering himself for a Tutor under Mr. Dove in the English School, the Trustees have agreed with him for one quarter, at the rate of Fifty pounds per annum;" this quarter proved his capacity, and we find that in a twelvemonth (14 July, 1752) the Trustees on his request "for an augmentation of his salary declared their willingness to add Ten pounds per annum to his salary." The Mathematical Professor needing aid for his writing lessons, we find that at the same meeting Mr. John Jones was appointed.

"Mr. Horace Jones, late of Chester County, offering himself upon Tryal for three months, as an Assistant to Mr. Grew, and the Trustees present having seen a specimen of his Writing, agree to make Tryal of him for that Time, and to allow him after the Rate of Fifty pounds per annum."

At the meeting in February following his salary was likewise increased ten pounds. On 21 September, 1752, Theophilus Grew and Horace Jones advertise in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* "on Monday, the ninth of October next, at the house of Mr. Atkinson, in Second street, and opposite to Mr. Boudinot's, an Evening School is intended to be open'd for teaching of *Writing, Arithmetick, Navigation, Surveying, Algebra*, and other parts of the *Mathematicks*, and to continue until the middle of March next. Those who incline to be instructed, are desir'd to give in their names immediately to either of the Subscribers, living in *Arch Street*." This was repeated in substance the year following, and the effort was a success. Night Schools were now rendered safer by the lighted streets. "Monday night last the streets of this city began to be illuminated with lamps, in Pursuance of a late Act of Assembly." *Pennsylvania Gazette* 12 September, 1751. But these were not safe from the lively boys of the town. "Last week a Person was convicted of breaking one of the Public Lamps, by throwing an Apple at it, and paid a

Fine of Forty Shillings." *Gazette* 3 October, 1751. This is the first mark an apple has made in local history.

At the meeting of 10 December following, the appointment of Mr. Peisley followed, as before stated ; but he remained only until the following summer as we find from the Treasurer's accounts ; and before his place was supplied Mr. Dove had the opportunity of calling upon two of his young pupils, Biddle and Scull, to assist him as previously related. Before Mr. Peisley's departure we find in the Minutes of 21 April, 1752 :

The number of Scholars now in the Latin School requiring that another Tutor should be provided, and Mr. Alison having recommended one Mr. Paul Jackson as a person well qualified, the Trustees present agree to accept of him, and allow him at the Rate of Sixty Pounds per annum.

He continued as Tutor until 1756. The next in order is Patrick Carroll, who in the minutes of 9 June, 1752, it is said, "has for some time assisted Mr. Price in the Charity School," we find by the minutes of 12 December is "now employed as an Usher under Mr. Dove," but he continued only until November, 1753, when lack of scholars in the English school made his services no longer needed. The next tutors were young Barton and Duché ; but before our narrative reaches their time, other details of the early working of the Academy call for mention, and we have yet to enter upon the second Rectorship. However we must not overlook the opening exercises of the second year of which the Minutes take no note. Franklin makes a note of it in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 7 January, 1752.

Yesterday being the anniversary of the opening of the Academy in this city, an excellent Sermon was preached on the occasion by the Reverend Mr. PETERS, in the Academy Hall, from these words, Luke, ii, 52. *And Jesus increased in Wisdom and Stature and in Favour with God and Man.*

XVII.

The Charity School was set on foot before the first term had expired, but could not be accomplished without a proper head. At the meeting of 9 April, 1751 "The Trustees taking into consideration that, by their Engagements, the Charity School ought to be open'd very speedily ; and it being mentioned that Mr. Martin had recommended some person in Trenton who was well qualified for Master of such a school, the President is desired to speak to Mr. Martin to write to that person in order to know whether he will accept of that charge, and upon what terms." Mr. Martin wrote in compliance with this request, but at the May meeting he was not able to report an answer. At the June meeting "it appearing to the Trustees that the Person formerly proposed for Master of the Charity School, is not so well qualified as could be wished, and that his Terms are high, some other person is to be sought for to undertake that charge." The some other person came in time in George Price. The Trustees on 13 August, 1757, reported "having made a proposal to George Price to teach a Charity School consisting of twenty Boys, and do some services in the other schools, for the consideration of Thirty Pounds per annum, to be paid him, besides his House Rent and Living during the Winter Season ; which proposal he desired some Time to consider of. But having since signified his Willingness to accept of the Terms offer'd him the President is requested to reduce the Agreement to Writing, and get the said Price to sign it." And "publick advertizement" was directed to be made, so soon as the Trustees were ready to open a Charity School. Accordingly the announcement was made in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 12 September, 1751.

By Order of the TRUSTEES of the ACADEMY

NOTICE is hereby given, That on Monday, the 16th of this instant September, a FREE-SCHOOL will be open'd (under their Care and Direction) at the *New Building*, for the Instruction of poor Children *gratis* in *Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic*. Those who are desirous of having their children admitted, may apply to any of the Trustees.

The "some services in the other schools" may have had reference to other than strictly scholastic services, if the minute of 10 September is any indication of their character.

The Trustees considering that no Reward, except having Rent free, has been yet given to George Price, for his Care and Trouble in removing the Rubbish occasioned by Workmen, sweeping the Schools, making and putting out the fires, and other services performed by him, from the first opening of the Academy: It is ordered, That the Sum of Five Pounds be paid to the said George Price for the said Services.

His efficiency and zeal were successful in the management of the School, as on 12 April, 1752, it is recorded "The Trustees being willing to take more poor Children into the Charity School, the President is desired to make Enquiry for some fit Person to assist the Master of that School." And at the June meeting, "Patrick Carroll, who for some time has assisted Mr. Price in the Charity School, was allowed at the rate of Forty-five pounds per annum for his services in the said School." Mr. Carroll subsequently became, as before mentioned, a Tutor in the English School, his place was supplied 12 December, 1752, by Mr. John Ormsby, "who offered himself as a tutor in the Charity School," and was accepted, and on like terms as those paid Carroll. Mr. Price also had the assistance of Mr. A. Dunn for a few weeks, he being paid "two pounds, twelve shillings for three weeks attendance in the Charity School, his affairs now calling him beyond Sea." The Charity School was kept before the Community and public means were availed of to secure a better support for it. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 19 April, 1753 tells us:

Monday last an Excellent Sermon was preached in the Academy Hall by the Rev. Mr. PETERS, on the Charity, Necessity and Advantages of providing suitable Means of Education for the Children of the Poor; when a Collection was made towards the Support of the Free School in the Academy amounting to £95.12.8 Half penny.

XVIII.

The Trustees did not weary in their well doing ; their meetings were well attended, the faithful President being always on hand, inspiring the others to worthy motions though his hand is not visible ; yet sometimes they were without a quorum, and to secure this it was on 21 April, 1752,

Agreed by the Trustees present to pay a Fine of One Shilling, if absent at any Meeting, unless such Excuse be given as the Majority shall judge reasonable. The Money to be applied towards buying Books, Paper, &c for the Scholars in the Charity School.

This was affirmed at their meeting of 25 May, 1754, but the fine was then made absolute, of "one shilling, to be laid out in paper, quills, books, &c, for the use of the Charity School." The rule obtaining in the Constitutions requiring that "nothing be transacted by the Trustees unless it be voted by a Majority of the whole Number, which as experience has been found highly inconvenient, in regard to the difficulty of so great a Number's meeting" it was on 27 July, 1750

Resolved, *Nemine contradicente*, that a Majority of the Trustees met (that Majority not being less than seven, or on a meeting of seven if they all agree) shall have power to order and transact any business relating to the Academy or its Government except the alteration of the Constitutions or making Contracts, whereby the Publick money may be expended.

And on 9 April, 1751 they "agree to meet the second Tuesday in every month. The time of Meeting to be at four o'clock in the afternoon."

The Trustees attention to the well being of the Academy, even to many of its minor details, brought them sometimes to be administrators as well as formulators of discipline ; though this may have been more notable in the interregnum between the first two Rectorships. It was on 11 February, 1752, "Agreed, that no holidays be solicited for the Boys by any of the Trustees separately." This was modified, probably under the judicious but calculating advice of the new Rector, for at the meeting of 21 April following it was

Agreed unanimously that no Holdiday be granted to the Scholars at the

request of any Person, unless at the same time he made a present to the Academy of a Book of Ten Shillings value : The Masters to be made acquainted with this Rule.

Graydon gives some account of the pranks of the boys when he attended the College and Academy, a few years later than this, which certainly were not new in his day ; the boys of 1751 were but the forerunners of those of 1760 and of many succeeding years. The only reference to their doings in the formal minutes of the Trustees may be the entry of 15 November 1752, "Agreed that a small Ladder be bought, to be always at hand for the Conveniency of mending the Windows." Perhaps the person who broke one of the new street lamps in the preceding October with an apple was a matriculant at the Academy, and led his classmates in practice on the windows of the New Building, to repair which it was found convenient to keep a ladder "always at hand for the conveniency of mending them."

XIX.

Death entered early among the Trustees, for James Logan and Thomas Hopkinson died within a few days of each other, the one on 31 October and the other on 5 November, 1751, and in less than six weeks the Rector was numbered with them. Both were a loss to their associates, and to Franklin especially the death of Hopkinson must have left a vacancy in his own circle of friends difficult of replacement, for they had been associated together in matters of science and of beneficence. The Trustees met on 12 December, 1751, and proceeded to fill the vacancies without any note or comment, no encomium or eulogy expressed the sense of their loss. "Two of the Trustees, to wit, James Logan, Esq^r and Thomas Hopkinson being deceased, Isaac Norris, Esq and Thomas Cadwalader were chosen in their

Room, by a Majority of Votes." The influence wielded by Logan on behalf of the Academy could well be carried on by his son-in-law, Isaac Norris, the foremost Friend of his day; and Hopkinson's tastes for science would find just representation in Cadwalader who a few years later could exert his influence toward the development of the Medical Department of the College and Academy. Some notice of these two prominent worthies must be given here, before we look further into the work of the growing institution in whose direction they were now to participate.

ISAAC NORRIS, son of Isaac Norris, the Councillor, was born in Philadelphia, 3 October, 1701. His father brought him up to a mercantile life, after fitting him by a trained education to take his proper place among his fellows

He was endowed with good natural abilities, had received an excellent education, and might indeed be called learned; for, in addition to a knowledge of Hebrew, he wrote in Latin and French with ease, and his reading was extensive. He possessed a fine library containing many of the best editions of the classics, and was a liberal patron of literature.¹

He had twice visited Europe for travel, and in 1743 he retired from mercantile life, and as he expressed it "lived downright in the country way." But before this his talents and aptitude for public affairs, call them politics if you will, brought him before his fellow townsmen prominently, and he had been sent to the Assembly in 1734. He here encountered as a staunch Friend the demands of the provincial government for money to arm the colony against the foreign enemy, and resisted and successfully opposed the requisition. He became the leader of the Quaker party. The Proprietaries now were Churchmen and personally had lost the respect of their great ancestor's co-religionists. The Friends had in 1710 granted a sum to Queen Anne for the reduction of Canada, but it was accompanied by an explanation that their principles forbade war, but commanded them to pay tribute and yield obedience to the power God had set over them in all things so far as their religious persuasions would permit. But now, they were not willing to place funds for such purpose

¹ Geo. W. Norris, M. D., in *Penn'a Magazine*, i. 449.

in the hands and power of the Governor and his friends. But finally in 1739, the Assembly yielded to the importunities for money, and voted £3000, to Isaac Norris, his brother in law Thomas Griffitts, Thomas Leech, John Stamper and Edward Bradley, "for the use of King George II." There were now beginning the dissensions arising out of the claims of the Proprietaries that all their lands should be exempt from provincial taxation, which grew into a grave occasion of opposition to their government in time, and the tie of religion being sundered, this opposition to the Proprietaries on account of their exceeding selfishness eventually placed Pennsylvania in the front of the contests of the Revolution. Norris was a member also of the Assemblies of 1740 and 1741, and in 1742, in the latter year occurring the riotous scene at the election, due it was said to the machinations of the Governor, in which however Norris was returned to the Assembly. In 1745 he was with Kinsey and Lawrence appointed by the Governor a commissioner to represent Pennsylvania at the conference with the Indians at Albany. And in 1755 he was again sent to Albany as a like commissioner to treat with the Indians.

Continuing a member of the Assembly, he succeeded John Kinsey as Speaker in September 1751, and in that year he directed the legend for the new State House Bell which became so prophetic, though perhaps at the time he would have shrunk from the application made of it in 1776. He continued Speaker of the House fifteen years. The contest between the people and the Proprietaries grew during this period, and Norris at the head of the Quakers was firmly opposed to their privileges as they claimed them. In 1757, the Assembly resolved to send him and Franklin to England to solicit the removal of grievances arising out of the Proprietary instructions to their Governors, such as forbidding them to sanction any bill for the revenue which did not exempt their property from taxation and the like; but on account of ill health he declined the appointment, so that Franklin undertook it alone. His opposition to their encroachments, however, did not lead him to desire the exchange of a Royal Government for a Proprietary, and when

in 1764 a petition to this effect passed the Assembly, he resigned the Speakership, rather than as Speaker sign the petition to the Crown for the change and Franklin was chosen Speaker in his place and signed the petition. Franklin could see no remedy for the trouble but in the substitution of a Royal Government in the place of one by a privileged Family; but not many years elapsed before he himself acknowledged that there was as little dependence to be placed upon the so called paternal government of a King. It was in this contest that we find Franklin's mind developing those great principles which he eventually had to apply to our national affairs and which became in the logic of events the unanswerable argument for our Independence, while such men as Norris and his son-in-law John Dickinson, alike pure and patriotic as was Franklin, stopped short of the realisation of those principles of true Government which all of English blood are expected to uphold. By the strange contrarieties of popular suffrage, Franklin was not returned to the next assembly, only however by a minority of twenty-five in a vote of nearly four thousand, while Norris, who contrary to his wishes had been placed on the County Ticket was again chosen to the Assembly, and again became the Speaker, while Franklin, the majority in the Assembly remaining unbroken, was chosen Colonial Agent and carried abroad the petition for redress against the claims of the Proprietaries. Isaac Norris shortly again resigned the Speakership on 24 October 1764; and on 13 July, 1776, he died at his seat, Fair Hill. It was justly said of him by a cotemporary, "That in all his long public career he never asked a vote to get into the House, or solicited any member for posts of advantage or employment."

His public duties forbad him, in the want of robust health, from attending with any diligence to the duties of his Trusteeship of the College and Academy, and his service therein continued less than four years. At the meeting of the Trustees of 11 February, 1755, this minute appears:

As Isaac Norris, Esqr had never met the Trustees but once since his being chosen, and, it was said, had intimated he could not conveniently attend at their Meetings, Mr. Peters was desired to write to him, and

acquaint him that the Trustees were endeavoring to obtain a new Charter confirming the former with some Additions, and were desirous to know whether it would be agreeable to him that his Name should be inserted therein.

Mr. Peters produced his reply at the next meeting, which was as follows; and which was

order'd to be enter'd on the Minutes.

Respected Friend, Richard Peters

I can have no Objection to the Qualification to the Govm^t as we take it every year before we are instituted to our Seats in the Assembly, neither have I any objection to any other Part of the Academical Institution, but heartily wish you success in it. My Distance from Town, and the Ails I have, make it very inconvenient to me to attend the Duty of a Trustee, and therefore I request the Gentⁿ will be pleased to accept my Resignation of that Trust.

I return them my Thanks for the Favours they have already shewn me by inserting my Name in their former Charter, and am Their and

Yr Assd Fr'd

Feby 25 1755

ISAAC NORRIS.

On a previous page was narrated his connection with the Friends Publick School, and the cause of their desire for his resignation from the Board of Overseers. Strong Friend as he always was, he was unwilling to confine his influence in the favor of a public education to the seemingly narrow limits his Society had marked out for the instruction of their Youth.

His two sons died in infancy. His daughter Mary became the wife of John Dickinson, the famous author of *A Farmer's Letters*, and whose Mother was sister of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader. It was while Dickinson was President of Pennsylvania, that he "presented Dickinson College, Carlisle, with the principal part of the library of the late Isaac Norris, Esq., consisting of about 1500 volumes upon the most important subjects."²

DR. THOMAS CADWALADER was born in Philadelphia in 1707 the son of John Cadwalader, who came to Pennsylvania from Pembrokeshire and married in 1699 the daughter of Dr Edward Jones of Lower Merion, then in Philadelphia County, one of the

² *Penn'a Gazette*, 27 Octo., 1784.

earliest practitioners of medicine in the Province. Young Cadwalader received his early education at the Friends Publick School then under the charge of Thomas Makin. Later, his father sent him to England to pursue his studies as a physician, spending a year in the study of anatomy under Chessel den and returning home about 1731. He at once took an active part in practical movements, and as he was about the age of Franklin, perhaps the youngest of the coterie which gathered around him, he was drawn into the same line of activities, and at once threw his interests with those who were then forming the new Library company, in which he was a Director many years. Watson³ names him as one of the physicians inoculating for the small pox in the Winter of 1736-7, others being Doctors Zachary, Shippen, and Bond, afterwards his fellow Trustees in the Academy and College.

Marrying in 1738 a daughter of John Lambert of New Jersey, he appears to have taken up his residence in that province about that time, and when in 1746 Governor Belcher granted a Borough charter to Trenton, he was chosen the first Burgess. When four years later the citizens surrendered this charter, Dr Cadwalader shortly thereafter returned to Philadelphia and upon the death of Thomas Hopkinson he was chosen 12 November, 1751, upon Franklin's nomination, a Trustee of the Academy to succeed him; and in the same year he was elected a member of the Common Council of Philadelphia and there served until 1774. In 1755 he was called to the Provincial Council at the same time as were John Mifflin and Benjamin Chew who a few years later became his fellow Trustees. He was a member of the Philosophical Society for many years, and in 1765 became a member of the Provincial Council; and during the Revolution became a Medical Director in the Army. As one of the physicians to the new Hospital, he gave there a course of medical lectures.⁴ He was a signer of the Non-Importation Article in 1765, but his age precluded him from an active participation in

³ Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, i. 373.

⁴ "In 1750 he had the honor of preparing the first systematic course of Medical lectures to be delivered in a Philadelphia College." Dr. Morton, pp. 446, 458.

the affairs of the Revolution. In July, 1776, he was appointed by the Committee of Safety with Drs. Bond, Shippen, jr, and Rush a committee for the examination of all the candidates who applied to be surgeons in the Navy ; and he was also appointed a Medical Director of the Army Hospitals, and in 1778 succeeded the elder Dr. Shippen as Surgeon of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

Though a resident of Philadelphia the greater portion of his life, Dr Cadwalader retained his farm near Trenton, called Greenwood, to which he frequently resorted, and here he died 14 November, 1779, but two months after the abrogation of the charter of the Academy and College of which he had been a diligent and faithful Trustee for nearly twenty eight years. Though he and his wife, who survived him seven years, remained Friends all their lives, their only sons John and Lambert both distinguished themselves in the military service of the Revolution. The elder, Gen. John Cadwalader, was elected a Trustee on his father's death. Both these sons were "entered" by him in the Academy and College in 1751 at its opening.

XX.

The Trustees lost no time in looking for a supply to the vacancy caused by Mr. Martin's death. Twenty-one of their number were present at the meeting on 11 December, 1751 including the new Trustee Dr. Cadwalader, "to consider of some Person to supply" Mr. Martin's place

in the Latin School, and it being said that Mr. Allison, a gentleman of good Learning in Chester County had lately expressed some Inclination to be employed in that School, Mr. Francis was desired to write to him, to know whether he was yet so inclined, and upon what Terms he would undertake the charge thereof.

At a Meeting held on 28 December it was reported by Mr. Allen

that Mr. Francis Alison had been in Town, and that himself, and some others of the Trustees have had some Conversation with him, and though he seemed diffident of undertaking the charge of the Latin School, he had promised however to be in Town again by the 7th of January next, and attend School for a month upon Trial.

He entered upon his duties at the time named, and fulfilled the promise of his reputation, and remained ; his salary at the March meeting being set at £200 per annum, the same as his predecessor's was. His former pupil, Charles Thomson, must have been the source of the Trustees' information regarding this celebrated teacher ; and his name being submitted when Dr. Cadwalader was present, the latter could speak intelligently of the man who had been tutor in the family of his sister Dickinson. Mr. Alison's diffidence, referred to in the Minutes, continued many months, and his final assumption of the Rectorship cannot be determined. In his letter of 2 July, 1752 to Rev. Dr. Johnson, Franklin speaking of the Academy, says :

Our Academy, which you so kindly inquire after, goes on well. Since Mr. Martin's death the Latin and Greek School has been under the care of Mr. Alison, a Dissenting minister, well skilled in those languages and long practiced in teaching. But he refused the Rectorship, or to have anything to do with the government of the other schools. So that remains vacant, and obliges the Trustees to more frequent visits. We have now

several young gentlemen desirous of entering on the study of Philosophy, and Lectures are to be opened this week. Mr. Alison undertakes Logic and Ethics, making your work his text to comment and lecture upon. Mr. Peters and some other gentlemen undertake the other branches, till we shall be provided with a Rector capable of the whole, who may attend wholly to the instructions of youth in the higher parts of learning as they come out fitted from the lower schools.

FRANCIS ALISON was born in the parish of Lac, County Donegal, in the year 1705. He received an excellent education at an academy under the particular inspection of the Bishop of Raphoe, and was subsequently a student for some years at the University of Glasgow. He came to America in 1735, and his first educational work was as tutor in the family of Samuel Dickinson of Talbot County, Maryland. Whether he remained there long enough to have any training of the young John Dickinson is doubtful. In 1737 he was ordained by the New Castle Presbytery, Delaware, and installed pastor of the New London congregation, Chester County, Pennsylvania, where he continued fifteen years. At this latter place he opened an Academy in 1743. Upon this school of his creation, the Synod of Philadelphia in 1744 engrafted the grammar school which they took measures to establish on a permanent foundation, with special reference to training young men for the ministry. Mr. Alison was made Principal, and it became a justly celebrated institution, and served not only the purposes of the Synod in preparing well qualified ministers, but furnished the State with trained civilians; among these were Charles Thomson, Dr. Ewing, Hugh Williamson, and James Latta, and of Signers of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas McKean, George Read and James Smith. This Academy was eventually removed to Newark, Delaware, and became the foundation of Delaware College.¹ When Mr. Martin the Rector of the new Academy died, he was attracted to Philadelphia and was asked to take his place, but this caused the severance from his pastoral charge

¹ Wickersham, iii.

and his school and in an irregular way, which however the Presbytery condoned as in a great measure excusable on account of the pressing circumstances in which he was placed at New London, it being almost impracticable for him to apply for the consent of the Presbytery or the Synod in the usual way. He remained in the faithful charge of his duties, and under the charter of 1755 creating the College, he became Vice-Provost.

It was at the meeting of 10 December, 1754, that he joined with William Smith, then Professor of "Logick, Rhetorick, Ethicks, and Natural Philosophy" in submitting the thought of a College :

It being represented by Mr. Alison and Mr. Smith that it would probably be a Means of advancing the Reputation of the Academy, if the Professors had a Power of conferring Degrees upon such Students as had made a suitable proficiency in Learning to merit that Distinction ; and that several ingenious young Men, not finding that Testimony of their Acquirements to be had here had left the Academy on that Account: The Trustees considering that such honorary Distinctions might be an Incitement to Learning, and having Reason to believe the Governor, if applied to, would readily grant the Power of conferring them, desired Mr. Alison and Mr. Smith to draw up a Clause to be added to the Charter for that Purpose, and lay it before the Trustees at their next meeting.

This was done ; but the subsequent steps in securing the Charter of 1755 will be narrated in future pages. On 13 April, 1756, a minute records he was

appointed Professor of the higher classics, Logic, Metaphysicks and Geography, and that he teach any of the other Arts and Sciences that he may judge himself qualified to teach, as the circumstances of the Philosophy Schools may require ; but if it so happen that Mr. Smith can spare time from his Employment in the other Branches of Literature to teach any of these Branches, then and in that case Mr. Alison shall employ the overplus of his Time as usual in the Grammar School in the Capacity of Chief Master.

Besides his duties at the Academy, he continued his clerical work as assistant minister of the First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. Yale College in 1755, two years after Franklin had received his degree, and Princeton in 1756 conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts, and in 1758 the University

of Glasgow made him Doctor of Divinity. Dr. Sprague says, "so highly was this latter honour then appreciated, that the Synod to which Mr. Alison belonged, made a formal acknowledgment of it to the University." In 1765 his former congregation at New London, who had remained without a Pastor since he left them, asked him to return and resume his labors among them; but this he declined. He was then three score years of age, and preferred ending his life in the performance of his present engagements. He died 28 November, 1779, two months after the hostile Legislature had abrogated the charter of his College and Academy. Had his energies and life been spared, his influential connection with the Institution would have disarmed the political enemies of the institution of much of the force of their attack, and indeed might have stayed the thought of abrogation until calmer and juster thoughts would have found their sway.

It was in 1755 that Dr. Alison made a journey to New England, John Bartram being his fellow traveler. Franklin had written 1 September, 1755, a letter² introducing them to his friend Jared Eliot:

I wrote to you yesterday, and now I write again. You will say, *It can't rain, but it pours*; for I not only send you *manuscript*, but *living* letters. The *former* may be short, but the *latter* will be longer and yet more agreeable. Mr. Bartram I believe you will find to be at least twenty folio pages, large paper well filled, on the subjects of botany, fossils, husbandry, and the first creation. This Mr. Alison is as many or more on agriculture, philosophy, your own Catholic divinity, and various other points of learning equally useful and engaging. Read them both. It will take you at least a week; and then answer, by sending me two of the like kind, or by coming yourself.

The testimonies of two of his pupils show him to have been a remarkable man in natural powers and trained gifts, and his influence in the College and Academy was greatly felt in its development, and in the faculty he was second only to William Smith in learning and force. The University owes very much in its early nurture to its second Rector, the faithful and diligent

² Bigelow, ii. 413.

Presbyterian divine, Francis Alison. Dr. Ewing, in his funeral sermon, says of him :

Blessed with a clear understanding and an extensive liberal education, thirsting for knowledge, and indefatigable in study, through the whole of his useful life, he acquired an unusual fund of learning and knowledge, which rendered his conversation remarkably instructive, and abundantly qualified him for the sacred work of the ministry, and the faithful instruction of youth in the College. * * * All who knew him acknowledge that he was frank, open and ingenuous in his natural temper ; warm and zealous in his friendships ; catholic and enlarged in his sentiments ; a friend to civil and religious liberty ; * * * he has left behind him a lasting testimony of the extensive benevolence of his heart in planning, erecting and nursing, with constant attention and tenderness, the charitable scheme of the widows' fund, by which many helpless orphans and destitute widows have been seasonably relieved and supported, and will, we trust, continue to be relieved and supported, so long as the Synod of New York and Philadelphia shall exist.

Bishop White, in briefer phrase, gives a picture of his old professor :

Dr. Alison was a man of unquestionable ability in his department, of real and rational piety, of a liberal mind ;—his failing was a proneness to anger ; but it was forgotten,—for he was placable and affable.³

In his journey to New England in 1755, he visited Professor Stiles at Newport, who says of him :

He is the greatest classical Scholar in America, especially in Greek—not great in Mathematics, Philosophy and Astronomy, but in Ethics, History and general reading, is a great literary character.

Provost Smith in his account of the College and Academy in the *American Magazine* for October, 1758, says he

has long been employed in the education of youth in this province, and many of those who now make a considerable figure in it have been bred under him. He was one of the first persons in this country, who, foreseeing the ignorance into which it was like to fall, set up a regular school of education in it ; and so sensible were that learned and respectable body, the *University of Glasgow*, of his pious and faithful labour for the propagation of useful knowledge in these untutored parts, that they lately honored him with the degree of *Doctor of Divinity* sent him without any solicitation on his part, and even without his knowledge.

³ *Memoirs*, 18.

XXI.

The young tutors Barton and Duché have been already named. No minute appears recording the appointment of Thomas Barton, though by the Treasurer's accounts he was on duty and received a salary of £50 per annum as early as November, 1752, and the Trustees voted him 17 November, 1753, an augmentation of £10. Jacob Duché's nomination was due to the order of the Trustees, 13 February, 1753, "the number of Scholars in the Latin School being greatly increased, it is resolved that another Usher be provided with all convenient speed," and on 17 November, 1753, he was granted a salary of £40 per annum, the Treasurer's accounts showing he had been then six months on duty. This young man, but just fifteen years of age, continued, but without formal appointment, eighteen months in this work, as Mr. Coleman's entries charge him with no payments after August, 1754. It interfered with his duties as a scholar preparing for a degree, which he obtained with honor at the first commencement in 1757. His talents secured his election as Professor of Oratory in December, 1759, and he was further honored by the election as a trustee in February, 1761, in the room of William Masters who had died in the November previous. Some account of his ecclesiastical, political, and literary life may be found in place when we consider him as a Trustee.

THOMAS BARTON, born in Ireland in 1730, of English parentage, was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and when about twenty years of age came to this country and opened a school in Norriton township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, in the neighborhood of the Rittenhouse family. The following year he accepted the tutorship in the Academy, and he here continued until 1754, when at a meeting of the Trustees on the 13th August "having by letter directed to them signified his Design of leaving the School and going into Orders; they consented to his Dismission in a Month or two, agreeable to his Request." He was ordained by the Bishop of London, 29

January, 1755, and returning to Philadelphia in the following April, he shortly entered on his duties as Missionary in Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania, from whence he ministered at York, and Carlisle and Shippensburg. His interest in the Indians was warmly aroused, but the defeat of Braddock marred his plans for usefulness among them. He became Chaplain to General Forbes in his expedition of 1758. For nearly twenty years he was Rector of St. James Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania; his life was full of untiring activities in the frontier settlements. In the Revolution he felt that his oath of allegiance as a minister bound him to England, and he parted with all his interests in Pennsylvania, and arrived within the British lines in New York in 1778. He died 25 May, 1780, and was interred in the chancel of St. George's Church, New York. He preached a notable sermon on Braddock's Defeat, which with an introductory letter by Provost Smith received a very extended circulation, entitled *Unanimity and Publick Spirit*. He had sought Mr. Smith's judgment upon it and asked his views

on the office and duty of Protestant ministers, and the right of exercising their pulpit liberty in the handling and treating of civil as well as religious affairs, and more especially in times of public danger and calamity.¹

This embodied a reference to the Friends then in power in the Assembly who were opposed to all warfare defensive as well as offensive. And the Provost enclosing a copy of this production to the Archbishop of Canterbury, informs him

upon the general consternation that followed General Braddock's Defeat, I wrote to the Missionaries on the Frontiers as far as I knew them, exhorting them to make a noble Stand for liberty, and vindicating the office and Duties of a Protestant Ministry against all the Objections of the Quakers and other Spiritualists who are against all clergy.²

As we use the latter word to-day, such association would not be sought by the former now. It may well be granted, however, that the Friends were consistent, and that had the whole community been permeated with the just principles of which they claimed to be the exponent, there would have existed

¹ Mr. Smith's letter is given at full in his *Life and Correspondence*, i, 110-118.

² *Life and Correspondence*, i, 119.

no hostility or treachery among the Indians, and the frontiers would have had the defence of righteousness. John Penn, the Proprietary, said of Barton :

Nor has he done anything in the military way but what hath increased his character for piety, and that of a sincerely religious man and zealous minister. In short he is a most worthy, active and serviceable Pastor and Missionary.

Mr. Barton married in 1753 a sister of David Rittenhouse. The College and Academy conferred on him in 1760 the degree of Master of Arts, and the same was conferred by Kings College in 1770. His son Benjamin Smith Barton was in 1789 elected Professor of Natural History and Botany in the College, and in 1813 from that was made Professor of Materia Medica in the University. And his grandson William P. C. Barton was chosen Professor of Botany, in 1816, succeeding his uncle, whose death occurred in 1815.

In his son's Memoirs of David Rittenhouse it is said that his death

put a period to the sincere and intimate friendship between that gentleman and Mr Rittenhouse, which had subsisted almost thirty years. This friendship, which may be said to have commenced almost in the youth of both parties, continued without interruption until the year 1776; when the declaration of American independence produced, unhappily, some abatement of it on each side; at least, so far as related to that great political measure, respecting which they entertained different opinions. For, although Mr. Barton was, in truth, warmly attached to the principles of the English Whigs; and had, on various occasions, manifested his zeal for the liberties of the American people and rights of the colonists; his opinions were conscientiously opposed, and only these, to the expediency of that measure. Yet, it is believed, that the personal friendship of these intimate relatives was far from having ever subsided; the ties that early united them, were of the strongest kind; that union was of long continuance; and they were mutually sensible of each other's worth and talents.³

The loyal obituary notice of him which appeared in the *Royal Gazette*, 31 May, 1780, is worthy of record here :

On Thursday the 25th inst. departed this life aged 50 years, the Reverend THOMAS BARTON, A. M., the Society's Missionary for Lancaster, in the Province of Pennsylvania. This worthy Clergyman was distinguished

³ *Memoirs of Rittenhouse*, by William Barton, M.A., p. 287.

by a generous openness of temper, and liberality of sentiments, which joined to an exemplary conduct, and indefatigable zeal in discharging the duties of his function, gained him the love and esteem of his acquaintance[†]; especially of his parishioners, who greatly respected him during his residence among them for 21 years. His unshaken loyalty and attachment to the Constitution, drew upon him the resentment of the rebels, and exposed him to many hardships. The violence of the times compelled him at last to leave his numerous family, and take refuge in this city; where he bore a tedious and most painful sickness with fortitude and resignation; he died in firm expectation of that immortality and glory which are the exalted privileges of sincere Christians. On Friday last his remains were interred in the Chancel of St. George's Chapel.

His wife had died 18 June, 1774 and was buried at Lancaster.⁴

XXII.

The vacancy occasioned by Mr. Dove's retirement, which was made necessary by his insistence on continuing his private school, was filled by the appointment of Ebenezer Kinnersley, at the meeting of 10 July, 1753. The story is best told in the Minutes:

Mr. Peters inform'd the Trustees, That in Pursuance of their Resolution of providing a new Master for the English School, Mr. Franklin had sometime since wrote to Mr. Ebenezer Kinnersly, then in the West Indies to know if that Place would be agreeable to him, and that Mr. Kinnersly was now come over and had signified his Willingness to accept thereof, if the Trustees approve of him. The Trustees present, having express'd their approbation of Mr. Kinnersly, thought proper to send for Mr. Dove and acquaint him that they had provided a new Master for the said School pursuant to their Intention signified to him some Months ago; who, thereupon, declared he would attend the School no longer. Mr. Kinnersly

[†] Alden, *American Epitaphs*, ii, 206.

being then sent for, accepted the charge of the said School for one Year, his salary to be one Hundred and Fifty pounds per annum.

On 17 November following Mr. Kinnersley informed the Trustees "that there are no more than Fortyone scholars belonging to the English school," and they thought it unnecessary to keep two Ushers and Mr. Carroll, and

Mr. Franklin was therefore desired to acquaint him that the Trustees have no further occasion for his services, but that they will nevertheless continue him in Pay for Three Months after the expiration of the current Quarter, unless he shall sooner get into some other employment.

Mr. Kinnersley so commended himself to the Trustees in his labors, that at a large meeting of the Trustees held on 11 July, 1755, with Franklin presiding, he was "unanimously chosen Professor of the English Tongue and of oratory." It was a month before his appointment as Master of the English School, that we find one of those fugitive notes in the local press which testify to the Trustees' recognition of the importance of keeping the attention of the community alive to the subject of education as exemplified by the rule of the Academy. "On Wednesday the 30th past, the Reverend Mr. Cradock, from Maryland, preached in the Academy Hall, a most excellent Sermon on the Advantages of Learning."¹ This may have had a deeper meaning than the mere notice of the sermon would convey. May it not have been that Franklin thought he would find in this trained scholar and successful teacher the man to take the place, which he had hoped at the outset of the Academy would be filled by the learned Samuel Johnson of Stratford,

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 7 June, 1753. The Rev. Thomas Cradock, incumbent of St. Thomas' Parish, Baltimore County, the older brother of John Cradock, who in 1772 became Archbishop of Dublin, was a very learned man, and in the *Maryland Gazette* 5 May 1747 had advertised to take young gentlemen in his family and teach them the Latin and Greek languages, which he did for many years, his school being patronized from the near southern counties of that Province. It is related of his son Thomas that under his tuition the lad at the age of twelve was able to repeat entire pages of Homer in the Greek. Rev. Ethan Allen in *Sprague's Annals*, p. 111. In 1753 he published a version of the Psalms, translated from the Hebrew original into uniform heroic verse. Miss H. W. Ridgely's *Old Brick Churches of Maryland*, p. 122. It is not mentioned by Allibone. Mr. Cradock died 7 May, 1770, aged 51 years.

Connecticut, who became the head in 1754 of the New King's College, New York? There was no meeting of the Trustees in June 1753 for lack of a quorum; and the conjecture relating to Mr. Cradock in this connection has only the warrant of Franklin's special notice of his Academy Sermon on a Week Day, which he deemed important enough to apprise his readers of.

EBENEZER KINNERSLEY's name is so interwoven with the work of the first score of years of the Academy and College, that we naturally desire to know somewhat of the man who made for himself this distinction. He was born, the son of William Kinnersley a Baptist Minister, in Gloucester, England, 30 November, 1711. His father immigrated to America in 1714, and settled in Lower Dublin, near Philadelphia, where he officiated as minister to the Pennypack Baptist Church. He died in 1734; and the son afterwards united with the Pennypack Church, and on his marriage in 1739 removed to Philadelphia. His talents as a public speaker were soon manifest, and his desire was to enter the ministry but his health not being robust he was not ordained until 1743. He had in one of his lay sermons denounced Whitefield's teachings and so incurred the enmity of most of his co-religionists who were entranced by that wonderful preacher, that he was for a season under excommunication by his brethren, and for some time he attended Christ Church; but a reconciliation took place in 1746 when the Philadelphia Baptist Church was organized, of which he became one of the constituent members, and with this he remained in communion the remainder of his life.

It was in the year 1746 that in the indulgence of his well formed scientific tastes he became deeply interested in the investigation of electricity and its subtle and wonderful powers, and became closely associated with Franklin in his experiments and with others like minded. His pursuit of it was so engrossing as to overtax his health and he sought convalescence in Bermuda, whither he resorted at subsequent times for a like purpose; and it was while here that Franklin corresponded with him in the

Spring of 1753 about taking charge of the English School, which resulted in his connection with the Academy. His powers as a speaker made successful the Lectures on Electricity which he undertook, and which brought his name more prominently before the different communities in which he exhibited his interesting experiments, than other congenial friends who had not the like need to turn their accomplishments to useful purposes. Franklin gave him a letter of introduction, 5 September, 1751, to James Bowdoin when he is about visiting Boston :²

As you are curious in electricity, I take the freedom of introducing to you, my friend Mr. Kinnersley, who visits Boston with a complete apparatus for experimental lectures on that subject. He has given great satisfaction to all that have heard him here, and I believe you will be pleased with his performance. He is quite a stranger in Boston ; and as you will find him a sensible worthy man, I hope he will be favored with your countenance, and the encouragement which that must procure him among your friends.

In writing to Cadwallader Colden on 14 September, 1752, Franklin says³ : " I am sorry you could not see Mr. Kinnersley's Lectures ; they would have pleased you." Kinnersley's correspondence with Franklin was continued over many years, his last letter to Franklin which we have being written him to London 13 October, 1770 ; extracts from it have been given in the sketch of Franklin's life on a previous page, and all display the ardor of a learned enthusiast who in communicating his observations and experiments to an older friend appears to seek his concurrence if not approval in their results, who in turn responds with like eagerness to his friend whether from the quiet of his home or amid his public duties while abroad.

In 1757, Mr. Kinnersley received the degree of M.A. from his College, and in 1758 became a member of the American Philosophical Society. We shall see traces of his steps through his College duties, until his three score of years with a feeble constitution induced him to lay down his professorship, and he

² Sparks, v. 257. Bigelow, ii. 243.

³ Sparks, vi. 123.

resigned it 17 October, 1772. The Minutes of the Trustees, 15 October, record that

Dr Redman and Dr Peters reported that Mr Kinnersley had desired them to inform the Board that on the 17th inst, he designed to resign his office and Professorship in this Institution, the present state of his health requiring that he should make a Voyage to a warmer climate during the approaching Winter ; and that he hoped the Trustees would give him a proper Certificate of his good Behaviour during the last nineteen years in which he has been employed in their Service, and that they will allow Mrs Kinnersley to occupy the House in which he now lives, till next Spring, which was at once granted.

He passed the following winter in Barbadoes, thus again seeking strength under the restfulness of a tropical climate. On his return, he made his home in the country among the scenes of his early youth, and there died 4 July, 1778, and was buried at the Lower Dublin Baptist Church. It was as a graceful tribute to his memory that some of the Alumni and others erected a Window Memorial to Ebenezer Kinnersley⁴ in College Hall ; it is on the Eastern stairway, and all who pass and repass under its tinted light must be reminded of the faithful professor who found time to contribute to his fellow men some better knowledge of Electricity, and who thus supplemented the discoveries of the great Founder of the institution to which the latter had called him to be a professor.

Graydon in his *Memoirs* describes his tuition in grammar and recitation under Mr. Kinnersley, and speaks of him as "an Anabaptist clergyman, a large, venerable looking man, of no great general erudition, though a considerable proficient in electricity." Provost Smith's notice of him in the *American Magazine* for October, 1758, where he noticed Alison and Grew, already referred to, will be quoted later in a more fitting connection than here.

An opportunity presented itself shortly after Mr. Kinnersley's appointment, to securing a teacher for modern languages ; on 16 December, the Trustees being inform'd that Mr. Creamer a gent'n from Germany is

⁴ "In Memoriam Rev. E. Kinnersley, A.M., Orat. et Litt. Angl. Prof. 1753-1772" is the legend on the window. It was erected in 1872.

very capable of teaching the French and German Languages, and that he is now out of employment, Mr. Peters, Mr. Franklin and Dr. Bond are desired to enquire more particularly into his qualifications and to treat with him concerning his teaching those Languages in the Academy.

On 8 January, 1754,

Dr. Thomas Bond reports that pursuant to the Request of the Trustees at their last Meeting Mr. Franklin and himself had made some Enquiry concerning Mr. Creamer and had been informed he was qualified for Teaching the French, Italian and German Languages, and besides was well skill'd in Musick and some Kinds of Painting. That they had also desired to know of him upon what Terms he would undertake to teach these Things, or such of them as the Trustees should require, in the Academy. That in Answer to this he proposed to give attendance four Hours in a Day for a Salary of Sixty Pounds per annum, provided he might have Liberty of using the School Room to teach in at other Times, in Case any Scholars, not of the Academy, offer'd. The Trustees considering that some Inconveniences might attend this Matter, chose rather to make him an offer of £100. per annum for his attendance all the School Hours, or Time equivalent, if other Hours should be found to suit them better; Wherewith Dr. Thomas Bond is desired to acquaint him.

But this arrangement proved irksome to the Trustees, it seems, for a minute of 11 July, 1755, implies they desired a severance of these relations.

A letter from Mr. Creamer to the Trustees was read, requesting to be continued Teacher of the French Tongue till April next. But the Trustees being of Opinion his being longer employ'd in the Academy was unnecessary, agreed he should be paid up to this Time, and to give him a quarters salary over.

The interests of the Charity School kept pace in the thoughts of the Trustees with that of the Academy. At the meeting of 17 November, 1753,

Mr. Franklin and Dr. Shippen are desired to treat with one Mrs. Holwell (who for some Time past has kept a school, and is said to be well qualified for that Business) to know upon what Terms she would undertake the charge of thirty Girls to teach them Reading, Sewing and Knitting.

At the next meeting, these Trustees reported an engagement with Mrs. Holwell,

for which she is to be paid Thirty pounds per annum; and that at present she teaches in one of the upper Rooms in the Academy, till a more convenient place shall be provided.

On 13 August, 1754, it was ordered, That the Treasurer pay to Frances Holwell, Mistress of the Charity School, the Sum of Three Pounds, to be laid out in Books, Canvas, Cruels, and other Things necessary in the Instruction of the poor Children under her care.

What we of to-day term Fancy Work, the Trustees of old thought a necessary tuition to poor children; and the remembrance of ancient samplers is revived, the handiwork of the girls of the last century, which was fostered by the Fathers of our University. On 8 April, 1755, Mrs. Holwell was allowed "Fifteen pounds a year for an assistant, she taking charge of Fifty Girls, if the Trustees think fit to send so many."

XXIII.

The progress of the good work so carefully guided by the Trustees opened up further thoughts of the future uses of the Academy, and at the meeting of 10 April, 1753, when the approval of a Charter for the vigorous Academy was announced, it "was represented to the Trustees that the ground between the Academy Lot and Arch street might probably now be obtained on a reasonable Ground Rent, it was unanimously agreed to request Mr. Alison (who had been treating with the owners concerning it) to secure the same at the Rate of 4.6 pr Foot." The matter was at once closed, and certain two lots were secured, reaching from the Western moiety of their lot to Arch Street¹ giving them a frontage on that street of 126 feet; and at the same time and by the same conveyance they purchased the lot at the corner of Arch and Fourth streets, 36 feet on the latter by 54 feet deep, and upon this latter was eventually erected the Provost's house. There remained three adjoining

¹ Title was taken from Dr. Alison 14 July, 1753, who had purchased on 16 April previously from Jonathan Price. See Deed Book H, No. 7, p. 449, &c.

lots between this latter and the remainder, 40 feet on Fourth Street by 18 feet on Arch Street which were purchased by Mr Dove about the same time. Probably seeing the desire of the Trustees to possess these to square out their premises, Mr Dove may have secured them on a venture, for if he did not prove himself a Dove in teaching, as we shall see, he may have lacked his titular innocence in a trade. However this may be, negotiations were opened in about twelve years for their sale to the Trustees, and after a dozen years further patience they secured them for £850, which was reported at a special meeting on 22 November, 1766.² The purchase of 1753 was not too much for their expected wants. Buildings would be erected, and ample play ground reserved for the pupils, and dormitories were wanted for the incoming of the country lad who desired a better education than he could find near his distant town; though the Charter, now forthcoming, gave them no higher title than the one they had begun and flourished on: The Academy and Charitable School in the Province of Pennsylvania.

A Charter had early been in their thoughts, for the firmer management of their affairs and the proper holding of real estate, to say nothing of the political influence accruing to their efforts to have their work thus officially sealed to them by the powers that be. And at the meeting of 9 June, 1752, "Mr. Francis is desired to make a Draught of a charter for incorporating the Trustees of the Academy in order to be sent over to the Proprietor for his approbation." Through the influential offices of Dr. Peters, Secretary to the Proprietors, whose active interest in the Academy seemed to be second only to that of Franklin, the application to be chartered was well furthered. But the delays of ocean travel, and the formal solemnities of such a transaction, took many months to overcome; and only at the meeting of 10 April, 1753,

Mr. Peters acquainted the Trustees, that the Proprietors approved the Draft of a Charter which had been laid before them, and had sent over Directions for passing the same under the great seal. That they had like-

² The two Fourth Street Lots he had taken from the same Price title 18 April, 1753. The Trustees' title from him is Recorded in Deed Book I, No. 6, p. 663, &c.

wise sent an Order on their Receiver General for the Payment of Five Hundred Pounds to the Trustees of the Academy as soon as the Charter should be executed ; and the said Order was accordingly deliver'd to the President.

And it was then

Resolved, That an Address of Thanks be made to the Proprietors for this great Favour and noble Benefaction ; and Mr. Allen, Mr. Francis and Mr. Franklin are desired to prepare a Draft of the same, to be laid before the Trustees at their next meeting.

At the meeting of 13 July, seventeen Trustees³ being present, though the President was absent from the city on his tour to the Eastward on his post office duties,

Mr. Peters informed the Trustees that the Governor was now at his House, ready to pass the Charter, which had been fairly engrossed for that Purpose ; Whereupon the Trustees in a Body waited on the Governor, who accordingly signed the same with a Warrant for affixing the Provincial Seal thereto, and delivered it to the Trustees, expressing his good wishes to their Undertaking and that the charter now granted them might contribute to its Success. Mr. Francis then, in Behalf of the Trustees, returned the Governor their most hearty Thanks, and assured him they would likewise dutifully address the Proprietors in Acknowledgment of so great a Favour, and of their late noble Benefaction to the Academy. Mr. Francis was then desired to get the great seal affixed thereto pursuant to the Governor's Warrant, and cause it to be recorded in the Rolls office in Philadelphia.

Thus was chartered THE TRUSTEES OF THE ACADEMY AND CHARITABLE SCHOOL IN THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The gratification in receiving a Charter extended beyond the Trustees to the Pupils, and these were afforded an early opportunity to make declamations on the pleasing topic. Original papers by Francis Hopkinson, Josiah Martin, John Morris, and William Masters (who did not graduate), are preserved among the Penn Papers in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. These were cared for by the thoughtful Peters and forwarded to the Proprietaries as evidences of the proficiency attained in the Academy, which they had now clothed

³ Messrs. Lawrence, Francis, Turner, Willing, Plumsted, Maddox, White, Cadwalader, Syng, Thos. Bond, Leech, Phineas Bond, Shippen, Strettell, Inglis, Peters, and Coleman.

with a Charter. And in his handwriting we find the endorsement on one of them :

Some declamations made by the Latin Boys in the Academy on the Proprietaries kind grant of a charter, Not intended for View being only written as Rough Drafts to help their Memories at the time of delivery. Neither masters nor any other person that we know of gave any assistance.

Hopkinson in a firm manly hand, though but sixteen years of age, writes :

'Tis Learning which like an able Artist polishes the Diamond and Discovers its Lustre and latent Beauties. 'Tis Learning which makes a Man happy in himself and a blessing to his Country. 'Tis Learning which prepares us for Heaven and Perfection and makes a Mortal almost equal to the Angels themselves. * * * Alas, how unhappy are they who have not had the advantages of a liberal Education, surely Life must be a burden to them and Time hang heavy on their Hands ; but this shall never be said of Philadelphia while such generous, such publick spirited Gentlemen bear any sway in it.

John Morris, a graduate of 1759, who could not have been over fourteen years of age, with a vigorous and clear pen writes :

Our present Honourable Proprietaries, copying after the Example of such a noble Father, will no doubt, advance every good, every useful Design among us. How much are we indebted to them, for their generous Benefaction, how much for granting a Charter, which establishes this Academy upon a sure and lasting Foundation ? A Charter confirmed to us by a Governor, who has thought us worthy of his Notice and Protection amid the cares that attend his exalted Station ; a Governor born among us, our Friend and our Countryman, and a Governor distinguished for his peaceable administration and an inviolable Regard for the Laws and Rights of Mankind. How much is it for our Honour that our President has been so successful in his searches into the most hidden secrets of Nature and is in as much esteem at London and Paris as in Philadelphia. With such examples as these before our Eyes, and under your care, and inspection of such worthy gentlemen, what advantages may we not hope for ?

XXIV.

Franklin's summer in 1753 was a busy one ;

Having been for some time employed [he writes]¹ by the postmaster-general of America, as his comptroller in regulating several offices, and bringing the officers to account, I was upon his death, in 1753, appointed jointly with Mr. William Hunter, to succeed him, by a commission from the Postmaster-general in England. The American office never had hitherto paid anything to that of Britain. We were to have six hundred pounds a year between us, if we could make that sum out of the profits of the office. * * * The business of the postoffice occasioned my taking a journey this year to New England, where the College of Cambridge, of their own motion, presented me with the degree of Master of Arts. Yale College in Connecticut had before made me a similar compliment. Thus, without studying in any College, I came to partake of their honours. They were conferred in consideration of my improvements and discoveries in the electric branch of natural philosophy.

In writing to Cadwallader Colden on 25 October, 1753, he says :²

This last summer I have enjoyed very little of the pleasure of reading or writing. I made a long journey to the eastward, which consumed ten weeks ; and two journeys to our western frontiers ; one of them, to meet and hold a treaty with the Ohio Indians, in company with Mr. Peters and Mr. Norris.

In writing his friend Mr. Hugh Roberts on 16 July, from Boston, he says :

My respects to all our old friends of the JUNTO, Hospital and Insurance.³

These references call here for some notice of two other of the notable enterprises of the time in which Franklin's leadership was sought. The Pennsylvania Hospital had begun its first ministrations to the suffering in February, 1752, in the house of Judge Kinsey, on Market Street near Sixth, on the

¹ Bigelow, i. 241.

² Bigelow, i. 357.

³ Sparks, vii. 77. Writing to the same from London 27 February, 1766, he adds, "remember me affectionately to the Junto, and to all inquiring friends." Bigelow, iii. 456. Sparks, vii. 308.

site of which a few years afterwards Mrs. Masters erected her Mansion, elsewhere referred to, which was the precursor of the Washington residence. From its inception, at the close of 1750, Franklin had been its guide. His friend Dr. Thomas Bond originated the movement, and while these two were busy in arranging for the beginning of the Academy to train the mind of youth, they found time to plan an institution to provide means for healing the suffering bodies of the aged and the injured, or as Franklin expressively styles it, "for the relief of the Sick and Miserable;" and on 7 February, 1751, a bill was passed the Provincial Assembly incorporating "The Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital." Franklin had written up the matter in the *Gazette*, and employed other active means to interest the community in the project. And at the first meeting of the Contributors held at the State House, a board of managers was chosen, of which Benjamin Franklin was made President. Of the managers, twelve in number, Franklin, Bond, and Peters, were trustees of the Academy; and another Manager was Hon. John Smith, who in a twelvemonth became the originator of an institution for effecting insurances on buildings, in the furtherance of which he secured the like co-operation from Franklin that Thomas Bond had for his Hospital. Funds came in, and pending the selection of a permanent location, Judge Kinsey's house was rented, rules and regulations for its management were adopted, and Lloyd Zachary, Thomas and Phineas Bond, Thomas Cadwalader, Samuel Preston Moore, and John Redman were appointed the first surgeons and physicians, who offered to attend the patients gratuitously for three years. In December, 1754, the managers secured a block of ground, distant from the outskirts of the built-up portions of the city, being the entire square south of Spruce Street and west of Eighth Street.⁴ Provision was at once made for a building, and the corner stone of what we know as the East Wing was laid 28 May, 1755, with

⁴The Managers purchased for the erection of their Buildings the plot of ground known as Society Square on 15 November, 1754, on Pine Street between Eighth and Ninth Sts., and to this was subsequently added the balance (about one-fourth) of the block extending north to Spruce Street of the same width by gift of Thomas and Richard Penn under patent of 10 November, 1767. Dr. Morton's *History of the Pennsylvania Hospital*, 1895, p. 270.

Franklin's well known inscription on it, which will bear repetition here :

In the year of Christ
MDCCLV
GEORGE the Second happily Reigning
(for he sought the happiness of his people)
Philadelphia Flourishing
(for its inhabitants were public spirited)
This Building
By the Bounty of the Government
And of many private persons
Was piously founded
For the Relief of the Sick and Miserable,
May the God of Mercies
Bless the undertaking

The Hospital and the University have the same parentage, and their kinship is recognised to this day, for the Medical Department of the latter has always found its chief school in the means furnished by the former for the development of medical and surgical science, and most of its professors have earned their eminence on the basis of the tuition they have found in Hospital residence here.

It was in April, 1752, that Franklin, with great zeal and interest, lent his aid to establishing the first Insurance Company on the Continent, The Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire, of which the Hon. John Smith was the first policy holder and the first Treasurer ; an institution whose vigor and security to day make its policies the first on the list of all those granting indemnity for the Hospital and the University buildings in case of their loss by fire.

With such a citizen as Benjamin Franklin, though he was not native to the soil, can we wonder at the people of Philadelphia, under such inspiration and leadership, establishing so many institutions of value whose age to day proves the strength of their foundations ; it could not be otherwise that Philadelphia was flourishing, "for its inhabitants were public spirited." Rarely has it fallen to the lot of any citizen known to history to have behind him so many works of value and beneficence as we

find bearing the impress of Benjamin Franklin's brain and hand. To trace, therefore, the life of any one of them, it seems unavoidable in our progress to pass on without taking some account of the others, for in thus doing we can more fully estimate his catholicity and his wisdom.

He was next present at the Trustees meeting of 9 October, 1753, but there lacking a quorum, "the Trustees visited the English School but did no other business." It was between this date and that of his letter to Cadwallader Colden, of 25 October, above quoted from, that he journeyed to Carlisle as one of the deputies from the Provincial Assembly to meet the Western Indians, where a treaty was concluded. It is on this occasion that the narrative of his diplomacy to prevent the Indians becoming drunk before the Treaty was concluded has place,⁵ he strictly forbade the selling any liquor to them : and, when they complained of this restriction, he told them, that if they would continue sober during the treaty, he would give them plenty of rum when business was over.

The results were twofold, a successful treaty, but a following night of drunken orgies. For this the older Indians in their soberness the next day apologised, but laid it upon the rum, which they said was one of the good things of the Great Spirit, who when he made it, said, "Let this be for the Indians to get drunk with," and added "it must be so." In Franklin's time his observation was that "rum had already annihilated all the tribes who formerly inhabited the sea coast."

The entry of October, 1753, above quoted is one of many testifying to the personal attention of the Trustees to the work of their Professors and Tutors, namely,

14 January, 1752. The Trustees visited the Schools, but did no other Business.

11 August, 1752. The Trustees visited the Latin School, but did no other Business.

8 May, 1753. The Trustees visited the English School but did no other Business.

9 October, 1753. The Trustees visited the English School but did no other Business.

⁵ Bigelow, i. 229.

- 13 November, 1753. The Trustees visited the Latin School but did no other Business.
- 9 April, 1754. The Trustees visited the Writing Mathematical and Charity Schools, but did no other Business.
- 14 May, 1754. The Trustees visited the English School but did no other Business.
- 11 June 1754. The Trustees visited the Latin School but did no other Business.
- 9 July 1754. The Trustees visited the French School but did no other Business.
- 10 September, 1754. The Trustees visited the Latin School but did no other Business.

XXV.

To the names of Grew, Alison, Kinnersley, and Creamer, Thomson, Jackson, Duché, and Barton, who at this point of time composed the faculty and tutors of the Academy, and not forgetting those whose connection with it had ceased by death or resignation, Martin and Dove, the two Jones', Peisley and Carroll; we are led next in order to name, which though first appearing in the Minutes of 25 May, 1754, had been in the thoughts and on the tongues of the Trustees for a twelvemonth, William Smith, who happily formed a connection with it which he made the best and most enduring work of his life, which redounded to the advantage and credit of the Academy and College through his years of work in its behalf, and the remembrance and repute of which must remain to the latest era of its existence. The Trustees had now found, they believed, the man of mind and nerve and training to take the headship of the Academy. Though Dr. Johnson had denied them, and had assumed but a few weeks before this the Presidency of King's College, yet it was to his kindly interest as well as to his lasting credit that the suggestion of the name of this young Scotch tutor, who was then in the line of his duty on Long Island, may be traced. If the parent

of the University could not make Johnson its President or Provost, it was a fitting gift on the part of the parent of Columbia College to point the way for the first Provost of the University.

WILLIAM SMITH, the son of Thomas Smith, the great grandson of Sir William Smith, who died in 1631, was born within a few miles of the city of Aberdeen, 7 September, 1727, and was baptised in the "Old Aberdeenshire Kirk," 19 October. His Mother was Elizabeth the daughter of Alexander Duncan, of the Camperdown family, whose wife was a daughter of Sir Peter Murray of Auchintyre. Young Smith entered the parish school at seven years of age where he remained a year, when he was taken charge of by the Society for the Education of Parochial Schoolmasters from whose care he passed to the University of Aberdeen in 1741, where he resided some time but did not remain for graduation as there appears no record of this in the annals of either of the Colleges.¹ His biographer places him next in London, in 1750, as Commissioner for the Established or Parochial Schoolmasters in Scotland, addressing a "Memorial on their behalf to the great men in Parliament;" and in the same year he published an *Essay on Liberty*.²

¹ *Life of Rev. William Smith, D.D.*, by his great-grandson, Horace Wemyss Smith, Philada, 1880, i, 20. The biographer states he graduated in 1747, but his degree of 1759 of Sacrosanctæ Theologiæ Doctorem et Magistrum from the University of Aberdeen makes no reference to this earlier degree, i, 202. The official record of the Doctorate is as follows: "Kings College 7th March, 1759, Convened the Principal and Masters. The said day the University unanimously agreed to conferr the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon the Reverend Mr. William Smith Provost of the College of Philadelphia. Jo^l. Chalmers, Prin^{ll}," *vide* letters of 27 May, 1887, and 3 February, 1888, from P. J. Anderson. LL.B., Librarian of the University of Aberdeen. Had Mr. Smith been an alumnus, the fact would have been here noticed. Mr. Anderson writes in the latter, "The absence of the title 'M. A.' is I think conclusive as to Mr. Smith's not possessing the degree."

² "The whole of the year 1750 he passed in London and I have every reason to believe that during that time he acted as clerk for the Honorable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." *ibid* i, 20. We form some idea of the man and his early record from Archbishop Sherlock's letter testimonial of him to Thomas Penn, dated 19 September, 1753:

Sir—The bearer of this Mr. William Smith is desirous of being known and recommended to you and I make no difficulty of taking the liberty of complying with his request. He came to me from Scotland about two years ago, with very ample Testimonials of his capacity and morals and affection to the King and our Constitution. Had he staid here, I should have had my Eye upon him, but a good opportunity offering he went off as Tutor, to some young Lad, to New York. How he behaved there, the enclosed Letters will inform you very fully, and at the same

During this period he was tutoring in London, and later entered the family of Josiah Martin, Esquire, the second son of Samuel Martin of Green Castle, as tutor to his two sons. With this family he came to New York in the spring of 1751, landing in New York 1 May. Mr. Martin's house known as the Hermitage, at Far Rockaway, Long Island, where Smith passed the next two years is yet standing and in excellent order.³ Here Mr. Martin died in 1778; his eldest daughter married her cousin Josiah Martin, Governor of North Carolina in 1770, whose older brother Samuel was Member of Parliament for Camelford, Joint Secretary to the Treasury, and Treasurer to the Princess Dowager of Wales.

While here, Mr. Smith, in his nearness to New York City must have been familiar with the efforts then prevailing to erect a College in that city, and in this connection may have been in communication with Dr. Johnson, but of correspondence between them there is none existing.

The disputes in the Province of New York on the subject of a College were at their height when he arrived, and the questions of town or country for its location, and of its control by Episcopacy or Presbytery, were either of them sufficient to invite the young tutor of twenty-four years of age to note them and soon to take a part in the fray. Being a member of the Martin household, his intercourse with the leading men of the neighborhood was assured and easy. In 1752 he wrote

time give foundation to consider, how proper he may be to support the important character he aims at in the conduct of the infant College at Philadelphia. I have great reason to think him a good man. He is a scholar and ingenious and what is of the highest consequence of a temper fitted as it seems to me to pursue a plan of Education upon the large and generous footing of aiming at the Publick Good, with no other Bias, or partiality but preserving his Duty to the Constitution of his Mother country, consistently with a warm regard to the service of the Colonies, and the universal benefit of the various People that compose them. I think I am not mistaken in him, and if I am not, his Youth may recommend him and he may become a very faithful and useful servant in a country in whose prosperity you have so strong an interest. You will please to interrogate him and I believe you will be pleased with the good sense and ingenuousness with which he will answer to your questions. I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obliged Humble Servant, Tho. Cantuar.

This autograph letter is in the Penn Papers in Pennsylvania Historical Society, private, vol. iv. This letter may have reached Philadelphia for Smith's personal presentation of it to Mr. Penn, ere he sailed for England, as it is supposed, on 13 October following.

³ And is the property of James A. Hewlett, Esq., of New York.

Some Thoughts on Education : with Reasons for Erecting a College in this Province, and fixing the same at the City of New York : to which is added a Scheme for employing Masters or Teachers in the mean Time, and also for raising and endowing an Edifice in an easy Manner, and over the name of Philomathes dedicated them to Chief Justice De Lancey. "Being advised that, perhaps, it might be of public Use, to print the following Papers, which were intended originally to be laid before the House of Representatives only in Manuscript; I must beg Leave to put them under your Protection, to which the Subject naturally recommends them"; and they were printed by J. Parker in the autumn of 1752. The whole concluded with *A Poem, Being a serious Address to the House of Representatives*. In tone it rises above the ordinary controversial pamphlet, though it is full of the author's didactic statements submitted with his customary force; there is no ambiguity as to his meaning. He opens:

If we look into the Story of the most renowned States and Kingdoms, that have subsisted in the different ages of the World, we will find that they were indebted ⁴ for their Rise, Grandeur and Happiness, to the early Provision made by their first Founders, for the public Instruction of Youth. The great Sages and Legislators of antiquity, were so sensible of this, that they always made it their prime care to plant Seminaries, and regulate the Method of *Education*; and many of them even designed, in Person, to be the immediate Superintendants of the Manners of Youth, whom they justly reckoned the rising Hopes of their country.

Towards the conclusion, a paragraph embraces a reference to the efforts in Philadelphia of a like nature:

I shall only add that Oxford, Leyden, &c., are too complex and large to be any Model for us: the neighbouring Colleges of New England, Pennsylvania, &c., may be kept chiefly in our Eye; but tho' the People of these Provinces have the Honor to set us an Example in this truly noble WORK, we have the Advantage of seeing where they have been deficient, and of being sensible that Something might be contrived more commodious than any of their Schemes.

⁴ In preparing the *Thoughts* for the edition of his *Works* published in 1803, Smith qualified this by making it read "they were greatly indebted," &c. The *Thoughts* were designed by him as a part of his Third volume, but the published *Works* only reached two Volumes; hence the pamphlet did not reach the second edition.

These *Thoughts* brought the author into controversial prominence, and Philomathes was made the object of the resentment of those whose schemes may have been thwarted by his careful reasonings. Franklin in his letter to Smith of 3 May, 1753, which we shall shortly reach, affords us a clue to this when he expresses regret at Smith's expressions of resentment against his adversaries in his *Mirania*, where towards the close he says :

As for those Writers who delight to give frequent Specimens of their Knack at Wrangling and Chicane ; or, who are determined to think Nothing right in this Affair, but what comes from themselves, my Time is too precious to follow them thro' the Maze of Perplexity. They may, if they please, ascribe every Thing I have done to a Selfish Motive ; I shall leave it to Time and the Issue of the Thing to convince them how much they have injured me. It will then be sufficient Punishment for them to reflect on their Usage of One who never offended them, but by a Zeal for the Happiness of that Province, which they ought to love more, than one, who is a Stranger in it. There was no other way I could manifest that Zeal but on the Subject of Education, as all the Time I have lived in the World has been Spent on my own Education and that of others. * * * Sorry should I be, however, if, after all my Partiality in treating this Matter, I should fall under the Displeasure of any Sect or Party, who may claim an exclusive Right of modeling this Institution to their Mind. ⁵

A few months after the publication of his *Thoughts*, he proceeded to draw up in detail, and publish over his signature, his plan of a College, entitled

A General Idea of the College of Mirania, * * * Addressed more immediately to the consideration of the Trustees nominated by the Legislature, to receive Proposals, &c. relating to the Establishment of a College in New York ;

wherein under the guise of an allegory he sketched out this plan. He says :

While I was ruminating on the constitutions of the several colleges which I had either personally visited or read of, without being able to fix on any Thing I durst recommend as a model worthy our Imitation, I chanced to fall into the Company of a valuable young gentleman, named Evander, who is a person of some distinction, of the province of Mirania. After some conversation on learned topics, he was led to give me an account of a seminary established about twelve years ago in that province in which I

⁵ *Mirania*, p. 79.

thought I perceived all that seems excellent in the ancient and modern Institutions reduced to the greatest Method and Simplicity. This I have presumed to propose to your consideration ; which as it may be further improved by you, and other learned Men among us, seems extremely well adapted to the circumstances of this Province of New York, as we are now entirely such as the Miranians were when they founded their College, with Regard to Riches, Trade, and the Number of People.⁶ * * * Evander tells him about twelve years ago, the Miranians saw themselves a mighty and flourishing people, in possession of an extensive country, capable of producing all the necessaries and many of the superfluities of life. They reflected that the only method of making these natural advantages of lasting use to themselves and posterity, the only infallible source of tranquillity, happiness and glory, was to contrive and execute a proper scheme for forming a succession of sober, virtuous, industrious citizens, and checking the course of growing luxury. They were sensible, that tho' a Combination of lucky circumstances, almost wholly independent on them, had raised them so high, they should be wanting to themselves if they depended longer on blind chance for any Thing which was now in their Power to command. They were convinced that, without a previous good Education, the best Laws are little better than *Verba minantia*, and considered as such, will be duped and broke thro' with Impunity by illustrious Villains ; that the Magistrate can at best but fight vice into a corner, and that 'tis Education alone can mend and rectify the Heart ; that no Government can subsist long on Violence and brute Force, and that Nature follows easily when treated rationally, but will not bear to be led, or driven.

They saw also, that among the foreigners, who were as numerous as the English, many distinctions were forming upon their different customs, languages, and extractions, which, by creating separate interests, might, in the issue, prove fatal to the government. They wisely judged, therefore, that nothing could so much contribute to make such a mixture of people coalesce and unite in one common interest, as the common education of all the youth at the same public schools under the eye of the civil authority * * * With these views the Miranians applied themselves to project a plan of education ; every person of genius, learning, and experience, offering his impartial thoughts on this subject, whether they were in a private or public capacity ; as being sensible that an understanding of such lasting consequences demanded the united councils, the heads and hearts, of a whole country * * * With regard to learning, the Miranians divide the whole body of people into two grand classes. The first consists of those designed for the learned professions ; by which they understand divinity, law, physic, agriculture, and the chief officers of the State. The second class of those designed for mechanic professions, and

⁶ *Mirania*, p. 8.

all the remaining people of the country. Such a division is absolutely necessary ; for, if the shortest way of forming youth to act in their proper spheres, as good men and good citizens, ought always to be the object of education, these two classes should be educated on a very different plan. * * * These considerations gave rise to what is called the Mechanics' School in this Seminary. It might, however, as well have been called a distinct college ; for it is no way connected with what is called the College (by way of Distinction) than by being under the Inspection of the same Trustees, and the Government of the same Head, whom they call Provost or Principal. Most of the Branches of Science, taught in the College, are taught in this School ; but then they are taught without languages, and in a more compendious manner, as the circumstances and Business of the Mechanic require. This school is so much like the English School in Philadelphia first sketched out by the very ingenious and worthy Mr. Franklin, that a particular Account of it here is needless.⁷

This reference to the Philadelphia Academy implies the author's familiarity with that scheme ; and some of the phrases of Evander's narrative echo the ideas more tersely expressed by Franklin in his Proposals and other early papers on the Academy.—Evander proceeds to describe the schools, and their classes in detail, and speaks of “the principal whose name is Aratus,” who instructed the fifth or highest class in the study of agriculture and history.

* * * Forgive me, my friend [proceeded Evander], if in this part of my narrative, I should be tedious, or discover any unbecoming raptures. The time spent in these studies was the happiest period of my life, and which I have often wished I could begin again, a period I can never reflect upon, without feeling my bosom burn, and thinking I hear the good Aratus, with hands outstretched, and eyes glowing affection and devotion, pouring important Truths from his fervent Tongue, and leading us unperceptibly from the visible to the invisible things of God.⁸

It was but natural that Mr. Smith should send copies of his piece to some of those interested in a work in Philadelphia, akin to the efforts now making in New York, and on April 11 he wrote to Franklin enclosing a copy of his

⁷ *Mirania*, pp. 9, 10, 14, 15.

⁸ *Mirania*, p. 45. Dr. Smith prepared a second edition of this very entertaining and instructive Essay for his *Discourses* of 1762, “corrected” by him, but the corrections and abbreviations detract somewhat from the interest and style and the freshness of the edition of 1753.

publication upon the ideal College of Mirania, and made inquiry about placing his pupils, the young Martins, in the Philadelphia Academy, pending a proposed visit home which he appeared to be contemplating for the purpose among others of applying for Orders in the Church of England. We are not told aught of Mr. Smith's change of ecclesiastical views, for that he was brought up in the Presbyterian Kirk a faithful adherent to the Westminster Confession we cannot doubt. It may be that a two years residence on Long Island, where Yale's influence predominated, led him to a knowledge of the painful separation Johnson and Cutler and Brown had made from Presbyterianism thirty years before, and with designs of the ministry early in mind, he now acquiesced in the claims of Episcopacy and turned his face to England to seek Orders, though many months elapsed before this consummation. His letter we have not; but Franklin's letter is preserved, both the original draft and the letter, the latter omitting a paragraph of the former which bore more immediately upon the entertainment and instruction the Martins would find in Philadelphia. Mr. Smith's letter had evidently conveyed the impression that he proposed settling in England on his return. Franklin's letter is inserted here as originally drafted, the paragraph withheld being marked in brackets. Mr. Sparks gives the letter as drafted; Mr. Smith's Biographer with the original letter in hand calls attention to the omission⁹

Philadelphia 19 April 1753¹⁰

Sir. I received your favor of the 11th instant, with your new piece on *Education* which I shall carefully peruse and give you my sentiments of it, as you desire, by next post.

[I believe the young gentlemen, your pupils, may be entertained and instructed here, in mathematics and philosophy to satisfaction. Mr. Alison, who was educated at Glasgow, has been long accustomed to teach the latter, and Mr. Grew the former, and I think their pupils make great progress. Mr. Alison has the care of the Latin and Greek School; but, as he has now three good assistants, he can very well afford some hours every day for the instruction of those, who are engaged in higher studies. The mathematical school is pretty well furnished with instruments. The

⁹ Smith, i. 23.

¹⁰ Bigelow, ii. 288. Sparks, vii. 63.

English Library is a good one, and we have belonging to it a middling apparatus for experimental philosophy, and purpose speedily to complete it. The Loganian Library, one of the best collections in America, will shortly be opened ; so that neither books nor instruments will be wanting ; and, as we are determined always to give good salaries, we have reason to believe we may have always an opportunity of choosing good masters ; upon which, indeed, the success of the whole depends. We are obliged to you for your kind offer in this respect ; and, when you are settled in England, we may occasionally make use of your friendship and judgment.]

If it suits your conveniency¹¹ to visit Philadelphia before your return to Europe, I shall be extremely glad to see and converse with you here, as well as to correspond with you after your settlement in England. For an acquaintance and communication with men of learning, virtue and public spirit, is one of my greatest enjoyments.

I do not know whether you ever happened to see the first proposals I made for erecting this Academy. I send them enclosed. They had, however imperfect, the desired success, being followed by a subscription of *four thousand pounds* towards carrying them into execution. And, as we are fond of receiving advice, and are daily improving by experience, I am in hopes, we shall, in a few years, see a *perfect institution*. I am, very respectfully, &c

B. Franklin.

In a fortnight Franklin took up his pen to write Smith further on his College of Mirania. In this case as the letter is longer than the draft, we quote it entire from Smith's *Life and Correspondence*, merely noting at foot the verbal changes and the point of addition.¹²

Philadelphia 3 May 1753

Sir : Mr. Peters¹³ has just now been with me, and we have compared notes on your new piece. We find nothing in the scheme of education, however excellent, but what is in our opinion very practicable. The great difficulty will be, to find the Aratus, and other suitable persons in New York, to carry¹⁴ it into execution ; but such may be had if proper encouragement be given. We have both received great pleasure in the perusal of it. For my part, I know not when I have read a piece that has more affected me ; so noble and just are the sentiments, so warm and

¹¹ The letter reads : " if it suits you to visit Philadelphia." ¹² Smith, i. 23.

¹³ In a letter of this date Richard Peters writes to Thomas Penn, " I desire your acceptance of a Book on Education sent me by the Author, Mr. William Smith, Tutor to Col. Martin's children on Long Island, an acquaintance of the Archbishop of Canterbury."

¹⁴ In *New York* not in draft.

animated the language ; yet, as censure from your friends may be of more use, as well as more agreeable to you, than praise, I ought to mention, that I wish you had omitted, not only the quotation from the *Review*, which you are now justly dissatisfied with, but all those¹⁵ expressions of resentment against your adversaries, in pages 65 and 79. In such cases the noblest victory is obtained by neglect, and by shining on.¹⁶

Mr. Allen has been out of town these ten days ; but before he went, he directed me to procure him six of your¹⁷ pieces, though he had not and has not yet seen it.¹⁸ Mr. Peters has taken ten. He proposed¹⁹ to have written to you, but omits it, as he expects so soon to have the pleasure of seeing you here. He desires me to present his affectionate regards to you, and to assure you that you will be very welcome to him. I shall only say to you that you may depend upon my doing all in my power to make your visit to Philadelphia agreeable to you.²⁰ Yet, me thinks I would not have you omit bringing a line or two from Mr. Allen. If you are more noticed here on account of his recommendation, yet as that recommendation will be founded upon your merit, known best where you have so long resided, their notice may be esteemed to be as much "*on the score of something you can call your own,*" as if it were merely on account of the pieces you

¹⁵ All not in draft.

¹⁶ In a letter from the Bishop of Oxford to Dr. Johnson, 19 March, 1754, when Mr. Smith was in London awaiting his ordination, the Bishop says, "if he had pursued his intention of residing awhile at Oxford, I should have hoped for more of his company and acquaintance. Nor would he, I think, have failed to see more fully, what I flatter myself he is convinced of without it, that our Universities do not deserve the sentence which is passed upon them by the author whom he cites, and whose words he adopts in page 84 of his 'General Idea of the College of Mirania.' He assures me they are effaced in almost all the copies. I wish they had not been printed, or that the leaf had been cancelled. But the many valuable things which there is in that performance, and in the papers which he published at New York, will atone for this blemish with all candid persons." Beardsley's *Johnson*, '78. The Bishop's reference is to the following : "They know little what our English Universities are at present: For, to use the words of the authors of the *Review*, for November, 1750: 'That even both our Universities (not forgetting that in the Metropolis of a neighboring Kingdom) are rendered of little use to the Public, or to the Welfare of Religion, by the idle Doctrines and corrupt Manners which prevail in them, is a Truth equally notorious and melancholy; and any effectual scheme for a thoro' Reformation or (if this is impossible, thro' the Perverseness of their Members) a total abolition of them would merit the attention of every Lover of his Country, every Wellwisher to true Christianity, and to civil and religious Liberty.'" *Mirania*, p. 84. On Smith's copy of the *Mirania*, he adds on the margin opposite these lines "This quotation was raz'd out of most of the copies before they got abroad, the author considering them injuriously applied." But for Franklin's reference to the author's personal allusion on pages 65 and 79 of *Mirania*, we should not now know that they were "expressions of resentment against his adversaries;" thus early in his American career had his active zeal in devising new things been intensified by his warm temperament and a youthful proneness to disputation.

¹⁷ Six copies of your piece in draft.

¹⁸ This last phrase not in draft.

¹⁹ Purposed in draft.

²⁰ This ends the draft. The letter proceeds.

have written. I shall take care to forward your letter to Mr. Miller by a vessel that sails next week. I proposed to have sent one of the books to Mr. Cave, but as it may possibly be a disappointment to Mr. Miller if Cave should print it, I shall forbear, and only send two or three to some particular friends. I thank you for your information concerning the author of the dialogues. I had been misinformed; but saw with concern in the public papers last year, an article of news relating that one Mr. Fordyce,²¹ the ingenious author of *Dialogues on Education*, perished by shipwreck on the coast of Holland, on returning home from his tour to Italy. The sermon on the "Eloquence of the Pulpit" is ascribed in the *Review* of August, 1752, to Mr. James Fordyce, Minister at Brechin. I am, with great esteem, Sir, your most humble servant
B. Franklin.

By the first of June, Smith was in Philadelphia with his young pupils whom he placed at the Academy. His satisfaction on this occasion in witnessing the fruits of the faithful work of the Trustees and Masters found expression in

A POEM on visiting the ACADEMY of *Philadelphia*, June, 1753, [of two hundred and seventy lines, bearing on the title page Virgil's lines as the legend :]

*Inventas qui Vitam excoluere per Artes;
Quique fui memores alios fecere merendo;
Omnibus bis niveâ cinguntur Tempora Vitiâ.*

His letter of Dedication bears date 5 June, and addresses the Trustees :

Gentlemen. Having receiv'd the intensest Satisfaction in visiting your Academy, and examining some of its higher Classes, I cou'd not be easy 'till I had testify'd that Satisfaction in the most public Manner. The undeserv'd Notice many of you were pleas'd to take of Me during my Short Stay in your City, and the Honor the Academy (when I first went into it) did me in making one of the Youth Speak a Copy of Verses, which I lately wrote to promote the Interest of *Science* in a neighboring Province, might claim my most grateful Acknowledgments. But what I now offer is a Tribute paid to Merit of a more public Nature. A few private Gentlemen of this City have, in the Space of two or three Years, projected, begun, and carried to surprizing Perfection, a very noble *Institution*; and an Institution of that Kind too, which, in other Countries, has scarce made such a

²¹ David Fordyce lost at sea, 1751, brother of James. As natives of Aberdeen, these brothers may have been personally known to William Smith; hence the present reference. Both received their education at the University of Aberdeen, and David was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy in Marischall College in 1742, the year subsequently to William Smith's matriculating at Kings College. Allibone.

Figure in the Space of some Centuries, tho' founded by Kings, and supported at the public Expence.

Prosecute, *Gentlemen*, yet a little longer prosecute your *generous Plan*, with the same Spirit ; and your own Reputation, with that of your *Academy*, shall be establish'd, in Spite of every Obstacle, on a Bottom immortal, and never to be Shaken. A Succession of *good Men* and *good Citizens* shall never be wanting in *Pennsylvania* to do Honor to your Memories, and diffuse Spirit and Happiness thro' their Country. The Virtues to be chiefly inculcated in your Youth in order to obtain this End, you know better than I. They are however modestly hinted, in the following Poem, from a Mouth that cannot fail to give them new Importance. * * * *
That the Success of your Undertaking may still exceed even your own most sanguine Hopes, is my earnest Prayer, as it is my firm Persuasion that such a fair Beginning cannot fail of the most lasting good Consequences. * * *

The Poem may merit the quotation from it of a few lines :

Heavens ! how my Heart beat Rapture, to behold
The little *Heroes*, decent, graceful, bold,
The *Rostrum* mount, with *British* Ardor warm'd,
And, by the sacred Soul of *Glory* charm'd,
With Hands out-stretch'd, rowl, tingling, from their Tongue,
Sage Truths of *Justice, Freedom, Right, and Wrong*,
In numerous Periods, sweeter than my Song.
O how the *Sires* glow'd round, and fed their Eyes
Fix'd on their darling Sons in sweet surprize ;
O how the *Sons* were smit with conscious Fires,
In the animating Presence of their *Sires* !
Even GOD Himself exults in such a Sight ;
And *Angels* hang applausive, in Mid-flight.
While those bright Souls releas'd from earthly care,
To whom th' Affairs of Kindred-men are dear,
Look down triumphant on the lovely Scene ;
And for a While Suspend their heavenly Strain.

In reference to the efforts now also made in the city of New York for a like institution he at the close gives these lines :

O were the Joy compleat !—But one sad Thought
Depresses half the Raptures of my *Note* !
For can I celebrate such *wisdom here*,
O much lov'd YORK, nor drop a duteous Tear ?

Rise, nobly rise ! dispute the Prize with *Those* ;
 As *Athens*, rivaling Lacedæmon, rose !
 The illustrious sisters, keen alike to seize
 The Palm of *Empire*, and the Reins of *Greece*,
 Each rous'd by Each, fed high the glorious Fire ;
 Flam'd, bustled, shone—and had the World admire !
 O Strife far nobler, who shall most excel,
 In *Knowledge*, *Arts of Peace*, and *Living well* !
 This nobler Strife, ye nobler²² Sisters feed !
 Be yours the Contest in each worthy Deed ;
 Shine *Godlike* Rivals for the *Muses' Palm* ;
 And strive who first shall sway the *Laureat-realm*.

The author closes with a tender farewell to his pupils, whom in a foot note he describes as

the three eldest Sons of the Honorable *Josiah Martin*, Esq, late of *Antigua* ;
 They were plac'd at the Academy of *Philadelphia* at the Time this Piece
 was written :

Yet ere we close, O Muse, one Labor more
 Indulge where I have labor'd oft before.
 Dear Pupils, let the Lessons here imprint,
 Sink intimate and deep into your Breast.
 Now climb the Steep to *Science* in your *Youth*,
 The *Votaries* of *Wisdom*, and of *Truth*.
 Your zeal let none within these walls excel ;
 Strive for *Esteem*, for *Glory*, and . . . farewell !

This interesting and now rare quarto of sixteen pages was printed by Franklin and Hall, and is announced in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 7 June, "Next week will be Published." The College of Mirania is advertised in the *Gazette* of the following week "just published in New York, and to be sold by D. Hall." And it was during this brief visit to Philadelphia, and in his conferences with the Trustees, that William Smith's interest in the young institution led him to compile his *Prayers for the Use of the Philadelphia Academy*, a little tract of twenty pages, which was also printed by Franklin and Hall in the same year. This includes "A Morning Prayer, to be used by every Scholar in

²² The Cities of *New York* and *Philadelphia*.

his chamber at rising from Bed," and "An Evening Prayer to be used by every Scholar in his chamber at going to Bed," besides "Publick Prayer," for both Morning and Evening in the chapel, each consisting of Sentences, Exhortations, and Prayers ; and in addition, embracing The Ten Commandments, The Apostles' Creed, and the Duty to God and towards my Neighbour, from the Church of England Catechism. An Evening Prayer is the following :

Be favourable to all Seminaries of sound Learning and virtuous Education ; vouchsafe to shower down thy peculiar Blessings on all those who are in the Trust, Direction and Management of this Academy, upon the Institution itself, and upon all those who are in any ways concerned in or related to it. Help them to put it upon the best Foundation, and to form from Time to Time such Orders and Regulations in it as will best promote thy Glory, and the Establishment of solid and useful Learning.²³

Thus the first visit of William Smith to Philadelphia created and secured impressions which left no room for other wish than that he might be induced to make the city his home, and the evidence presented him as to the stable foundation of the Academy and its bright promises of future usefulness and reputation left no doubt that he would accept a connection with it. Nothing official appears to have passed, neither records nor correspondence affording us any information on this. His visit to Philadelphia was brief, as he says in his dedication of the Poem, "The Performance is far inferior to the Subject ; but an Apology will not mend it. As I have no time to improve it during my Stay in America," &c., thus he may have at once sailed for home, and this explains why he left his young pupils in Philadelphia at this time. He could have made but a brief visit to Scotland, for we find him again in New York by October ; and his biographer tells us he sailed thence again on 13 October,

²³ The University recently came into the possession of one of the two only copies of these Prayers known to us of these days. The publication is not referred to by Dr. Smith's Biographer, and was also unknown to Mr. Hildeburn when printing, in 1885, his *Issues of the Pennsylvania Press, 1685-1784*. Could the seed of this have been Bishop Ken's *Manual of Prayers for the use of the Scholars of Winchester College* ? A copy of the edition of 1700 of this little formulary was in the Library of the late Professor Henry Reed.

1753,²⁴ landing in London on 1 December. Franklin now writes him :

Philadelphia, 27 November 1753.

Dear Sir : Having written to you fully,²⁵ via Bristol, I have now little to add. Matters relating to the Academy remain *statu quo*. The trustees would be glad to see a Rector established there, but they dread entering into new Engagements till they are got out of debt ; and I have not yet got them wholly to my Opinion, that a good Professor or Teacher of the higher Branches of Learning, would draw so many Scholars as to pay great Part, if not the whole of his Salary. Thus, unless the Proprietors [of the provinces] shall think fit to put the finishing Hand to our Institution, it must, I fear, wait some few years longer before it can arrive at that State of Perfection, which to me it seems now capable of ; and all the Pleasure I promised myself in seeing you settled among us, vanishes into smoke.

But good Mr Collinson writes me Word that no Endeavors of his shall be wanting ; and he hopes, with the Archbishop's Assistance, to be able to prevail with our Proprietors. I pray God grant them success. My son presents his affectionate regards, with

Dear Sir, yours, etc B. Franklin.

P. S. I have not been favored with a line from you since you arrived in England.²⁶

Mr Smith at once communicated with the church authorities and sending the Archbishop of Canterbury a copy of his *Mirania*, received from him a reply on 10 December :

I have read over your *Mirania*, and am pleased with the Design. It is a very comprehensive one, and if you cannot execute the whole you must go as far as you can. When you form it into a plan for public use, you will cut off some of those Luxuriances which perhaps are more of amusement than instruction. You see I am somewhat free with you. I shall be glad to find that the schemes for yourself are like to succeed, being confident you will do your duty conscientiously.

²⁴ Smith, i. 28, 29. Dr. Franklin in his letter of 18 April, 1754, acknowledges Dr. Smith's letter of 18 October from England acquainting Franklin that he "had written largely" before that; and we have the Archbishop of Canterbury's letter of 13 September to Thomas Penn beginning, "The bearer of this, Mr. Wm. Smith, is desirous of being known and recommended to you, &c." His passage in return to America must have been a short one, especially if he had waited to present in person the Archbishop's letter of introduction to Thomas Penn ere he sailed; but the dates of this correspondence, and the biographer's record are not reconcilable.

²⁵ This letter is not in existence.

²⁶ Smith, i. 28; Bigelow, ii. 335. The draft of this letter in possession of Dr. T. Hewson Bache, on the third line reads, "A majority of the trustees I find would be glad," &c., &c. The postscript is not in Bigelow or Sparks, but is in the draft, as here given.

Meanwhile, he lost no time in seeking his entrance into the ministry; and on 21 December, in Fulham Palace, he was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of Lincoln, and on the 23d was ordained Priest by the Bishop of Carlisle, each acting for the aged and infirm Sherlock, Bishop of London, who was present at the services. There were ordained with him Samuel Seabury, William Skerrington, Francis Hoyland, and James Pasteur. Seabury was two years his junior; brought up in boyhood at Hempstead, Long Island, a graduate of Yale, he ministered as a layman on behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts at Huntington, Long Island, up to July, 1752, when he crossed the ocean to pursue his studies at Edinburgh University; he must have formed Smith's acquaintance shortly after the latter reached Long Island in Mr Martin's family, for Smith was of too active a temperament to remain unknown to any man of education within his reach, and it may be that from Samuel Seabury he derived some of those ideas of Episcopacy which helped him to a determination in his ecclesiastical career. They returned to America about the same time;²⁷ but we have no knowledge of their again meeting until 1789 when assembled in Philadelphia the Council of the American Episcopal Church, in which sat Samuel Seabury and Smith's early college pupil William White, and where Smith's instrumentalities for concord and union among all sections proved so potent to the strengthening of the church.

Three days after his ordination Rev. William Smith started North to see his father, and on the last day of the year, he records in his Diary "preached in the Kirk in which I was baptized." Before his return to America he engaged the interest of the Propagation Society in the matter of education of the German emigrants in Pennsylvania, in which he felt much concern which was increased on his return to Pennsylvania, when he actively participated in a local movement there for that pur-

²⁷ Mr. Smith arrived in Philadelphia on his return on 22 May, 1754, and Mr. Seabury reached his mission at Hempstead, Long Island, on 25 May; it is possible both were fellow passengers on the *Falcon*. In 1789 on Bishop Seabury's visit to Philadelphia he was the guest of Dr. Smith, then a resident of the South East corner of Chestnut and Fifth Streets.

pose; it was a matter not only of religious bearing but of political, as it was then feared that the ignorance of the German emigrants in regard to our language and laws made them easy prey to the designs of French emissaries who sought all means to weaken British interests in the Middle Colonies. He formed some design of remaining at Oxford for further study. Dr. Secker, then Bishop of Oxford, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter of 19 March to Dr. Johnson already quoted thanked him "for his favors by Mr. Smith. He is, indeed, a very ingenious and able, and seems a very well-disposed young man, and if he had pursued his intention of residing awhile at Oxford, I should have hoped for more of his company and acquaintance."

Franklin again writes him, apparently uncertain of his plans and intentions, which were doubtless unformed at the time, and which accounts for the infrequency of his letters to Philadelphia, but the letter did not reach him as he had already sailed from England: ²⁸

Philadelphia April 18 1754.

Dear Sir: I have had but one letter from you since your arrival in England, which was but a short one, via Boston, dated Oct. 18 [?] acquainting me that you had written largely by Captain Davis.—Davis was lost and with him your letters, to my great disappointment. Mesnard and Gibbon have since arrived here, and I hear nothing from you. My comfort is, in imagination that you only omit writing because you are coming, and propose to tell me everything *viva voce*. So not knowing whether this letter will reach you, and hoping either to see or hear from you by the *Myrtilla*, Capt. Budden's ship, which is daily expected, I only add, that I am, with great esteem and affection, Yours etc B. Franklin.

On 22 May, Mr. Smith landed in Philadelphia, from the *Falcon*, having sailed from London 5 April. His biographer tells us, "during the voyage he wrote several essays on education, which were afterwards published in the *Antigua Gazette*." ²⁹ He was now at the threshold of his life's best work, and with

²⁸ Smith, i. 44. This letter is not found in either Sparks or Bigelow, nor reference thereto. There is an error in the date of the letter named, for Mr. Smith was then on the ocean, having sailed, it is said, on 13 October. See ante.

²⁹ Smith, i. 44.

his accustomed energy and vivacity lost no time in consummating his plans.

Three days after his arrival, a Meeting of the Trustees was summoned, and there attended, as the roll in order recites, Messrs. Franklin, Shippen, Leech, Peters, Taylor, Inglis, Cadwalader, Plumsted, Tho: Bond, Francis, Allen, M'Call, Masters, Phin. Bond, White, Willing, Syng, and Coleman, when

the Question being put, Whether it be necessary at this Time to provide a Person in the Academy to teach Logick, Rhetorick, Ethicks and Natural Philosophy? it was carried in the affirmative by a great majority.

It being proposed that Mr. William Smith, a Gentleman lately arrived from London should be entertain'd for sometime upon Trial, to teach the above mentioned Branches of Learning, in Case he will undertake it; the same was agreed to, and Mr. Franklin and Mr. Peters are desired to speak with him about it. [No terms were then set for his remuneration; and it was not until the meeting of 11 July, 1755, that this was defined:] the Question being put, whether the Salary of the Provost shall be Two Hundred Pounds per annum carried in the affirmative by a great Majority, and resolved that it shall commence from the Time of his first being employed in the Academy.

This was the amount of Mr. Alison's salary from the outset, as it had been that of Mr. Martin, the first Rector. To this, however, was added an annuity to Mr. Smith of £50 per annum from Thos. Penn, in compliance with a request made him in 1754 "when the state of the Academy made it necessary to open schools in the higher branches of Learning, begging his assistance to enable them to employ a fit Person to instruct the Youth in the Arts and Sciences." The addition to the Provost's salary from this generous source continued until 1761, when Mr. Penn's gift of his one-fourth part of Perkasié Manor was accepted with the understanding that this sum was now to be assumed by the Trustees.³⁰ The Treasurer's account confirms the entry in Mr. Smith's Diary, "25 May, 1754 commenced teaching in the philosophy class, also ethics and rhetoric to the advanced pupils. I have two classes, a senior and a junior one." It was at the meeting previous to the action had relating to the salary, namely 30 June 1755 that it was "Proposed, That the Trustees

³⁰ Minutes 10 February, 1761.

visit Mr. Smith's School on Thursday next, and inform themselves particularly what Branches of Learning and Science he teaches the Students under his care, and the Proficiency they have made ;" the result of which was so satisfactory that they voted his salary at the subsequent meeting.

Mr. Smith's Diary could not have been a cotemporary record, and in after times he may have made leading entries which will account for the entry immediately preceding the one just quoted ; and which in fact anticipated by ten months the actual appointment, viz : " 24th May 1754. I was this day inducted Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, and Professor of Natural Philosophy." ³¹ But the College had no existence until the new charter of 1755, under which, at the meeting of 7 March, 1755, twenty of the Trustees attending, "in Pursuance of the proposed new Institution, Mr. William Smith was chosen Provost and Mr. Francis Alison Vice Provost and Rector, and their names order'd to be accordingly inserted in the Draught of the new Charter." In a note on the margin of this Minute in the handwriting of Dr. Smith, added some years later, it appears they then were "both unanimously" elected.

We soon have an insight into the workings of the Academy as Mr. Smith found them, in his letter of 18 July following written to Dr. Peters then at Albany in attendance on a council with the Six Nations. As Smith was landing in Philadelphia the colonies were alive with fears of war with France, and the importance was felt of counteracting the influence to be wielded by that nation with the Indians. The fears were not groundless, and as many of the Trustees were on duty in public service in this and the following year, the Professors and Tutors had less of their aid and countenance than in the piping times of peace.

Smith in a letter to Dr. Samuel Chandler, written 30 May says: "Messrs. Peters and Franklin are to be sent out on Monday next as commissioners from the province to the general treaty,

³¹ Smith, i. 45 ; being a day earlier than the meeting of the Trustees above quoted.

to be held with the Five Nations at Albany, in New York, on the 14th of next month."³² Franklin in his autobiography describes the opening of this drama, and the meeting which he was about attending was made memorable in the annals of the country as giving him the occasion to present his famous plan of union of all the colonies. At the instant of time when he had finally secured William Smith to become one of the faculty of the Academy and to lead onwards and upwards the well digested aims of the institution, he was then preparing this famous plan of a constitutional confederation, having the prescience of a seer that some kind of union of English interests in this cis-Atlantic must be effected ere many years would elapse. In his *Gazette* of 9 May, when narrating the capture by the French of Capt. Trent's party at the Ohio Forks, he concluded with a reference to the necessity of a union of the colonies for "one common defence and security," and closes with the illustration by a wood cut of a snake divided into several parts with the legend JOIN OR DIE; an effective picture which was often reproduced at the beginning of the Revolution. His autobiography narrates the steps leading to this :³³

In 1754, war with France being again apprehended, a congress of commissioners from the different colonies was, by an order of the Lords of Trade, to be assembled at Albany, there to confer with the chiefs of the Six Nations concerning the means of defending both their country and ours. Governor Hamilton, having receiv'd this order, acquainted the House with it, requesting they would furnish proper presents for the Indians, to be given on this occasion; and naming the speaker (Mr. Norris) and myself to join Mr. Thomas Penn and Mr. Secretary Peters as commissioners to act for Pennsylvania. The House approv'd the nomination, and provided the goods for the present, and tho' they did not much like treating out of the provinces; and we met the other commissioners at Albany about the middle of June. In our way thither, I projected and drew a plan for the union of all the colonies under one government, so far as might be necessary for defense, and other important general purposes. As we pass'd thro' New York, I had then shown my project to Mr. James Alexander and Mr. Kennedy, two gentlemen of great knowledge in public affairs, and, being fortified by their approbation, I ventur'd to lay it before the Congress. It then appeared that several of the commissioners had

³² Smith, i. 45.

³³ Bigelow, i. 242.

form'd plans of the same kind. A previous question was first taken, whether a union should be established, which passed in the affirmative unanimously. A committee was then appointed, one member from each colony, to consider the several plans and report. Mine happened to be preferr'd, and, with a few amendments, was accordingly reported.

Mr. Bancroft says of this statesman's plan :

New England colonies in their infancy had given birth to a confederacy. William Penn, in 1697, had proposed an annual congress of all the provinces on the continent of America, with power to regulate commerce. Franklin revived the great idea, and breathed into it enduring life. As he descended the Hudson, the people of New York thronged about him to welcome him ; and he, who had first entered their city as a runaway apprentice, was revered as the mover of American Union.³⁴

XXVI.

Instruction as well as interest calls for some attention in these pages to the great political movements of the day, seeing that the hand which was so often seen and felt in them was the same that was in like kind seen and felt in the local institution whose narrative we are pursuing ; and we can thus obtain the lights and shadows of its life which might otherwise remain hidden from our eyes. We turn now to Mr. Smith's letter to Dr. Peters, which is doubly entertaining as illustrating how in less than a two months' domicile in the colony his versatile mind had already formed decided views on the political questions of the day, and which in the present case would be acceptable to his correspondent :

¹ Philadelphia 18 July 1754.

Dear Sir. As we have not heard from you this Post, I am at some loss how to direct to you, but presume this will find you at New York. I

³⁴ *History of the United States*, iv. 125.

¹ Smith, i. 49.

wish your Congress with the Indians may turn out to the advantage of the British cause, which has received a fatal blow by the entire defeat of Washington, whom I cannot but accuse of Foolhardiness to have ventured so near a vigilant enemy without being certain of their numbers, or waiting for junction of some hundreds of our best Forces, who were within a few Days' March of him. But perhaps what *is* (in this case) *is right*; as it may open the eyes of our Assembly.

As I hope soon to see you I shall say nothing about the Academy. A Resolution which my worthy Friend, Col. Martin, is like to take, affects me much, as it must be attended with an irreparable Loss to his children, for which Reason and none other you may endeavour, as I have already done, to divert him from it; and I doubt not his good sense will take it in this Light both from you and me. I know his children. They know and I hope love me. Now in about a twelvemonth their Education will be finished on the plan I have proposed. What is most useful in Logic they have already acquired. Moral Philosophy we have begun, and against the vacation in October shall have completed what we intend. Greek and Latin they continue to read at proper Hours, together with two Hours every Day at Mathematics. From October till February or March we shall be employ'd in reading some ancient Compositions critically, in applying the Rules of Rhetoric and in attempting some Imitations of these most finished Models in our own Language. This I take to be the true way of Learning Rhetoric, which I should choose to put off until after the study of natural Philosophy had we any apparatus ready, because in order to write well we should have at least a general notion of all the sciences and their relations one to another. This not only furnishes us with sentiments but perspicuity in writing, as one science frequently has Light thrown upon it by another. In the Spring we shall spend 5 or 6 weeks in such experiments in natural Philosophy as we shall be able to exhibit. The rest of the Summer may be usefully spent in the Elements of civil Law, the reading of History and the study of the Ends and Uses of Society, the different Forms of Government, &c &c. All this I hope we shall be able to give our higher Class a sketch of, several of whom, particularly Mr. Martin's sons, have capacity enough for such a course of Reading. Now, sir, I appeal to you whether, for the sake of one year, it would be prudent in Mr. Martin to change his son's Masters and Method? Would he consult their Interest if, for that short time, he should interrupt the many acquaintances they are forming at our academy, which may be of use to them while they live, and which they cannot expect at New York, where there will not be for some time above 8 or 10 Boys (unless they depart from the odd plan they have proposed), and not one Boy can be classed with Mr. Martin's sons.

All this I say upon the supposition their Education could be com-

pleted as well in New York as here. But this is impossible at first. For Dr Johnson only pretends to teach Logic and Moral Philosophy, both which the Martins will have gone thro' before Dr Johnson begins, and should he begin them again, his Logic and Morality are very different from ours. There is no Matter by his scheme. No ground of Moral Obligation. Life is a Dream. All is from the immediate Impressions of the Deity—Metaphysical Distinctions which us Men and surely no Boy can understand. I fear much will come in the place of fixing virtue on her true Bottom and forming the Taste of elegant writing. But further, whom have they at New York for Mathematics or Nat. Philosophy, which are not the Dr's province? Whom for teaching the Belles Lettres? Where is their apparatus? Where a sufficient number of Students for public school acts & Disputation? Thus, then, you see if Mr Martin takes his sons from this place he must fix them at New York so far advanced that they cannot carry them one step farther, and thereby I wonder what could induce Dr Johnson, whose worth and Integrity I know, to strive to persuade Mr Martin to remove his sons from a Seminary where they have reaped great Benefit, & where their Education must soon be finished. To me, who know what they have done, what they can do and what they want to do, it clearly appears such a step would absolutely mar their Education and I doubt not it would appear so to you. I have stated the case to Col Martin, but could say a Thousand things more if I saw him. I beg you to speak to him, if you should go to Long Island on purpose. You love doing good, and you never can have such an opportunity of serving that Gentleman, who, not having a liberal education, may be easily misled on a point the most important of all others. Did I not see it in this light I would scorn to say one word on the subject. 'Tis true, I had reason to think what I have already done for his sons would make him glad of finishing their studies under one who knows and loves them; but if their Interest were not at stake, his Design of removing them would only so far affect my pride as to make me resent the usage with Silent Contempt. I would never wish that the Character of an Academy or mine in particular should want any other Basis but what is intrinsic and may be seen by all.

My compliments to our dear Franklin. We are in hopes he will return with you. I beg also to be remembered to Mr. Penn, Mr. Morris and all your company, as also to the Gov'r'mt and as many of my New York Friends as are pleased to think of me. The clergy there I do not forget. Excuse my haste & the length of this, which flows from honest zeal for the welfare of my dear pupils. Yours affectionately

William Smith

From this letter we gather an insight into the beginnings of Kings College, of which Dr. Johnson had assumed the Presidency

but a few weeks before. The controversies which surrounded its birth, and of which indeed it was made the occasion, forbade Dr. Johnson working out a full curriculum at once, and in Mr. Smith's warm concern for his pupils he was loth to have them go thither under the circumstances and away from his tutelage; though it was alike reasonable for Mr. Martin to desire his sons entered at a college nearer home, the support of which was sought for from every active Churchman. But death soon solved the question for one of the lads: William Thomas Martin, the second son, died after a brief illness on 28th of August, 1754. And on Sunday, 1 September, the day after the funeral, Mr. Smith preached a sermon in Christ Church "On the Death of a Beloved Pupil," the first of his published discourses. With the sermon there were printed "A Collection of the Tears" of a few young gentlemen who were fellow students of the deceased, in verse, the writers being Francis Hopkinson, Samuel Magaw, Jacob Duché and Paul Jackson, with lines also from Thomas Barton. Hopkinson's lines open and conclude thus:

I call no aid, no muses to inspire,
Or teach my breast to feel a poet's fire;
Your soft expression of a grief sincere,
Brings from our soul a sympathetic tear

* * * *

This only truth permits me to disclose,
That in your own, you represent my woes;
And sweeter than my song, is your harmonious prose.

In an obituary of the young man and a notice of the sermon printed in the *Gazette*, 5 September it is said:

Our Academy has been remarkably happy, in sustaining so few Losses of this kind. For since it was first open'd this is but the second Youth that has died, in more than the Space of four Years: which among several Hundreds that have been constantly educating in it, is uncommon, as it has been long observ'd, in all the Schools and Colleges of Europe, that *one* out of an Hundred dies one Year with another. Our City was never known, upon the whole, so healthy in the Month of *August*, as this year, nor have we ever had fewer Deaths * * * As the Preacher seem'd sensibly touch'd with his subject, and was known to have loved the

Deceased, who had grown up under him for several Years, and was a Plant reared by his own Hand, the Discourse had a very great effect upon the Audience. It is now in the Press, by the particular Desire and Advice of some who heard it, and will be published about the Middle of next week.²

During Franklin's absence in the early part of 1755 in a tour in the New England States, he visited New Haven, at which time at a reception in College Hall the Rev'd Ezra Stiles, an alumnus of 1746, then a Tutor, and in 1778 President of Yale College pronounced a Latin oration in compliment to him. Franklin's friendship with the Rev. Jared Eliot, one of the Trustees of the College, and acquaintance with President Clap had induced him in 1749 to send an electrical machine to the College; and the experiments made with it at this time by Mr. Stiles are claimed to have been the first of the kind in New England.³

² "Personal Affliction and frequent Reflection upon human Life of great Use to lead man to the Remembrance of God." A Sermon, &c., Printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall, 1754.

³ *Yale College*, Kingsley. i. 78, 103. This oration, "In Gratulatione Nobilissimi et Amplissimi vivi B. FRANKLINI, Armig. Pensylvan. De Honoribus suis, ob. Ratiocinia & Inventiones ejus eximias et insignes in ELECTRICISMO; oratio, quam ad ILLUM, in Aula Acad. Yal. Habuit. EZRA STILES, Nonis Februarii, A. D. 1755," is given in full in William Temple Franklin's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of his Grandfather*, London, 1818, quarto Vol. I, p. 443, and octavo edition ii. 289. Mr. Dexter, Assistant Librarian of Yale University, favors me with a copy from Dr. Stiles' original MS. of the oration; the author must have furnished Dr. Franklin, upon request, with a copy, and this doubtless was found among the latter's papers from which it was inserted in the *Memoirs* of 1818. This latter bears some verbal changes from the original which make no difference, however, in the proper rendering. Mr. Dexter writes me: "In February, 1755, the Tutors were the only resident instructors besides the President; and with President Clap's partiality for Stiles, 'it is not strange that the duty of welcoming Franklin was committed to him.'" For a further reference to this interesting occasion see Mr. Dexter's *Annals of the College History for 1754-55*, ii. 355: "Another distinguished writer in the following February was Benjamin Franklin, who was now Deputy Postmaster General for the 'North American Continent, and had already received the honors of the College for 'his brilliant electrical discoveries, &c.'"

XXVII.

We have seen that Mr. Smith was chosen Provost and Mr. Alison Vice-Provost in March, 1755, in advance of the passage of the new charter, in order to secure the names of the incumbents of these two offices being inserted in the draft of the charter. This new charter, as stated in a previous page, was based upon a suggestion to the Trustees in December, 1754, submitted by Mr. Alison and Mr. Smith, looking to securing the needed power of conferring degrees, which was not accorded in the charter of 1753. These gentlemen, under instructions to draw up a clause to be added to the charter for that purpose, appeared at the January meeting and "laid before the Trustees the Draught of a Charter" drawn up by Mr. Smith,

for the Purposes mentioned in the Minute of 10 December last, which being long and containing several matters of Importance, Mr Francis Mr Peters Mr White and William Coleman are appointed a Committee to examine the same, and are desir'd to report thereon at the next meeting. [on 11 February] Mr Peters reported that the Committee appointed to examine the Draught of a Charter laid before the Trustees at their last meeting, after maturely considering the said Draught, had made a new one, varying from the former in several Particulars, and the said new Draught being produced by Mr Francis, was read, and considered Paragraph by Paragraph, and after a small Alteration was approved of and ordered to be engrossed. [On 7 March] the Trustees being now informed that the Governor agreeable to the Prayer of their Petition to him, was ready to grant them a Charter on the Terms of the above mentioned Draught, resolved to wait on him immediately in order to receive the same at his Hands.

These were Messrs. Hamilton, Franklin, Inglis, Stedman, M'Call, Allen, White, Plumsted, Turner, Cadwalader, Strettell, Maddox, Peters, Phin. Bond, Francis, Tho. Bond, Leech, Masters, Syng and Coleman. But a clause in the charter excited some misapprehension as to its scope, which perhaps was only detected upon the due application of its terms; and at the meeting of 13 May, the only Minute recorded bears on the question:

The new Charter lately granted to the Trustees being produced and read, some Objection was made to a clause therein, as tending to confirm

any future Provost, Vice Provost and Professors in their respective offices during Life, which not being intended Mr Peters was desired to wait on the Governor in Behalf of the Trustees, and request he would be pleased to alter the same.

This was accorded ; and on 10 June, 1755, the clause in the new Charter objected to at the last Meeting having been altered by the Governor to the Satisfaction of the Trustees, and the Charter afterwards repass'd the Seal all the Trustees who attended this meeting [namely Messrs Franklin, Phin. Bond, Taylor, Cadwalader, Zachary, Peters, Stedman, Shippen, Masters, Hamilton, Strettell, Turner, Syng, Inglis, Tho. Bond, and Coleman,] except Lloyd Zachary, waited on the Governor as did likewise the Provost and Vice Provost ; and respectively took and subscribed the Qualifications thereby required in his Presence. And the Trustees in Consequence thereof do now assume the Name and Title of THE TRUSTEES OF THE COLLEGE, ACADEMY AND CHARITABLE SCHOOL OF PHILADELPHIA IN THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, by which Name they are incorporated.

Dr. Zachary never qualified and took his seat in the Board ; but his death in November 1756 removed his name from the list of Trustees. At the meeting of 30 June Messrs. Francis, Maddox and Mifflin, qualified and took their seats ; and on 11 July, Messrs. Allen and White appeared in like manner. As there are no minutes between that date and 9 December, we find no record of the times Messrs. Leech, M'Call, and Plumsted took their seats under due qualification.

Early information to the public was given of the passage of the first draft of this charter, by Franklin in the *Gazette* of 11 March, 1755 :

Last Friday an *additional Charter* passed the Great Seal of this Province by which a COLLEGE, in the most extensive Sense of the Word, is erected in this city, and added to that Collection of Schools, formerly called the *Academy*, under the same general Government, the Trustees being now incorporated by the Name of "THE TRUSTEES OF THE COLLEGE, ACADEMY, AND CHARITABLE SCHOOL OF PHILADELPHIA, IN THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA." The Chief Masters are also made a FACULTY, or learned Body, by the Name of "THE PROVOST, VICE PROVOST, AND PROFESSORS OF THE COLLEGE AND ACADEMY OF PHILADELPHIA IN THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA," and a Power of *admitting* Students and others to the usual UNIVERSITY DEGREES is granted, under such wise and judicious Restrictions, that the Honors of the Seminary

can hardly ever be prostituted to mean or venal Purposes, but must be the object of every Student's Ambition, who is capable of distinguishing between real and counterfeit Honor. That Clause in the Charter relating to DEGREES shall be inserted in next Week's Gazette, that such as are desirous of the Honors of this College, may see on what terms they are to expect them, and how far they may be considered as real Honors.

XXVIII.

Four of the original trustees were now dead. To the names of Logan and Hopkinson, already recorded, were added Lawrence and Willing; a fifth, Dr. Zachary participated no further in the councils of the Trustees. Isaac Norris who had succeeded Logan had tendered his resignation from want of time amid pressure of public duties. Governor Hamilton had been chosen 17 September, 1754, to succeed Mr. Lawrence; Mr. Alexander Stedman, on 11 February, 1755 to succeed Mr. Willing; and Mr John Mifflin on 7 March, 1755 to fill the vacancy left by Mr. Norris. Both Hamilton and Stedman attended the meeting which elected the new Provost and Vice-Provost, and Mifflin's election was had at the same meeting. Before we proceed in our narrative of the College under the creation given to it by the charter of 1755, let us learn somewhat of these new Trustees, who all shared actively in its work.

JAMES HAMILTON, son of Andrew Hamilton, a Councillor, and a native of Accomac County, Virginia, was born about 1710. His sister, Margaret, was wife of Chief Justice Allen, one of the original Trustees of the Academy. His father owning lands in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, he was returned from there to the Provincial Assembly when but twenty-four years of age, and was re-elected five times therefrom. Removing afterwards to Philadelphia, he was made a member of Council

in 1739, in 1741 an Alderman, was chosen Mayor in October, 1745, and while Mayor was called to a seat in the Provincial Council and qualified 17 January, 1746. Visiting England, he returned from there in November, 1748, bearing a commission from the Penns as Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. Franklin writing to James Logan 6 April, 1748, says, "You must have heard that Mr. James Hamilton is appointed our Governor; an event that gives us the more pleasure, as we esteem him a benevolent and upright, as well as a sensible man."¹ His instructions from home hampered him in his dealings with the Assembly, whose bills for the issue of paper money could not meet his approval as they were without the required proviso that the operations of all such should be suspended until the Royal assent to them could be had. The assembly stood firm on their privileges, and the Governor was embarrassed, for the French were threatening and the Quaker assembly, averse to appropriations for war purposes, though not so to points of money "for the King's use," which would indeed cover many an object whether for war or for peace, could only recognize the issue of bills as the surest way of raising money even for the requirements of the province. Hamilton asked to be superseded, and a month after his election as a Trustee of the Academy he was relieved of the Governorship by the arrival in October, 1754, of Robert Hunter Morris, whose success with the Assembly was no better. "Weary of a service, which he found incompatible, if not with his notions of honor, at least with his repose, he had desired to be dismissed."² Hamilton remained in the Council, and was active in all efforts of the authorities to thwart the ravages of the Indians on the borders, traveling even in midwinter to secure proper organization of the inhabitants and friendly Indians, for in the year after his retiring from the Governorship Braddock's defeat had thrown the whole Province into consternation. He was again commissioned Lieutenant-Governor on 19 July, 1759, when on a visit to

¹ Bigelow, ii. 115.

²*Historical Review*, in Sparks, iii. 280. In Franklin's letter to David Hume, 27 September, 1760, he disclaims the authorship of this *Review*. Bigelow, iii. 125. But this disclaimer seems yet an open question with historians.

England, but on the understanding he be not restrained from assenting to any reasonable bill for taxing the Proprietary estates in common with all other estates in the Provinces. This was the political sore of the Province, which grew into greater proportions in after years. In a letter to Thomas Penn, 21 August, 1759, he says :

Everybody knows I did not solicit my appointment to it; nor have I varied the terms, on which I professed to engage in it, one iota from the beginning. Those terms were that I would not be restrained from giving my assent to any reasonable bill for taxing the proprietary estates in common with all the other estates in the province, because in my opinion it was not more than just that it should be so. If you have changed your sentiments, with regard to this matter, which, for a long time I looked upon to be the same as mine, it will give me no pain on my own account. * * * * I think it incumbent on me to declare, as I have frequently done, that I cannot think of engaging myself in that service, but upon the terms and conditions above mentioned. ³

In 1760 a bill was introduced for raising £100,000 assessments to be on all alike; but inasmuch as the assessors only represented the people and in their appointment the Penns had no voice, hamilton endeavored for some change in the bill, but without avail, and finally approved it under the necessity at that time existing for money, all his contention having been that the Proprietaries be put on an equal footing with all others. He was again relieved from the office by the arrival of John Penn in October, 1763, as Lieutenant Governor. On Mr. Penn's departure in May, 1771, as President of the Council, Hamilton was for the third time acting Governor of the province, and in this term encountered the controversies of the Connecticut claimants in the Wyoming Valley. And again a fourth term for a few months after Richard Penn left the province in July, 1773. He stood apart from the movements of the Revolution, his political associations drawing his sympathy to the English side. In 1777 he was a prisoner on parole

³ Sparks, vii. 172.

within the bounds of the province. He was at Northampton during the occupation of Philadelphia by the British, but returned here on a pass, not long after the enemy evacuated the city, and he returned to Bush Hill, which he had inherited from his father, the Woodlands west of the Schuylkill having been left to his brother Andrew. James Hamilton died in New York 14 August, 1783. He was never married and his brother's son William succeeded to his estates including Bush Hill.

He partook with his associates the like lively interest with them in the meetings of the Trustees and the affairs of the College, but his public concerns in the Council and otherwise forbid him a regular attendance at the meetings. His wealth joined to a personal influence gave him a position of great weight in the community, and a taste for scientific pursuits and a desire for the furtherance of public enterprises showed him to be a man of parts. He was for some years President of the Philosophical Society when it united with the Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge, and at the first election for the President of the new Society, 2 January, 1769, he and Franklin were placed in nomination, but the latter although then abroad, with his reputation in science and as the founder of the original Philosophical Society in 1743, was elected. The firmness and strength of his character are portrayed sufficiently in his letter to Thomas Penn already referred to. And there must have been between him and Franklin certain lines of sympathy in the proprietary contest, which was active at the time he was elected a Trustee, which served to bring the two often together in conference on the public situation. Hamilton's first administration as Governor is very completely portrayed in the *Historical Review of Pennsylvania* above referred to.

ALEXANDER STEDMAN was born in 1703 the son of Robert Stedman of Kinross. He took part in the Stuart rising of 1745, was taken prisoner after Culloden, but escaped to America and settled in Philadelphia, and made his peace with the mother country. He was a sound lawyer and profound mathematician. He was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania

21 March, 1764.⁴ He was a Vestryman of Christ Church from 1758 to 1766, and was Church Warden from 1759 to 1762. On the declaration of the colonies' independence he withdrew to England, and retired to Swansea where he died aged 91. He married Elizabeth daughter of William Chancellor of Peresford, Somerset. He and his brother Charles became largely interested in Lancaster County lands, a large portion of which they sold in 1758 to Baron Stiegel, upon which the latter laid out the town of Manheim, and eventually he bought the entire Stedman interest in the tract.⁵ Alexander Stedman was one of the Commission in 1756 appointed by Lieutenant Governor Morris to audit, adjust and settle the accounts of certain owners of horses and wagons, contracted for by Benjamin Franklin under General Braddock's service.⁶

Alexander's younger brother Charles, born 1713, shared in the ill fortunes of the Stuarts, and came to Pennsylvania where his interests increased. He was a member of Christ Church Vestry in 1752-74 and again 1776-78; and was Church Warden in 1764 and 65, and was present at Mr Duché's house on 4 July, 1776 when the Vestry unanimously passed the resolution requesting in the name of the vestry and their constituents to omit the petitions in the liturgy for the royal family. Charles married in 1769 Ann, daughter of Dr Thomas Graeme.

Sabine says of Alexander and his son Charles, Jr: "of Philadelphia: the latter a lawyer. Both attainted of treason, and estates confiscated."⁷

⁴ He had been commissioned Associate Justice of the City Court 5 October, 1756, and President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the City and County of Philadelphia in place of William Coleman, 8 April, 1758, and Presiding Justice of the Orphans' Court 9 December following.

⁵ Pennsylvania Magazine, i. 69 and viii. 68.

⁶ Ibid., v. 336. Dr. William Drewet Smith was married to Miss Peggy Stedman daughter of Alexander Stedman, Esq., of this city. *Pennsylvania Gazette* 23 Aug. 1775.

⁷ *Loyalists*, ii. 581. Charles, Jr., became head of the Commissariat of the British army in the States, war prisoner in 1776 and again 1780, and was companion to Major Andre while in prison. He was author of the *History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War*. 2 vols. quarto, London, 1794. "The author thinks that Howe could have closed the war victoriously in the campaign of 1776." Allibone.

JOHN MIFFLIN was born in Philadelphia 18 January, 1715, the son of George Mifflin and grandson of John Mifflin of Wiltshire, England, who was one of the first arrivals in Pennsylvania. He became a merchant of great prominence, and was elected a Councilman of Philadelphia in 1747, and an Alderman in 1751, to the latter office being chosen concurrently with Franklin. He had been but a few months Trustee of the Academy when he was on 2 November, 1755, called to the Provincial Council. He was one of the Commissioners appointed by Act of Assembly to disburse the £60,000 granted after a long struggle by the Assembly "for the King's use," a euphonious phrase denoting the defence of the Province, which the Assembly under its Friendly Control would not directly vote for military defence. He died in February, 1759, and was buried in Friends' Burying Ground. He was twice married, his second wife being Sarah daughter of William Fishbourne, whose widow married John Galloway. Mrs. Mifflin eventually married Mr. John Beale Bordley of Maryland. John Mifflin's eldest son Thomas, a graduate of the College and Academy in 1760, became a Trustee in 1773; his eminent services in the Revolution and as the first Governor of Pennsylvania will demand a notice when we reach his election. His son by the second wife, John Fishbourne, was a graduate of the College and Academy in 1775, and became a Trustee of the University in 1802.

XXIX.

At the meeting of 10 June, 1755 "The President, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Taylor, Doctor Phineas Bond, Mr. Peters, and Mr. Stedman, were appointed a Committee to Examine a Draught of Sundry Rules and Statutes now proposed to the Trustees to be enacted," doubtless prepared by the President and submitted by him for adoption. And at the meeting of 11 July, the President reported, That the Committee appointed at the last meeting to examine a Draught of sundry Rules and Statutes then laid before the Trustees, had after due consideration, made some Alterations therein ; and the same being now produced and read were approved and enacted, being in the following Words :

RULES AND STATUTES OF THE COLLEGE, ACADEMY AND
CHARITY-SCHOOL OF PHILADELPHIA.

SECT. I.

OF THE GENERAL POWERS OF THE FACULTY IN EXECUTING LAWS.

As a Faculty, the Provost, Vice-Provost and Professors, shall have an immediate & general Regard to the Manners and Education of all the Youth, belonging to this College, Academy and Charity-School.

They shall be invested with the Execution of all Laws, that shall from Time to Time, be made by the Trustees, for the wholesome Government of the several Members of the same ; excepting in those particular Cases, wherein, by Laws and Statutes hereafter to be enacted, it may be thought proper to restrict them.

That they may more effectually discharge this Trust, they shall meet at least once a Fortnight in the College & Academy and oftener if the Provost think fit, or any two Members of the Faculty desire him to call a Meeting.

When met, they shall diligently examine what Proficiency the Students make from Time to Time, under their respective Professors or Tutors ; and whether there be any Breach, or Neglect of the Laws of the Corporation among the Students, and shall determine all Matters by a Majority of Votes.

In Consequence of these Determinations, the Person who presides at such Meetings, as hereinafter directed, shall, in the Name of the Faculty, encourage and reward the deserving, & admonish, censure, or inflict such Mulcts & lesser Punishments on Delinquents, as the Majority of the Faculty so met, shall deem reasonable and conformable to the Laws then in Force.

But that Things of a more weighty Nature may be done with greater Deliberation and Solemnity, the Inflicting upon any Student or Students, the greater Punishments of Expulsion, Suspension and Degradation, shall be by Direction of the Trustees only when duly met.

And, if at such Meetings of the Faculty it shall appear, that there has been a Neglect of Duty in any Professor, the Faculty shall admonish him in the most friendly Manner ; but if repeated Admonitions have not the proper Effect, they shall lay the Matter before the Trustees.

SECT. 2.

OF THE LEGISLATIVE POWERS OF THE FACULTY.

And that a Body of good Laws may speedily be compiled & perfected by Persons, who from their daily Employments in this Seminary, have frequent Opportunities of discovering the Necessity, or Utility, of particular Regulations ; and because various Cases and Circumstances may arise, which no human Prudence can foresee, and against which the Laws then in Being have not sufficiently provided ; the Faculty, when met, shall from Time to Time, have Power to make such Ordinances and Regulations, as they, or the major Part of them, shall judge necessary, either for the Education of the Youth, or the better Government of the several Members of this College Academy & Charity-School. The Regulations and Ordinances so made by the Faculty, shall have the same Force as Laws and Statutes of the Trustees till their first ensuing Meeting ; before whom at their said first ensuing Meeting, all such Regulations and Ordinances shall be laid by the Provost or any other Person they may appoint for that Purpose.

If at the first Meeting of the Trustees the said Regulations and Ordinances shall not be annulled, they shall still continue in Force, as Ordinances of the Faculty, subject to such Amendments & Alterations as the Trustees from Time to Time shall think proper ; till at last by them either annulled or ratified, and enrolled among the publick Statutes.

Nevertheless no Regulation or Ordinance made by the Faculty shall be valid if they neglect to lay the same before the Trustees at their first ensuing Meeting as above directed, nor shall any Ordinance be made repugnant to the standing Laws of the Corporation.

But if the Faculty find any Amendment or Alteration of a standing Law of the Corporation necessary, they shall propose the same to the Trustees for their Consideration.

SECT. 3.

OF THE PARTICULAR POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE PROVOST.

The Provost shall have a general Inspection of the Morals and Behaviour of all the Youth, to admonish and regulate them in all Affairs of smaller Concern.

He shall also have Power to call a Meeting of the Faculty whenever he shall judge it necessary.

In all Meetings of the Faculty, stated or occasional, he shall preside ; and likewise in all publick Acts and Disputations, and in publick Examinations and Commencements.

SECT. 4.

OF THE VICE-PROVOST.

During the necessary Absence of the Provost, the Vice-Provost shall be invested with all the Powers, and do the Duties of a Provost.

Upon the Death, Cession or Removal, of the Provost, the Vice-Provost shall exercise all the said Powers as he was used to do in the ordinary Absence of the Provost, till a Successor be chosen and admitted.

SECT. 5.

OF THE SENIOR PROFESSOR.

In the necessary Absence of both the Provost and Vice-Provost all the aforesaid Powers shall be devolved upon the Senior Professor that shall be present, according to that Order of Precedence which shall from Time to Time be settled by the Trustees among the Professors, next after the Provost and Vice-Provost.

In the College and
Academy Hall July 11th
1755.

At a Meeting of the Corporation, the five foregoing Sections of Laws & Statutes were enacted, and ordered to be enrolled in the Book of Statutes, and a Copy of them to be delivered to the Faculty.

B. FRANKLIN President of the Trustees.

And the following three Laws or Statutes, drawn up by the President, after being read and consider'd by the Trustees, were also enacted, to wit :

LAWS OR STATUTES OF THE TRUSTEES.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Elections.

It is enacted by the Trustees of the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania, That all Elections to be made hereafter by the Trustees aforesaid, for the Time being, Whether of a President, Treasurer, Clerk, or other Officer of the Trustees, or of Provost, Vice-Provost, Professor of any Kind, or other Master, Usher, or Officer of the College, Academy or Charitable School, shall be made by written Tickets containing the Name or Names of the Person or

Persons voted for, put into the President's Hat by the Persons voting ; and the Choice appearing to be made by a Majority of such Tickets, shall be immediately entered by the Clerk in the Minutes of the Trustees Proceedings.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Meetings of the Trustees, & Officers to be chosen.

It is enacted, That the Trustees shall meet on the second Tuesday of every Month throughout the Year, at the Academy, to visit the Schools, examine the Scholars, hear their publick Exercises, and transact such other Business as may come before them, and also at such other Times and Places as they shall adjourn to at such Meetings, or as they shall be called to meet at by the President on Special unforeseen Occasions.

And at their first Meeting in the Month of May yearly they shall chuse a President, for the ensuing Year, whose particular Duty it shall be, when present, to regulate their Debates, and State the Questions arising from them ; to sign the Orders of the Trustees, and to direct Notices to be given of the Times and Places of their special Conventions.

They shall also at the same Time, chuse one of their own Members to be Treasurer, who shall receive all Donations and Money due to them, and disburse and lay out the Same according to their Orders ; And at the End of each Year pay the Sum remaining in his Hands to his Successor.

They shall also at the same Time chuse a Clerk for the ensuing Year ; whose Duty it shall be to keep an exact Account of the Times of all Admissions and Departures of Students, the Quarterly Sums due from each, and the Payments made ; and also to collect the Sums due from Time to Time, whether Entrance Money or Quarteridge, and pay the same Quarterly into the Hands of the Treasurer. The Clerk shall also make out and deliver written Notices to the Trustees, one Day at least before each Meeting, of the Time & Place of such Meeting ; attend the Trustees at their Meetings, and take the Names of the Persons present, with true Minutes of their Proceedings.

CHAP. III.

Of the Number of Trustees necessary to do Business.

It is enacted That, due Notice having been left by the Clerk, in Writing, at the House of each Trustee, signifying the Time and Place of any Meeting of the Trustees, the Members that shall meet in pursuance of such Notice, may one Hour after the time appointed, proceed to consider any Business that shall come before them relating to their Trust ; and the Determination of a Majority of those so met, shall be as valid and conclusive as if the whole Number of Trustees were present.

Provided nevertheless, That when any Money is to be laid out or

disposed of, exceeding the Sum of Twenty Pounds, or any Salary to be augmented at any Meeting of the Trustees, the same shall be first proposed at a preceding Meeting and particularly express'd in the written Notice to be given.

In addition to the approval and enactment of the above

The President, Mr. Peters and Mr. Inglis are appointed a Committee to consider the Rates to be paid by the Scholars in the General schools and to prepare a Scheme thereof, to be laid before the Trustees at their next Meeting. They are likewise desired to consider what Vacations and Hollidays ought to be allowed.

We are without the results or report of this Committee's work, as there is an absence of all Minutes for five months those of 9 December being the next recorded, but mention must not be omitted of their voting at this meeting "a Sum not exceeding one Hundred and Fifty pounds Sterling, be laid out in an Apparatus for exhibiting Philosophical Experiments." It was at this July meeting "Mr. Paul Jackson was chosen clerk to the Trustees for the ensuing year, and to be allowed Six pounds per annum for that service." Mr. Jackson had been a tutor for three years, and in less than a twelvemonth from this time we shall find him one of the Faculty. The faithful Trustee, William Coleman, was thus relieved from the clerkship; at the first meeting of the Trustees he was elected Treasurer, but on 17 December, 1750, "Mr. William Coleman being requested to act as Clerk for the ensuing year, agrees to perform that service," but his year lengthened out to almost five years. The new clerk makes no note of explanation of this hiátus in the proceedings of the Trustees. It was however a season of alarm in the Province, for Braddock's expedition which had raised the highest hopes of a final destruction to the efforts of the French and their Indian allies on our borders had by his defeat in July brought the colonists to the lowest straits of anxiety and alarm. General Braddock had landed at Alexandria, Virginia, with his confident troops and in his own greater confidence, and marched thence to Fredericktown, where he was obliged to halt for transportation. The unfortunate dissensions in the Pennsylvania Assembly, the non-resistants opposed to grants for military defence, and the executive hampered, Braddock had formed the

impression that Pennsylvania was averse to aiding the King in this expedition. The Assembly deputed Franklin to visit the British General and under guise of arranging a postal service during his campaign to disabuse his mind of any wrong impressions held of the Pennsylvanians. The Minutes of 8 April simply state, "The Trustees should have met this Day, but most of them being engaged in Publick Business, no meeting was held ;" Franklin was at the time with Braddock, and in his *Autobiography* says,¹

We found the General at Frederictown, waiting impatiently for the return of those he had sent through the back parts of Maryland and Virginia to collect waggons. I stayed with him several days, dined with him daily, and had full opportunity of removing all his prejudices, by the information of what the Assembly had before his arrival actually done, and were still willing to do, to facilitate his operations. When I was about to depart, the returns of waggons to be obtained were brought in, by which it appeared, that they amounted only to twenty-five, and not all of those were in serviceable condition. The General and all the officers were surprised, declared the expedition was then at an end, being impossible ; and exclaimed against the ministers for ignorantly landing them into a country destitute of the means of conveying their stores, baggage, &c not less than one hundred and fifty waggons being necessary. I happened to say, I thought it was a pity they had not been landed rather in Pennsylvania, as in that country almost every farmer had his waggon. The General eagerly laid hold of my words, and said, Then you, sir, who are a man of interest there, can probably procure them for us ; and I beg you will undertake it.

On his way North Franklin issued an Advertisement from Lancaster on 26 April, where he would attend "from this day to next Wednesday evening, and at York from next Thursday morning till Friday evening," calling for the needed wagons and horses, and offering to contract for the same ; and at the same time issued an Appeal to the Inhabitants of the Counties of Lancaster, and York, concluding,

the King's business must be done ; so many brave troops, come so far for your defence, must not stand idle through your backwardness to do what may be reasonably expected from you ; wagons and horses must be had ; violent measures will probably be used, and you will be left to seek for a recompense where you can find it, and your case perhaps be little pitied or regarded.

¹ Bigelow, i. 250.

Of Franklin's success in this appeal, history makes full record ; but as the colonists

alleged they did not know General Braddock, or what dependence might be had on his promise, insisted on my bond for the performance, which I accordingly gave them.

Franklin was in Philadelphia by the meeting of 13 May ; and on 24 June attended the Grand Lodge of Masons, of which he was Deputy Grand Master, held in their new Lodge, from which the body proceeded to Christ Church, where the Rev. William Smith, who had been a Mason before he came to America, preached a Sermon,² entitled *An earnest Exhortation to Religion, Brotherly Love and public Spirit, in the present Dangerous State of Affairs* ; which forms the second of his published Discourses, the text of which is, Love the Brotherhood ; fear God ; honor the King. In this the young Provost earnestly pleaded for a proper resistance to the enemy and defence of one's home, and struck the key note of those who blamed the Quakers in the Assembly who scrupled to defend the Province by armed resources ;

The doctrine of Non resistance, * * * is now sufficiently exploded ; and may it be for ever treated with that sovereign Contempt, which it deserves among a wise and virtuous people. God gave us Freedom as our Birthright, and in his own government of the world he never violates that Freedom, nor can those be his Vicegerents who do. To say they are, is blaspheming his holy name, and giving the lie to his righteous authority. The *Love of Mankind* and the *Fear of God*, those very principles from which we trace the divine original of just government, would lead us, by all probable means, to resist every tyrant to destruction, who should attempt to enslave the free-born Soul, and oppose the righteous will of God, by defeating the happiness of Man * * * Suffer me now to apply what has been said, by earnestly charging every one of this audience to a conscientious observance of these duties ; for if there ever was a people, in a more peculiar manner, called to observe them, we who inhabit these colonies are that people. Being yet in our infancy, and surrounded

² "Forty years will this day have finished the long period, since I first addressed from this pulpit, a grand Communication of Brethren, with our great fellow-laborer, the venerable Franklin, at their head." Dr. Smith's Sermon in St. Peter's Church, 24 June, 1795. *Works*, ii. 74. But Dr. Smith overlooked, at this long interval, the fact that the early sermon was in Christ Church. *Works*, ii. 27. St. Peter's Church was not then existing.

with restless enemies, our Strength, our Success, and our future glory, depend upon our trust in God, our love and unanimity among ourselves, and obedience to that one thing, which is necessary to collect our scattered rays, and pour them, with impressive force, upon the heads of our proud foes. * * * Shall we, whose souls have been taught to exult at the sacred sound of liberty, not be roused, animated, and enflamed, by our present danger, to secure a treasure which includes in it almost every human felicity? Things of inferior concern may be adjusted at another season; and those who pretend to the greatest public spirit, should be the first to give a proof of it, by turning their attention to the main chance, at a juncture when our strength and success so evidently depend on unanimity and immediate action. Is this is a time for dissensions about matters of trivial moment, when the very vitals of Liberty are attacked, which, once gone, may never be recovered? Is this a time to decline toils or dangers, or expence, when all lies at stake, for which a wise man would choose to live, or dare to die!

So impressive was this Discourse and so timely its sentiments that the young preacher not yet thirty years of age, whose pulpit power was now further established in the community, was requested to give a copy of it for the press.

XXX.

Braddock was then within a fortnight of his defeat and death. But of the confidence felt in the community generally in his success Franklin mentions an incident showing their faith in it of the two doctors Bond, his fellow trustees.

Before we had the news of this defeat, the two doctors Bond came to me with a subscription paper for raising money to defray the expense of a grand firework, which it was intended to exhibit at a rejoicing on receiving the news of our taking Fort Duquesne. I looked grave, and said, it would, I thought, be time enough to prepare the rejoicing when we knew we should have occasion to rejoice. They seemed surprised that I did not immediately comply with their proposal. "Why the d—l" said one of them "you surely don't suppose that the fort will not be taken?" "I don't know that it will not be taken; but I know that the events of war

are subject to great uncertainty." ¹ I gave them the reasons of my doubting; the subscription was dropt, and the projectors thereby missed the mortification they would have undergone, if the firework had been prepared. Dr Bond, on some other occasion afterward, said, that he did not like Franklin's forebodings.

Those April days passed in Braddock's society at Fredericktown had not given Franklin confidence in the general's ability to succeed in such untried warfare. When Braddock was detailing to him his confident plans by which Fort Duquesne would easily be taken, and from thence to Niagara for its capture, and thence to Frontenac "if the season will allow time, and I suppose it will, for Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four days, and then I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara."

But Franklin ² ventured only to say, To be sure, sir, if you arrive well before Duquesne, with these fine troops, so well provided with artillery, that place not yet compleatly fortified, and as we hear with no very strong garrison, can probably make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction to your march is from ambuscades of Indians, who, by constant practice, are dexterous in laying and executing them; and the slender line, near four miles long, which your army must make, may expose it to be cut like a thread into several pieces, which, from their distance, cannot come up in time to support each other. He smiled at my ignorance, and reply'd, These savages, may, indeed, be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia, but upon the King's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossible they should make any impression. I was conscious of an impropriety in my disputing with a military man in matters of his profession, and said no more.

But Braddock's boast was remembered to the discouragement of Dr Bond's proposed firework.

This serious reverse to the British arms brought renewed dangers to the frontiers; the proprietaires, yet unwilling to suffer taxation on their lands, now thoroughly alarmed, added five thousand pounds of their money to whatever sum might be given by the Assembly for such purpose; whereupon the Assembly passed a new bill with a clause exempting from taxation their estates, and voted sixty thousand pounds, chiefly for

¹ Bigelow, i. 263.

² Bigelow, i. 258.

the defence of the province, which was to be disposed of by seven commissioners, Benjamin Franklin, Isaac Norris, James Hamilton, John Mifflin, Joseph Fox, Evan Morgan and John Hughes. Franklin says

I had been active in modelling the bill and procuring its passage, and had, at the same time, drawn a bill for establishing and disciplining a voluntary militia, which I carried thro' the House without much difficulty, as care was taken in it to leave the Quakers at their liberty. * * * While the several companies in the city and country were forming, and learning their exercise, the governor prevail'd with me to take charge of our North Western frontier, which was infested by the enemy, and provide for the defense of the inhabitants by raising troops and building a line of forts. I undertook this military business, tho' I did not conceive myself well qualified for it. * * * I had but little difficulty in raising men, having soon five hundred and sixty under my command. * * * The Indians had burned Gnadenhut, a village settled by the Moravians, and massacred the inhabitants. * * * In order to march thither, I assembled the companies at Bethlehem, the chief establishment of those people.

He with Hamilton and Fox left Philadelphia on 18 December "for the Frontiers in order to settle Matters for the Defence of the Province."³ On 15 January, 1756 he writes to his wife

I hope in a fortnight or three weeks, God willing, to see the intended line of forts finished, and then I shall make a trip to Philadelphia, and send away the lottery tickets, and pay off the prizes, though you may pay such as come to hand of those sold in Philadelphia of my signing.

This reference was to the second class of the Academy Lottery, the drawings for which had been made on 25 December, the first class drawings having been on 28 August. On his return to Philadelphia, early in February, he was commissioned Colonel, William Masters Lieutenant Colonel, and John Ross Major of the Philadelphia Regiment.⁴ He writes to his sister on 12 February,⁵

I am just returned from my military expedition, and now my time is taken up in the Assembly. Providence seems to require various duties of me. I know not what will be next, but I find, the more I seek for leisure and retirement from business, the more I am engaged in it.

³ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 18 December, 1755.

⁴ *Ibid*, 19 February, 1756.

⁵ Bigelow, ii. 455.

In the month following he visits Virginia with Col. Hunter his associate postmaster general, from whence he did not return home until early in June. His attendance at the meeting of the Trustees this month was his first for the year. He was immediately afterwards in New York. And in November he was again drawn North by the restlessness of the Indians, with whom a conference was held at Easton beginning on the 8th, when he and Fox and Masters, and Hughes, were delegates from the Assembly, and Dr. Peters and William Logan from the Council.

His many absences of late brought some inconvenience to the Trustees, and at the meeting of 11 May, 1756, while he was in Virginia, the annual election recurring afforded the opportunity for electing Dr. Peters President for the ensuing year. Besides the June meeting, he attended those in September and December, and that of 11 January, 1757, but on 4 April following he set out on his first mission to England as representative of the Assembly and his immediate counsels were from that time lost to his fellow Trustees.

At the time of Dr. Peters succession to the Presidency a minute was adopted

as the Trustees apprehended that in Case of the Absence or Indisposition of their President they were not authorised to meet on Special Occasions, how much soever the Nature of the Case might require their immediate Attention, it was Resolved that in Case of the absence or Sickness of the President, the Senior Trustee shall be vested with all the powers of a President by Virtue of which he is to call special meetings and preside in them ;

which action freed them from the difficulties often arising in Franklin's absence.

When Franklin's mission of 1757 was initiated the words of the Assembly's resolution of 28 January were that a Committee "be appointed to go Home to England on behalf of the People of this Province to solicit a Removal of the Grievances we labour under by Reason of Proprietary Instructions," and when Isaac Norris the Speaker and Benjamin Franklin were next day "requested to go," it was still "to go Home to England." The light of later days dims to our sight

the appealing force of those words we find in the votes of Assembly, which the people employed to express their hope that redress would be found at Home in England.⁶ The Revolutionary War, which culminated a score of years later overshadows to us the stirring politics and the Indian Warfare which lay in a long series of years behind that; but upon a study of those times we must reach some realization of the stir and commotion, the fears and anxieties of those earlier years in which our forefathers were being schooled for greater things. The College and Academy furnished from its Trustees men who joined in all the issues of the time, and no meeting could convene in the interests of their young institution without some of them exchanging sentiments on the events of the day. Among the Trustees all shades of political opinion and religious thought were represented, and the politics of those days were as sharply defined and as penetrating as any we ourselves are participants in; but we cannot to-day measure the happy influences which must have flowed from these meetings, the common interests on behalf of the Academy must have smoothed away the asperities of the Assembly or the Press, at the least for the time being, and friendships were maintained and continued which otherwise might have been severed. But the growing public concerns in which Franklin became involved by his own aptitude and the selection of either Assembly or Governor, was now telling on his attendance at the College and Academy and the meetings of its trustees; and finally his long absences abroad made a complete severance, and the way was soon open for the uncharity of politics to lessen his influence and mar his plans in the great work of a firm and sound educational institution which was second in his affections to no other of his creations.

⁶ It was in the same light, that a few years later the Vestry of Christ Church at a meeting held 4 December, 1760, voted an address to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, of thanks for the Society's compliance with their request of the previous year in the disposition of the Jauncey bequest, by directing "Chuch Warden Harrison to draw a fair copy and *send it home.*"

XXXI.

Meanwhile the work of the College proceeded amid all the clash of arms and wrangle of politics and the young men were being fitted for their stations in life by the faculty ; the young Provost with his happy facility of devising pleasant exercises for the pupils and encouraging them by bringing them skillfully to the notice of the community, early arranged for one of the public exercises in which his management was so successful. Nothing could be more helpful to them as well as to the institution in furthering the interests of all than these efforts of Mr. Smith. Six months had not elapsed before he planned his first public exhibition of their oratorical powers, and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 14 November, 1754, affords us a graphic account of the entertainment in "Our Academy" which was of a novel character for the quiet city of Philadelphia, but full of great promise to all who had any interest in the furtherance of the cause of education in the Province.

Last Tuesday the Students in Philosophy which compose the higher class in our Academy delivered a Series of publick Exercises before the Trustees. As their Exercises were the first of the Kind in our young Seminary, they drew together a large Audience of Ladies and Gentlemen, particularly his Honour our Lieutenant Governor ; his Excellency *John Tinker*, Esq., Governor of Providence ; the Honourable *James Hamilton*, Esq., our late Governor, with several other Persons of Distinction.

The exercises were ushered in with a Prologue, which (excepting the Lines marked with the inverted Comma) was written by the ingenious young Author who spoke it. The marked lines were added or altered by the Hand that wrote the Epilogue, and digested the Whole. After the Prologue, the Exercises were as follows ;

- 1st On the Advantages of Education in General.
- 2nd An Enquiry into the several Branches of Education, in order to ascertain the just Importance or Moment of each.
- 3d. An Address to the Trustees of the Academy, and to his Honour the Lieutenant Governor, &c
- 4th On Logick
- 5th On Method
- 6th On Moral Philosophy
- 7th A Hymn to Philosophy

The whole concluded with an Occasional Epilogue spoken by Master *Billy Hamilton*. As he is a child under Nine years of age, and spoke it with a great deal of Humour and Propriety, it gave inexpressible Satisfaction to the Audience.

The Prologue and Epilogue are subjoined ; and the Exercises will be published in our future Papers, by particular desire, as they form a regular Treatise on the Sciences.

In the Prologue which was spoken by young Duché, occur his lines, addressing the Trustees :

You who in polish'd Arts and Merits Shine
The Kind protectors of the Sacred Nine,
Whose Patriot Toils, your country's Pride and Grace,
Build up her Fame on Virtue's lasting Base ;
To you our first Essays in Prose belong,
Be you the Patrons of our early Song.¹

Master Billy Hamilton, who spoke the Epilogue "with a great deal of Humor and Propriety," became the graduate of 1762, and is principally known to us as the builder of Woodlands Mansion, but his political attitude in the Revolution did not afford his fellow citizens any inexpressible satisfaction.

We have seen that at the meeting of 30 June, 1755, the Trustees proposed to "visit Mr. Smith's school and inform themselves particularly" in the Branches he taught and the proficiency of his pupils, the result being full satisfaction to them and bringing to a conclusion at their meeting following the question of his salary. And to afford a more public exhibit of his work and display the success of his pupils, he planned a programme for the 22 July, in which many of them could show to their parents and friends the high mark they had reached in learning and composition. A notice of this can best be told in the words of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 31 July, which doubtless were contributed in the language of the Provost, whose "Hand digested the whole," as in the Exercises of the previous November, and whose communications for the public eye were the composition of a master in this art.

We hear that Philosophical Discourses, on the following Subjects,

¹ A MS copy of this performance in Mr. Smith's handwriting is among the Penn Papers on file with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

were delivered in the College and Academy Hall on Tuesday the Twenty Second Instant by several of the Students greatly to the Satisfaction of a numerous and Polite Audience, viz:

MORAL

1. *On the Supreme Good*, by JOHN HALL
2. *On Temperance*, by JAMES LATTA

MISCELLANEOUS and POLITICAL

3. *On the Uses and Pleasures of Imagination*, by FRANCIS HOPKINSON
4. *On the Distribution of Power and different Forms of Government*, by WILLIAM MASTERS
5. *On the Necessity of human Force to the Support of human Government*, by ISRAEL MARTIN
6. *On the Question—"Whether a State of Nature (so-called) be a State of War?"*—By three Speakers in the Forensic Manner, viz: SAMUEL MAGAW, HUGH WILLIAMSON and JACOB DUCHÉ.

The fifth and sixth subjects were clearly Political, and bore on questions which were then uppermost in the minds of the community, and in which the Provost's interest and activities were second to none of his fellow citizens.

The Trustees had at their meeting of 30 June, 1755 authorized an expenditure of £443. "concerning the Alterations necessary to be made in the Hall," which embraced

a Gallery along three sides of the Hall finished like those of Mr. Tennent's Building,² the Fronts painted, and under side of the Joice plaister'd without any Pews made * * * a Platform for accommodating the Trustees, the Masters, Candidates for Degrees, and Strangers of Distinction on publick occasions,

and other items of lesser dignity; thus preparing fitting accommodations for pupils, masters, and visitors on all special occasions, so that this commodious building so happily secured in the outset of the enterprise was gradually being made fit for all its employments both regular and occasional.

² The Second Presbyterian Church.

XXXII.

Two names now first appear on the roll of tutors, those of Hugh Williamson and James Latta, who were both members of the first graduating class, both becoming eminent in their callings, the former in particular, attaining celebrity in Mathematics and Medicine and also as a Politician, and becoming one of the Faculty as Professor of Mathematics when he was twenty-six years of age. At the meeting of 9 December, 1755, Franklin in the chair—the first recorded since that of 11 July, it was

ordered that Hugh Williamson and James Latta, who have alternately supplied the Place of one Usher in the Latin School from the 13th of June until the 1st of November, be paid after the rate of sixty pounds per annum for their Attendance during the above Term, and that their future Salaries be ascertained at the next meeting of the Trustees.

Action on this was not reached until 10 February following, when the following Minute appears :

Hugh Williamson the present Writing Master and James Latta Tutor in the Latin School are ordered each the sum of Fifty Pounds as their stated annual Salaries.

We shall desire to know somewhat more both of Williamson and Latta in the course of our narrative.

The Provost attends the meeting of Trustees on 13 April, 1756, there being a goodly number present, namely, Mess. Allen, Peters, Turner, Cadwalader, Shippen, Mifflin, Strettell, Masters, Maddox, Coleman, Stedman, Leech, and Inglis, Franklin being then absent on Post Office duty in Virginia ; and he sketched out to them a more equitable division of the faculty work which was assented to. The minute tells its own story :

Mr. Smith represented to the Trustees, that the number of Classes which study Philosophy being now increased to three and likely always to continue at that Number, it would be no longer possible for him with what Assistance Mr. Grew can spare from his present Business to carry on the proposed Scheme of liberal Education, unless some further Assistance was granted.

It was therefore agreed that in the present Situation of the Funds

the only possible Method of doing Justice to the Situation without any addition to the present Number of Teachers, is as follows :

That Mr. Alison be appointed a Professor of the Higher Classics, Logic, Metaphysics and Geography ; and that he teach any of the other Arts and Sciences that he may judge himself qualified to teach, as the Circumstances of the Philosophy Schools may require ; but if it so happen that Mr. Smith can spare time from his Employment in the other Branches of Literature to teach any of these Branches, then and in that case Mr. Alison shall employ the overplus of his Time, as usual in the Grammar School in the capacity of Chief Master.

That Mr. Jackson be appointed a Professor of the Languages to employ his Time in the Grammar School and to have the Care of all the Latin and Greek Classes that are not under Mr. Alison's more immediate Care while he is employed in the Philosophy School. And in consideration of Mr. Jackson's being appointed a Professor, and having declined an advantageous Offer made him by the Overseers of the Quaker School it is agreed to augment his Salary to the sum of One Hundred and Fifty Pounds per annum, commencing from the Time the said offer was made him, viz : in September, 1755.

That whenever Mr. Kinnersley is supply'd with an Assistant agreeable to a late order of the Trustees, Mr. Williamson shall spend the Whole of his Time in the Latin School to supply Mr. Alison's Place, while employed in the upper Schools.

The Provost, with his ready thought, suggested at this meeting the early preparation of a Seal for the use of the Corporation. And it was agreed

That Mr. Smith prepare a public Seal for the Colledge with a proper Device and Motto and get the same speedily engraved on Silver.

We find by Mr. Coleman's cash account, under date of 11 July following, that he "pd. James Turner, Engraver, for a Seal with device, &c. £18.19.9d."

A few days later we hear of another of Mr. Smith's pleasant plans for bringing the pupils of the Academy to the notice of the community.

To-morrow, at Ten o'clock, in the Forenoon, the public Examination of Candidates for Degrees in the College of Philadelphia, will be begun, and continued that Day and part of the Day following. The Company of such of the Inhabitants of this City as please to attend, will be very agreeable.¹

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 29 April, 1756.

XXXIII.

We come now to the Provost's formula or scheme for a complete curriculum, which must be our guide in estimating in the coming years his system of education in the College, which was unequalled in any institution in this new Western country for its comprehensiveness and thoroughness. We first receive knowledge of it at this meeting in April, 1756, when it was

Agreed that a Scheme of liberal Education offered by the Faculty for the Approbation of the Trustees be tried for the space of three Years from this Date and that Mr Smith publish the Same in Order to obtain the Sentiments of Persons of Learning and Experience concerning it.

It first saw publication in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 12 August, 1756. The Trustees were conservatively inclined, and before committing themselves to adopting for all time the curriculum proposed, sought for it publicity in order to draw upon it the criticisms, or to speak more courteously, the Sentiments of the Learned and Experienced. The substantial continuance of its employment through Provost Smith's career proved its excellence and its adaptability to the wants of the College; and we must read it here in its entirety to judge of its great merits.

The source of this excellent formula may be found in the curriculum at King's College, Aberdeen, where William Smith had been trained a decade before. While there may be amendments to it, induced by local circumstances and drawn from his own rare ingenuity, it may be said to be substantially framed on that course, to which he had an attachment, and of which he had doubtless proved its great merits. But whence ever its origin or conception, it is the first complete curriculum for a college training which the American colonies had yet witnessed or recognized, and will stand for all time as the fore-runner in all advanced education on these shores.

For the Historical Account and Present State of the "University and King's College of Aberdeen" and the "Marischal College and University of Aberdeen," to the close of the last century, including their courses of study, we refer to

*Thom's History of Aberdeen.*¹ Quoting from the Appendix containing the account of King's College, it is said :

In the year 1753 the whole plan of discipline and education in King's College was brought under review for the purpose of improvement. A great number of statutes relative to these objects, since known by the name of "The New Regulations," were enacted by the College, and submitted to the examination of the public. In framing these regulations, the celebrated Dr. Reid's opinion and views respecting education, are supposed in general to have prevailed. * * * That less time than usual should be spent in the logic and metaphysics of the schools, and a great part of the second year be employed in acquiring the elements of natural history in all its branches ; that the professor of Greek and humanity should open classes for the more advanced students during the three last years of their course ; that a museum of natural history should be fitted up and furnished with specimens for the instruction of the students, and that a collection of instruments and machines relative to natural philosophy, and a chemical laboratory for exhibiting experiments in that science, should be provided with all convenient speed. For some years the good effects of these regulations seemed very flattering, and the masters thought they might congratulate themselves upon "having under their care a set of the most regular and diligent students to be found anywhere in the King's dominions," (printed memorial to Lord Findlater, chancellor, relative to the union, 1755).

It will be recalled² that Mr. Smith was in Aberdeen at the close of 1753, having proceeded immediately after his ordination in London Northwards to visit his "honored father," and where he preached his maiden sermon in the kirk in which he was baptised. And he may then have procured a copy of The New Regulations which became useful to him in his performance of 1756.

This proposed scheme,³ is in the form of Views of the Latin and Greek Schools and of the Philosophy School, and was "subscribed by the *Faculty* of masters."

¹ By Walter Thom, 2 vols. Aberdeen, 1811. With Appendices I and II.

² Smith, i. 39.

³ "It was not until Dr. Smith established at the College of Philadelphia, in 1756, the first graded course of studies of a higher kind ever pursued in an American College, that a young man here had an opportunity of laying broad and deep the foundations of a liberal culture, such as he would have enjoyed had he gone abroad for that purpose." Provost Stillé in his *Life and Times of John Dickinson*, p. 15.

A VIEW OF THE LATIN *and* GREEK SCHOOLS.

1st STAGE. Grammar. Vocabulary. Sententiæ Pueriles. Cordery, Æsop. Erasmus.

N. B. To be exact in declining and conjugating. To begin to write Exercises, for the better understanding of Syntax. Writing and Reading of English to be continued if necessary.

2nd STAGE. Selectæ e veteri Testamento. Selectæ e profanis Authoribus. Eutropius. Nessos. Metaphorphosis. Latin Exercises and Writing continued.

3rd STAGE. Metamorphosis continued. Virgil with Prosody. Cæsar's Comment. Sallust. Greek Grammar. Greek Testament. Elements of Geography and Chronology. Exercises in Writing continued.

4th STAGE. Horace. Terence. Virgil reviewed. Livy. Lucian. Xenophon or Homer begun.

N. B. This Year to make Themes; write Letters; give Descriptions and Characters. To turn Latin into English, with great Regard to Punctuation and choice of Words. Some English and Latin Orations to be delivered, with proper Grace both of Elocution and Gesture. Arithmetic begun.

Probably some youths will go thro' these Stages in three years, many will require four years, and many more may require five years, especially if they begin under nine or ten years of age. The masters must exercise their best discretion in this respect.

Those who can acquit themselves to satisfaction in the books laid down for the fourth stage, after public examination, are to proceed to the study of the sciences, and to be admitted into the *College* as *Freshmen*, with the privilege of being distinguished with an undergraduate's gown. The method of study to be prosecuted in the College for the term of three years, follows in one general view:

VIEW OF THE PHILOSOPHY SCHOOLS.

FORENOON

INSTRUMENTAL PHILOSOPHY

FIRST YEAR	LECTURE I	LECTURE II
FRESHMEN <i>May 15</i>	Lat. & Engl. Exercises	Arithmetic reviewed
<i>First Term</i>	continu'd	Decimal Arithmetic
Three Months		Algebra
<i>Second Term</i>		Fractions and Extract. Roots
Three Months		Equations simple and quadratic
		Euclid (<i>Stone</i>) Six Books
<i>January</i>		
<i>Third Term</i>	Logic with Metaphysics	
Four Months		Euclid a Second Time
		Logarithmical Arithmetic

<i>Remarks.</i>	<i>N. B.</i> At leisure hours Disputation begun.	<i>N. B.</i> On Construction of Logarithms, use Wilson's Trigonometry, and Sherwin's compleat Tables by Gardiner.
	Duncan's Logic as a Classic; to be supplied by <i>Le Clerc</i> , or Crousaz on Syllogisms.	
SECOND YEAR	Logic, &c reviewed	Plain & Spherical Trigonometry
JUNIORS, May 15	Surveying and Dialling Navigation	
First Term		
Three Months		
Second Term	Conic Sections	Euclid 11th Book
Three Months	Fluxions	———12th Ditto
		Architecture with Fortificat.
	MORAL PHILOSOPHY	NAT. PHILOSOPHY, begun
	begun.	
January	<i>viz:</i> Fordyce's compend. System.	<i>viz:</i> Rowning's Propert. of Body
Third Term		———Mechanic Powers
Four Months		———Hydrostatics
		———Pneumatics.
	<i>N. B.</i> Disputation continu'd. Fordyce well understood will be an excellent Introduction to the larger Ethic Writers	<i>N. B.</i> Declamation continued. Rowning a general System may be supplied by the larger Works in the last Column, recommended for private Study
THIRD YEAR		
SENIORS May 15	Hutcheson's Ethics.	Rowning on Light and Colours
		———Optics
		Perspective, <i>Jesuits</i>
First Term	Burlamequi on Natural Law	
Three Months	Introduction to Civil History.	Astronomy, <i>Keil's</i>
	———to Laws and Government	Natural History of Vegetables
Second Term	———to Trade and Commerce	———of Animals
Three Months		
January	Review of the Whole	Chemistry, <i>Shaw's</i> Boerhaave
Third Term		of Fossils
Four Months	Examinat. for Degree of B. A.	of Agriculture

		<i>N. B.</i> Altho' it is tho't necessary to fix some Classics as a Text to read the Lectures by, yet there must be a Liberty of changing them left when needful	<i>N. B.</i> Thro' all the years the French Language may be Studied at leisure Hours.
		AFTERNOON	PRIVATE HOURS
FIRST YEAR		<i>Classical and Rhetoric Studies</i>	<i>Miscellaneous Studies</i>
		LECTURE III	<i>For improv. the various Branches</i>
FRESHMAN, May 15		Homer's Iliad	Spectators, Ramblers, and monthly Magazines, for the Improvement of Style and Knowledge of Life.
First Term		Juvenal	
Three Months			
Second Term		Pindar	Barrow's Lectures, Pardie's Geometry, MacLaurin's Algebra, Ward's Mathematics, Keil's Trigonometry.
Three Months		Cicero, Select Parts Livy resumed	
January		Thucydides, or	Watts's Logic, and Supplement, Locke on Human Understanding, Hutcheson's Metaphysics, Varenus's Geography, Watts's Ontology and Essays, Kingde Origine
Third Term		Euripides	Mali with Law's Notes.
Four Months		Wells's Dionysius	
		<i>N. B.</i> Some Afternoons to be Spared for Declamation this year	
SECOND YEAR			
JUNIORS May 15		Rhetoric from Preceptor	Vossius, Bossu, Pèr Bohours, Dryden's Essays and Prefaces, Spence on Pope's Odyssey, Trapp's Prælect. Poet. Dionysius Halicarn, Deme- trius Phalereus, Stradae Prolusiones, Patoun's Navigation, Gregory's Geometry, Bisset on Fortification, Simp-
First Term		Longinus critically	
Three Months			
Second Term		Horace's Art of Poetry critically	
Three Months		Aristot. Poet, critically. Quintilian, Select Parts.	

	COMPOSITION <i>begun.</i>	son's Conic Sections,
<i>January</i>	<i>viz:</i> Cicero pro Milone	Maclaurin's and Em-
<i>Third Term</i>		erson's Fluxions, Pal-
Four Months	Demosthenes pro Ctesi- phon.	ladia by Ware.
		Helsham's Lectures,
		Gravesande, Cote's
	<i>N. B.</i> During the Appli-	Hydrostatics, Desagu-
	cation of the Rules to	liers, Muschenbrock,
	these famous Orations,	Keil's Introduction,
<i>Remarks</i>	imitations of them are	Martin's Philosophy,
	to be attempted on the	Sir Isaac Newton's
	Models of perfect Elo-	Philosophy, Maclau-
	quence	rin's View of Ditto,
		Rohault per Clarke

THIRD YEAR

SENIORS <i>May 15</i>	Epicteti Enchiridion	Puffendorf by Barbeyrac,
	Cicero de officiis	Cumberland de Leg.
<i>First Term</i>	Tusculan Quæst.	Selden de Jure, Spirit
Three Months.	Memorabilia Xenoph.	of Laws, Sidney, Har-
	Greek	rington, Seneca,
	Patavii Rationar Tempo-	Hutcheson's Works,
	rum.	Locke on Government,
<i>Second Term</i>	Plato de Legibus	Hooker's Polity, Scali-
Three Months	Grotius de Jure B. & P.	nger de Emendatione
		Temporum, Compendis
		in Preceptor Le Clerc's
		Compend of History.
<i>January</i>	Afternoons of the 3d	Gregory's Astronomy,
<i>Third Term</i>	Term, for Composition	Fortescue on Laws, N.
Four Months	and Declamation on	Bacon's Discourses,
	Moral and Physical	My lord Bacon's
	Subjects, Philosophy	Works, Locke on
	Acts held.	Civic-Davenant, Gee's
		Compend. Ray. Der-
		ham, Spectacle de la
		Nature; Rondoletius,
		Religious Philosopher.
		HOLY BIBLE to be read
		daily from the Begin-
		ning, and now to sup-
		ply the Deficiencies of
		the Whole.

To this early publication of the plan, by a bare suggestion of which, any Parent may know what Progress his son makes, and what is his standing, as well as what Books to provide, from Time to Time,⁴

the Provost added the following remarks elucidating it and showing its merits ; he must speak for himself, and to abbreviate it would mar the force of his statement :

Life itself being too short to obtain a perfect acquaintance with the whole circle of the *Sciences*, nothing has ever been proposed by any plan of *University Education*, but to lay such a general foundation in all the branches of literature, as may enable youth to perfect themselves in those particular parts, to which their business or genius, may afterwards lead them. And scarce any thing has more obstructed the advancement of sound learning, than a vain imagination, that a few years, spent at college, can render youth such *absolute Masters of Science*, as to absolve them from all future study.

As far as our influence extends, we would wish to propagate a contrary doctrine ; and tho' we flatter ourselves that, by a due execution of the foregoing plan, we shall enrich our country with many *Minds* that are liberally accomplished, and send out none that may justly be denominated barren or unimproved ; yet we hope that the youth committed to our tuition, will neither at college, nor afterwards, rest satisfied with such a general knowledge, as is to be acquired from the public lectures and exercises. We rather trust that those whose taste is once formed for the acquisition of *solid Wisdom*, will think it their duty and most rational satisfaction, to accomplish themselves still farther, by manly perseverance in private study and meditation.

To direct them in this respect, the last column contains a judicious choice of the most excellent writers in the various branches of literature, which will be easily understood when once a foundation is laid in the books proposed in the plan, under the several lectures. For the books to be used as *Classics*, at the lecture hours, will not be found in this last column, which is only meant as a private library, to be consulted occasionally in the lectures, for the illustration of any particular part, and to be read afterwards, for completing the whole.

The last book in the catalogue is the HOLY BIBLE, without which the student's library would be very defective. But tho' it stands last, we do not mean that they are to defer reading it to the last, it being part of our daily exercise, and recommended from the beginning. We only intimate, by this disposition, that, when human Science has done its utmost, and

⁴ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 12 Aug. 1756.

when we have thought the youth worthy of the honors of the Seminary, yet still we must recommend them to the *Scriptures of God*, in order to compleat their Wisdom, to regulate their conduct thro' life, and guide them to happiness forever.

In the disposition of the parts of this Scheme, a principal regard has been paid to the connexion and subserviency of the *Sciences*, as well as to the gradual openings of young minds. Those parts are placed first, which are suited to strengthen the inventive Faculties, and are *instrumental* to what follows. Those are placed last which require riper judgment, and are more immediately connected with the main business of life.

In the meantime, it is proposed that they shall never drop their acquaintance with the classic sages. They are every day called to converse with some one of the ancients, who, at the same time that he charms with all the beauties of language, is generally illustrating that particular branch of philosophy or science, to which the other hours of the day are devoted. Thus, by continually drawing something from the most admired masters of Sentiment and expression, the taste of youth will be gradually formed, to just *Criticism* and masterly *Composition*.

For this reason, *Composition*, in the *strict Meaning* of the term, cannot be begun at an earlier period than is proposed in the plan. The knowledge of *Mathematics* is not more necessary, as an introduction to natural philosophy, than an acquaintance with the best ancient and modern writers, especially the *Critics*, is to just *Composition*.

Whoever would build, must have both the art and materials of building; and therefore *Composition*, from one's own stock, is justly placed after *Criticism*, which supplies the art, and not before *Moral and Natural Philosophy*, which enriches the understanding, and furnishes the *Materials* or *Topics* for the *Work*.

Thus it is hoped the Student may be led thro' a scale of easy ascent, till finally render'd capable of *Thinking, Writing* and *Acting* well, which is the grand aim of a liberal education.—At the end of every term, there is some time allowed for *Recreation*, or bringing up slower *Geniuses*.

Perhaps, after all, some who see this plan, may think three years too scanty a period for its execution. We would not be tenacious of our opinion; but, from an attentive consideration of the business proposed for each term, we are inclined to think the time will be sufficient for a middling genius, with ordinary application. And where both genius and application are wanting, we conceive no time will be found sufficient. Experience, however, being the best guide in matters of this kind, we only propose that a fair trial of three years may be made, before anything farther is determined upon a subject of such high concern.

Such a trial we think due to the present state of our Seminary, as well as to the public, and the particular circumstances of these colonies,

where very few youth can be detained for a 'long period at infant unendowed collegēs, where they must wholly maintain themselves at a considerable expence, and where the genius seems not only to be sooner ripe, but where there is also a more immediate demand, and a more easy settlement to be obtained, in all the ways of genteel employment, for *Young Men of Parts*, than there is in *European Countries*.

N. B. *The utmost care will be taken for a faithful execution of this plan in all its parts. The time for admitting Freshmen in the youngest philosophy class is May 15, according to the plan. But those who necessarily apply later in the first year will obtain Admission, provided it appears upon examination that they are sufficiently grounded in the parts laid down in the plan, previous to the date of such their admission; which facts may always be known from inspection, together with the proficiency made by the class which they are to join. The Sentiments of Men of Learning will be thankfully received for perfecting the whole; and upon a candid application to any of the professors, they will endeavor to explain and remove any difficulties that may occur to any persons concerning it.*

The plan was next published in the *American Magazine*, of which Mr. Smith was Editor, in its last number, October, 1758; and the year following he included it in the Appendix to his *Discourses on Several Public Occasions during the War in America*, published in London 1759, with an account of the College and Academy, which received a second edition, London, 1762, and which was dedicated to the Proprietaries, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn; and these were repeated in the edition of his *Works* published in Philadelphia in 1803. In the *American Magazine* he supplemented what has already been quoted from his pen on the Collegiate course, by an account of the Academy proper, from which we learn of its conduct and its tuition. This article entire will be found in the Appendix, and the narrative merits attention.

In the account of the College and Academy in the edition of the *Discourses*, London, 1759, the foregoing plan is included with the addition of a short paragraph inserted in the middle of the first section, namely:

Besides this rostrum, which is in their private school, there is also a large stage or oratory erected in the College hall, where the Speakers appear on all public occasions, before as many of the inhabitants as please to attend.

And in a footnote, adds,

A number of the students and scholars performed the masque of Alfred by way of Oratorical Exercise, before the Earl of Loudon and the Governors of the Southern Colonies, in the beginning of the year 1757, with very much and just applause, and on any occasion a sufficient number of speakers may be selected to perform any good piece of this kind.

To this he further adds in the edition of his *Works*, Philadelphia, 1803 :

The choice of this performance was owing to the great similarity of circumstances in the distress in England under the Danish invasion, and that of the colonies at this time under the ravages and incursions of the Indians. The whole was applied in an occasional prologue and epilogue, and at any time a sufficient number of Speakers may be found to perform any piece of the kind, in a manner that would not be disagreeable to persons of the best taste and judgment.

Selections from this Masque, "originally written by the pious and philosophic Mr *Thompson* in conjunction with Mr Mallet, and in the year 1751, altered and greatly improved by the latter," which had "been several Times represented during the Christmas Holidays, in one of the Apartments of the College," were given a prominent place in numbers of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in January and February, 1757, where we learn that young Jacob Duché took the part of Alfred, and Samuel Chew that of the Danish King. In this cotemporary account Mr Smith prefaces it with the Statement that

ever since the first Foundation of the College and Academy in this city, the Improvement of the Youth in ORATORY and *correct Speaking*, has always been considered as an essential Branch of their Education. And though it be a Branch too much neglected in other Institutions of a like kind, yet its importance is manifest, and nothing could have been better devised in the Circumstances of this Province, where the true Pronunciation of the *English* Language might soon be lost without proper care to preserve it in the rising Generation, as we are a Mixture of People from almost all corners of the world ; speaking a variety of Languages and Dialects.

XXXIV.

We have just seen in Provost Smith's words that from the outset of the Academy direct attention had been paid to training the boys in the correct use of their own language. The originators had desired the teaching of the English tongue grammatically, and as a language to be second to no other of the objects of the school. While the tendency of the day was to elevate the study of the Classics and the Knowledge of the Ancients beyond any attention that the pursuit of the Mother language could possibly attract, it was Franklin who strove for its proper maintenance in the Academy; he who had studied his native language in the best English classics knew its wealth and capacity, and how richly it would reward any who studied it diligently; what more important, he argued, than the thorough knowledge of one's own language to those who designed following in their native country the various pursuits of livelihood. His own experience warranted his belief that in the English tongue was found the best vehicles for conveying the thoughts of man to his fellows, as it was his self training in its uses that brought to him that unexcelled employment of its words and terms which gave to all his writings that surprising force, indeed eloquence, which commanded the attention of his cotemporaries and affords to us their successors such delightful perusal.

When in June, 1789, he wrote his *Observations, relative to the intentions of the original founders of the Academy in Philadelphia*, he looked backward those forty years and recited how their early designs were to make the English School of greater prominence in this general plan. His paper, well worthy of a perusal in its fullness, is a history of this branch of the institution which is narrated in language which cannot now be equaled, and is referred to at this point, to show how attention was early sought to train the pupils in a correct use of their Mother tongue in reading, in declamation, and by various public exercises. When Mr Smith assumed his duties in May,

1754, he found the existence of this practical system with evidences of its good results, and with his own knowledge of oratory he gladly carried on these plans, and gave to them his own experience and culture ; but inasmuch as the influences already prevailed which placed the English school in a secondary position, he with his greater taste for the Ancient Classics but confirmed and established more effectually these influences which were in later years the subject of Franklin's deprecations ; and there no longer remained those public exhibitions of display in proficiency in English which the pupils under Mr Dove had attained to.

These tendencies Franklin termed partialities. But let us hear his own statement :¹

The first instance of partiality, in favor of the Latin part of the institution, was in giving the title of Rector to the Latin master, and no title to the English one. But the most striking instance * * * was, when the votes of a majority carried it to give twice as much salary to the Latin Master as to the English, and yet require twice as much duty from the English master as from the Latin, viz : £200 to the Latin master to teach twenty boys ; £100 to the English master to teach forty. However, the trustees who voted these salaries being themselves by far the greatest subscribers, though not the most numerous, it was thought they had a kind of right to predominate in money matters ; and those who had wished an equal regard might have been shown to both schools, submitted, though not without regret, and at times some little complaining, which, with their not being able in some months to find a proper person for *English master*, who would undertake the office for so low a salary, induced the Trustees at length, viz : in July, 1750, to offer £50 more. Another instance of the partiality above mentioned, was in the March preceding, when £100. sterling was voted to buy *Latin* and *Greek* books, maps, drafts, and instruments for the use of the Academy, and nothing for the *English* books. * * *

The Trustees were most of them the principal gentlemen of the province. Children taught in other schools had no reason to expect such powerful patronage. The subscribers had placed such entire confidence in them as to leave themselves no power of changing them, if their conduct of the plan should be disapproved ; and so, in hopes of the best, all these partialities were submitted to.

Near a year passed before a proper person was found to take charge

¹ Sparks, ii. 141.

of the English school. At length Mr Dove, who had been for many years master of a school in England, and had come hither with an apparatus for giving lectures in experimental philosophy, was prevailed with by me after his lectures were finished, to accept that employment for the salary offered, though he thought it too scanty. He had a good voice, read perfectly well, with proper accent and just pronunciation, and his method of communicating habits of the same kind to his pupils was this: When he gave a lesson to one of them, he always first read it to him aloud, with all the different modulations of voice, that the subject and sense required. These the scholars, in studying and repeating the lessons, naturally endeavored to imitate; and it was really surprising to see how soon they caught his manner, which convinced me and others who frequently attended his school, that, though bad tones and manners in reading are, when once acquired, rarely, with difficulty, if ever cured, yet, when none have been already formed, good ones are as easily learned as bad. In a few weeks after opening his school, the trustees were invited to hear the scholars read and recite. The parents and relations of the boys also attended. The performances were surprisingly good, and of course were admired and applauded; and the English school thereby acquired such reputation, that the number of Mr Dove's scholars soon amounted to upwards of ninety, which number did not diminish as long as he continued master, viz: upwards of two years; but, he finding the salary insufficient, and having set up a school for girls in his own house to supply the deficiency, and quitting the boys' school somewhat before the hour to attend the girls, the trustees disapproved of his so doing, and he quitted their employment, continued his girls' school, and opened one for boys on his own account. The trustees provided another English master; but though a good man, yet not possessing the talents of an English schoolmaster in the same perfection with Mr Dove, the school diminished daily, and soon was found to have but about forty scholars left. The performances of the boys, in reading and speaking, were no longer so brilliant; the trustees of course had not the same pleasure in hearing them, and the monthly visitations, which had so long afforded a delightful entertainment to large audiences, became less and less attended, and at length discontinued; and the English school has never since recovered its original reputation. Thus by our injudiciously starving the English part of our scheme of education, we only saved fifty pounds a year, which was required as an additional salary to our acknowledged excellent English master, which would have equalled his encouragement to that of the Latin master; I say, by saving the £50. we lost fifty scholars, which would have been £200. a year, and defeated, besides, one great end of the institution.

The Master of the English School, Mr. Kinnersley, Mr. Dove's successor, we have seen was in July 1755 made Pro-

fessor of the English Tongue and Oratory ; but his want of success in training the lads discouraged him from inciting public exhibitions of their progress ; and as Franklin ere long began his absences from Pennsylvania, the influence of the "Latinists," as he calls them, may have chilled any encouragement he sought in the faculty or the Trustees for the fuller development of his school. On Franklin's return home from his first mission, in November, 1762, he found this change in the English School, and at the meeting of 8 February 1763, we find this Minute, doubtless at his instance :

The state of the English School was taken into consideration and it was observed that Mr Kinnersley's Time was entirely taken up in teaching little Boys the Elements of the English Language,² and that speaking and rehearsing in Publick were totally disused to the great Prejudice of the other Scholars and Students and contrary to the original Design of the Trustees in the forming of that school, and as this was a matter of great Importance it was particularly recommended to be fully considered by the Trustees at the next meeting.

But consideration of this was not reached until the meeting of 12 April, at which only Messrs. Peters, Coleman, Duché, White, Stedman and Redman were present, when the following Minute appears :

The State of the English School was again taken into Consideration, and it was the opinion of the Trustees that the original Design should be prosecuted of teaching the Scholars of that and the other Schools the Elegance of the English Language, and giving them a proper pronounciation, and that the old Method of hearing them read and repeat in public should be again used. And Mr. Franklin, Mr Coleman, Mr. Coxe, and Mr Duché were appointed a Committee to confer with Mr Kinnersley how this might best be done as well as what assistance would be necessary to give Mr Kinnersley to enable him to attend this necessary service, which was indeed the proper Business of his Professorship.

Franklin's zeal and influence were felt, though his public duties forbad his regular attendance at the Trustees' meetings. In April he left for Virginia where he passed three or four weeks returning to Philadelphia in time to attend the meeting of the

² In quoting this Minute in his *Observations* Franklin here inserts in parenthesis "(this is what it dwindled into, a school similar to those kept by old women, who teach children their letters)" Sparks, ii. 145.

Trustees of 27 May, 1763, made notable by the adoption of the addresses to the King and to Lord Bute to be transmitted to the Provost then in England for due presentation as expressive of the thanks of the Trustees to "his Majesty for his Protection, Countenance and Bounty to our Institution" and "to Lord Bute in acknowledgment of his goodness to us;" and early in June we find him starting on a trip to the Eastern States on postoffice service, from which he did not return until early in November. This May meeting was the last he attended of the Trustees that year; the coming winter found him engrossed in many concerns; the year 1764 was full of political contentions, and in October he was appointed agent for the Province in England, and in November set sail from Philadelphia on his second mission.³ But before he sailed he signed on the Minute Book the fundamental Resolve or Declaration made by the Trustees in consequence of the letter brought them by the Provost on his return from England, jointly written them 9 April, 1764 by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas and Richard Penn and Dr. Samuel Chandler, and entered on the Minutes of 14 June 1764, and which will come before us in the due progress of this narrative. At the meeting of 13 June, only Messrs. Peters, Coleman, Redman, Stedman, and Duché present, the following minute appears:

Some of the parents of the children in the Academy having complained that their children were not taught to speak and read in publick and having requested that this useful part of Education might be more attended to, Mr Kinnersley was called in and desired to give an account of what was done in this Branch of his Duty, and he declared that this was well taught not only in the English School which was more immediately under his care, but in the Philosophy classes regularly every Monday afternoon, and as often at other times as his other Business would permit. And it not appearing to the Trustees that any more could at present be done without partiality & great inconvenience and that this was all that was ever proposed to be done they did not incline to make any alteration, or to lay any Burthen upon Mr Kinnersley.

³and "reached London on the evening of 10 December and went immediately to his old lodgings" Sparks, vii. 282.

Upon this, Franklin says in his *Observations* :⁴

That the English School had not for some years preceding been visited by the Trustees. If it had, they would have known the state of it without making this inquiry of the Master. They might have judged, whether the children more immediately under his care were in truth well taught, without taking his word for it, as it appears they did. But it seems he had a merit, which when he pleaded it, effectually excused him. He spent his time when out of the English School in instructing the philosophy classes, who were of the Latin part of the institution. Therefore they did not think proper to lay any further burthen upon him. * * * Certainly the method that had been used might be again used, if the Trustees had thought fit to order Mr. Kinnersley to attend his own school, and not spend his time in the philosophy classes, where his duty did not require his attendance. What the apprehended partiality was, which the Minute mentions, does not appear, and cannot easily be imagined ; and the great inconvenience of obliging him to attend his own school could only be depriving the Latinists of his assistance, to which they had no right. * * * The parents, indeed, despairing of any reformation, withdrew their children, and placed them in private schools, of which several now appeared in the city, professing to teach what had been promised to be taught in the Academy ; and they have since flourished and increased by the scholars the Academy might have had, if it had performed its engagements. Yet the public was not satisfied ; and, we find five years after, the English school appearing again, after five years' silence, haunting the Trustees like an evil conscience, and reminding them of their failure in duty.

The minutes of 19 and 26 January, 1768, revive the subject, "it having been remarked, that the schools suffer in the public esteem by the discontinuance of public speaking," but only temporizing measures were sought, by

agreeing to give Mr. Jon. Easton and Mr. Thomas Hall, at the rate of twenty-five pounds per annum each, for assisting Mr. Kinnersley in the English school, and taking care of the same when he shall be employed in teaching the students, in the philosophy classes and grammar school, the art of public speaking. [But] Mr. Easton and Mr. Hall are to be paid out of a fund to be raised by some public performance for the benefit of the College.

Or as Franklin says :

Care was however taken by the Trustees not to be at any expense for this

⁴ Sparks, ii. 148. These *Observations Relative to the Intentions of the Original Founders of the Academy in Philadelphia*, June, 1789 are not included by Mr. Bigelow in his *Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin*.

assistance to Mr. Kinnersley ; for Hall and Easton were only to be paid out of the uncertain fund of money to be raised by some public performance for the benefit of the College.

The year following the Trustees "considered whether the English school is to be longer continued," and at a special meeting on 23 July, Messrs. Hamilton, Willing, Shippen, Coxe, Lawrence, Redman, Peters and Inglis, being present, were

unanimously of the opinion that as the said School is far from defraying the expense at which they now support it, and not thinking that they ought to lay out any great part of the Funds entrusted to them on this Branch of Education which can so easily be procured at other schools in this city [it was voted] that from and after the 17th of October next Mr. Kinnersley's present Salary do cease, and that from that Time, the said School, if he shall be inclined to keep it, shall be on the following terms

which in brief were that he could continue the school on his own financial responsibility he

to have the house he lives in rent free, in consideration of his giving two afternoons in the week as heretofore for the instruction of the students belonging to the College in public speaking.

And the Trustees expressed the

hope this Regulation may be agreeable to Mr. Kinnersley as it proceeds entirely from the Reasons set forth above, and not from any abatement of that esteem which they have always retained for Him during the whole course of his services in College.

But it soon occurred to them that this was involving the existence of a branch of the institution the continuance and maintenance of which they stood obligated to their subscribers and the community, for at the meeting following, on 1 August 1769 fifteen of the Trustees attending, it was recorded,

The minute of last meeting relative to the English school was read, and after mature deliberation and reconsidering the same, it was voted to stand as it is, provided it should not be found any way repugnant to the first charter granted by the Assembly, a copy of which was ordered to be procured out of the rolls office.

The repugnance of the charter to this proceeding served to keep alive in its feebleness the English school ; but the knot was cut by Mr. Kinnersley's resignation in October 1772, who had attained his three score years but in impaired health, which

led him to seek a warmer climate. No strenuous effort was employed to supply his place, partly from lack of interest and partly from placing the new Salary on a footing which would not attract any experienced teacher. But the Trustees at their meeting on 2 February following, record this minute :

The College suffers greatly since Mr. Kinnersley left it, for want of a person to teach public speaking, so that the present classes have not those opportunities of learning to declaim and speak which have been of so much use to their predecessors, and have contributed greatly to raise the credit of the Institution.

On this Franklin briefly remarks in his *Observations* of 1789 :

Here is another confession that the Latinists were unequal to the task of teaching English eloquence, though on occasion the contrary is still asserted. [and in closing he says] I am the only one of the original trustees now living, and I am just stepping into the grave myself. I am afraid that some part of the blame incurred by the Trustees may be laid on me, for having too easily submitted to the deviations from the constitution, and not opposing them with sufficient zeal and earnestness ; though indeed my absence in foreign countries at different times for near thirty years, tended much to weaken my influence. * * * I seem here to be surrounded by the ghosts of my dear departed friends, beckoning and urging me to use the only tongue now left us, in demanding that justice to our grandchildren, that to our children has been denied.

XXXV.

However, we have somewhat anticipated the course of events, in this review of the English tuition of the College and Academy, made necessary here in order to preserve the continuity of Franklin's argument ; and we recur with satisfaction to the Provost's plan or scheme of education, broad and liberal in its stretch, which claims in our thoughts a preëminence over any cotemporary curriculum in this country and perhaps in England. He divided it in two great sections, the Latin and Greek Schools, and the Philosophy Schools ; the first embracing all tuition in those ancient Languages in their structure and their uses, and the other building on this foundation and making use of the necessary vehicle of language to pursue the study of the reason of things employing the term Philosophy in its generic term—the Love of Wisdom, embracing both Natural and Moral Philosophy. At the stage when the word Philosophy was here applied to district schools its use was more general than it has now come to be used in this generation, and modern curricula use it to denote narrower spheres. Dr. Johnson's new Dictionary had now appeared, and Peter Collinson¹ the good friend and agent in London of the College and Academy had in October 1755 sent out to its Library an early copy of this great lexicographical work, then just published ; and we find in it Johnson's definition of Philosophy as "the course of sciences read in the schools," and for definition of the word sciences he uses the pithy quotation from Hooker, "any art or species of Knowledge." This was much broader in its scope than anything yet attempted in our Colleges, and its conception was bold as well as novel ; but in their confidence in the learning and in the ingenuity of the young Provost, the Trustees accepted the programme for the time, soliciting however the opinion of the learned upon it. But let the Provost himself explain his em-

¹ Mr Collinson's Invoice shows :

1755. 1 May, Blair's Chronology 49/
 18 July, Martin's Introduction to English Tongue 2/
 16 Sept, Johnson's Dictionary 2 vols 4.10/
 v. Treasurer's Accounts.

ployment of the term Philosophy as applied to the highest school, as we find it in his Discourse delivered at the first commencement, 17 May, 1757.²

A person who knows himself endued with reason and understanding, will not be content to take his knowledge entirely at second hand, on subjects so important as the nature and fitness of things, and the Summum Bonum of man ; he will not care to rely wholly on a Historical Knowledge, founded on the Experience and Testimony of others ; however much his labors may be shortened thereby. He will think it his duty to examine for himself, and to acquire a Moral and Physical knowledge ; founded on his own Experience and Observation. This is what we call Philosophy in general ; comprehending in it the knowledge of all things Human and Divine, so far as they can be made the objects of our present inquiries. Now the genuine branches of this Philosophy or great system of Practical Wisdom, together with the necessary instrumental parts thereof, may be included under the following general heads ; it appearing to me that the nature of things admits of no more :

1. LANGUAGES, which have been already mentioned rather as an Instrument or Means of Science, than a Branch thereof.

2. LOGIC and Metaphysics, or the Science of the Human Mind ; unfolding its powers and directing its operations and reasonings.

3. NATURAL Philosophy, Mathematics, and the rest of her beautiful train of subservient arts, investigating the Physical properties of Body ; explaining the various phenomena of Nature ; and teaching us to render her subservient to the ease and ornament of Life.

4. MORAL Philosophy ; applying all the above to the business and bosoms of men ; deducing the laws of our conduct from our situation in life and connexions with the Beings around us ; settling the whole Economy of the Will and Affections ; establishing the predominancy of Reason and Conscience, and guiding us to Happiness thro' the practice of Virtue.

5. RHETORIC, or the art of masterly Composition ; just Elocution, and sound Criticism : teaching us how to elevate our wisdom in the most amiable and inviting garb ; how to give life and spirit to our Ideas, and make our knowledge of the greatest benefit to ourselves and others ; and lastly, how to enjoy those pure intellectual pleasures, resulting from a just taste for polite letters, and a true relish for the sprightly Wit, the rich Fancy, the noble Pathos, and the marvelous Sublime, shining forth in the works of the most celebrated Poets, Philosophers, Historians and Orators, with beauties ever pleasing, ever new. * * *

Thus I have given a sketch of the Capital branches of Human

² *Discourses.* ed 1759, p 142.

Science; and all of them are professed and taught in this Institution. But there is yet one Science behind necessary to compleat all the rest, and without which they will be found at best but very defective and unsatisfactory. 'Tis the Science of Christianity and the Great Mystery of Godliness; that Sublimest Philosophy, into which even the angels themselves desire to be further initiated.

A new departure in higher education Mr. Smith felt was needed in the colonies. Up to this time, the aim of our earlier colleges had been primarily to prepare young men for the ministry. The conditions attendant upon the organization and the circumstances surrounding its progress forbade this to the new Philadelphia institution, however much Mr. Smith may have thought of it, of which however there appears no evidence.³ While tutoring in Long Island he must have had knowledge of the curriculum at Yale, and he may have visited New Haven; his acquaintance with its distinguished alumnus Samuel Johnson possibly ensured this. The chief thought here, as it was in like manner at Harvard College, seemed to be to fit the pupils to assume the clerical profession; the President and Fellows, or Tutors, for it was not until 1755, that the term Professor was known at Yale and that was upon the appointment of Dr. Daggett as Professor of Theology, were mostly clergymen, whose professional sympathies would lead to such a training; and while the curriculum might of itself not bear such bias, those who administered it would perhaps insensibly give to it a theological discipline. But it must, at the same time, be admitted that Yale "was a seminary which was intended for the training of ministers as much as for any purpose;"⁴ and it was on this ground that the head of the College, Rev. Timothy Cutler, "was excused from all further service as Rector," when he led off in

³ It is doubtless true, that the studies of the English universities, from which the American Colleges are historically derived, were originally arranged with special reference to the clerical profession, and that to this day some of the peculiarities thus induced have not been entirely outgrown. The first American Colleges were also primarily founded as training schools for the clergy, but as the other professions came to require a liberal culture, this special reference to the clerical profession was laid aside. President Porter, *American Colleges and the American Public*, p. 93. And President Clap of Yale said in 1754 "the original End and design of Colleges was to instruct and train up persons for the work of the ministry * * * The great design of founding this school was to educate ministers in our own way."

⁴ President Woolsey in Kingsley's *Yale College* i. 53-54.

the great Episcopal movement in 1722, which involved also other sons of Yale, including Dr. Johnson, the Trustees voting this "in faithfulness to the trust reposed in them;" and this action was recognized by its subjects as legitimate and quite proper, and so far from hard feelings being engendered by it those who left and those who staid still remained friends, and the former honored their Alma Mater equally with the latter. As the Philadelphia institution began at a day and in a province where clerical influence was not foremost in the control and where church and state were absolutely separate from tuition, the way was open for Provost Smith, who had not yet attained his thirtieth year, to propound a scheme free of early colonial traditions and build anew a richer and a broader curriculum, and offer it to parents for the higher education of their sons. Had he begun his College work on the Yale plan, he would have been without originality and its influence would have been purely local; a new departure was called for, and his was the genius and courage to attempt it. In the success of this scheme, Provost Smith found his highest gratification; and as his pupils took their places in the world thoroughly trained mentally for their various calls, it is quite easy to recognize how the ancient languages gradually took precedence of the English, not it may be to the exclusion of the latter, but sufficiently to the extent that the pupil's mind apprehended less the value and importance of his own tongue than he might have done had the views of the Founders prevailed. But so far as his influence may have extended in this, the educated community generally was equally with him in greater sympathy with the pursuit of the classics of the ancients than with those of the mother country.

The establishment of the first Professorship in Yale, in 1755, that of Theology, appeared to remove this from a general to a special study, and marked a new era in the spirit of the generally accepted curriculum.⁵ And the same thought of making

⁵ Professor Fisher, *Yale College*, ii. 17. "Both Harvard and Yale were modeled in general after the English Colleges; Yale having before it, also, the example of its older sister. It is only necessary to look at the course of study at Harvard in the early days to see that theology was a prominent and even a principal study. *Ibid.*, ii. 15.

a new departure prevailed alike with Dr. Johnson in New York and Mr. Smith in Philadelphia, though with the former there prevailed in his Advertisement of June, 1754, elsewhere referred to, some sympathy with the old course of his Alma Mater, when he said :

The chief Thing that is aimed at in this College is, to teach and engage the children to *know God in Jesus Christ*, and to love and serve him, in all *Sobriety, Godliness, and Righteousness of Life, with a perfect Heart and a willing Mind.*

But let us see what Yale's curriculum was at this period, and President Woolsey's words can give the story :⁶

The Latin law of 1748, of which also an English original, under date of 1745, is extant in manuscript, prescribes that in the first year the students shall principally study the tongues and logic, and shall in some measure pursue the study of the tongues the next two years. In the second year they shall recite rhetoric, geometry, and geography. In the third year, natural philosophy, astronomy, and other parts of mathematics. In the fourth year metaphysics and ethics. Every Saturday shall especially be devoted to the study of divinity, and the classes, through the whole of their college life, shall recite the Westminster Confession of Faith, received and approved by the churches of this colony, Wollebius's or Ames's Medulla, or any other system of divinity by direction of the President and Fellows. And on Friday, each student in his order, about six at a time, shall declaim in the hall, in Latin, Greek or Hebrew, and in no other language without special leave; and the two Senior Classes shall dispute twice a week.

In Dr. Johnson's pupilage,⁷

common arithmetic and a little surveying were all the mathematics studied; but he, as a tutor, introduced more mathematics for the understanding of the Newtonian system. Geometry was studied not long afterward. In a letter of Jonathan Edwards to his father (written probably at the beginning of his Senior year, 1720), he says that the Rector advised him to get Alsted's Geometry and Gassendus's Astronomy for the purposes of study. At a later period, I know not when, except that it is likely to have been under President Clap, the mathematics of Ward (President of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Bishop of Exeter) were introduced.⁸

Let us advance a decade and note yet further enlargement

⁶ *Yale College*, ii. 497.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii. 499.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ii. 497.

of the studies, but not yet up to the point set by the Philadelphia Provost :

President Clap, in his history, written in 1766, gives an account of the studies, which shows that, during his term of office considerable progress had been made in the mathematical branches. In the first year, he says, they learn Hebrew, and principally pursue the study of the languages, and make a beginning in logic and some parts of mathematics. In the second year they study the languages, but principally recite logic, rhetoric, oratory, geography, and natural philosophy, and some of them make good progress in trigonometry and algebra. In the third year they still pursue the study of natural philosophy and most branches of mathematics. Many of them well understand surveying, navigation, and the calculation of eclipses; and some of them are considerable proficient in conic sections and fluxions. In the fourth year they principally study and recite metaphysics and divinity. The two upper classes exercise their powers in disputing every Monday in the syllogistic form and every Tuesday in the forensic.

And proceeding a few years later we note yet further advances :

There is, in President Stiles' Diary for November 9, 1779, a list of "books recited in the several classes at [his] accession to the presidency," which we will here insert :⁹

Freshman Class.—Virgilius, Ciceronis Orationes, Graec. Test., Ward's Arithmetic.

Sophomore (sic) Class.—Graecum Testament., Horatius, Lowth's English Grammar, Watts' Logic, Guthrie's Geography, Hammond's Algebra, Holmer's Rhetorick, Ward's Geometry, Vincent's Catechism [Saturday], Ward's Mathematics.

Junior Class.—Ward's Trigonometry, Atkinson and Wilson ditto, Graec. Test., Cicero de Oratore, Martin's Philosophic Grammar and Philosophy, 3 vols., Vincent, [Saturday].

Senior Class.—Locke, Human Understanding, Wollaston, Relig. of Nature Delineated, and for [Saturday], Wollebius, Amesii Medulla, Graec. Test. (or Edwards on the Will, sometime discontinued), President Clap's Ethics.

President Woolsey further tells us :¹⁰

For the classical tongues the examinations embraced at first, and for many years, a part of Virgil, a part of Cicero's select orations, and in Greek the four Evangelists. The course in College went very little further

⁹ *Yale College*, ii. 498.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ii. 500.

than to complete these Latin authors and the New Testament. I do not think that even Homer was studied except by the candidates for the Berkeleyan scholarship, until the earliest years of the present century, when the late Professor Kingsley and Professor Moses Stuart, being tutors, used it in their classes. * * * * Latin, at the first, was both spoken and written with ease, and the daily practice in disputation and even in conversation was such that the students would put to shame in this respect those of the present day. But I fear that correctness of style was not reached, much less was elegance.

Even Mr. Smith's "Latin and Greek Schools" were many years in advance of all this; but when to these his Philosophy Schools were added we find the College and Academy of Philadelphia a half century in the advance of imparting a thoroughly liberal education to the increasing American generations.

As Yale grew out of Harvard, it followed that the curriculum was on the same pattern as the latter. New England did not require another College, but church government and alleged differences in orthodoxy were the reasons for the former's existence as early as 1647;¹¹ but a decade after the origin of Harvard, the people of New Haven "undertook the enterprise of establishing a College in that colony but postponed it in deference to the interests of Cambridge." However in 1700 the matter was consummated, and Abraham Pierson, a graduate of Harvard of 1668, became the first Rector of the Saybrook Academy which in a few years, when removed to New Haven, was entitled Yale College in honor of Governor Yale, its illustrious benefactor.

Mr. Palfrey, writing of Harvard College, tells us :

The course of study, adopted from the contemporaneous practice of the English Universities, consisted of Latin and Greek (in which some proficiency was required for admission); of logic, arithmetic, geometry, and physics; and of Hebrew, Chaldee Syriac, and Divinity,—the forming of a learned ministry being a main object of the institution. [Under the Rev. Henry Dunster, the second president], the College soon acquired so high a reputation, that in several instances youth of opulent families in the parent country were sent over to receive their education in New England.¹²

¹¹ Duyckinck, i. 85.

¹² Palfrey's *History of New England*, ii. 48, 49.

[But this may doubtless have been largely owing to the religious tests of the English Universities.]

During Pierson's pupilage at Harvard, President Quincy tells us :¹³

To the general student, and such as were not destined to the work of the ministry, the exercises of the College must have been irksome, and, in their estimation, unprofitable. The reading every morning a portion of the Old Testament out of Hebrew into Greek, and every afternoon a portion of the New Testament out of English into Greek, however it might improve their knowledge of those languages respectively, could not greatly accelerate or enlarge their acquaintance with Scripture, or tend vividly to excite their piety. The exposition, required by the laws of the College to be made by the President, of the chapters read at the morning and evening services, although greatly lauded for its utility, and made the repeated subject of inquiry by active members of the Board of Overseers, seems not to have been of any material efficiency in point of instruction. * * * "To speak true Latin, both in prose and verse," was made an essential requisite for admission. Among the laws and liberties of the College was the following : "The scholars shall never use their mother tongue, except that, in public exercises of oratory or such like, they be called to make them in English. * * * Scholares vernaculâ linguâ, intra Collegii limites nullo pretextu intuentur."

The flavor of this training Rector Pierson must have maintained during the few years of his life spared to the Connecticut College. The administration of President Holyoke, at Harvard, beginning in 1737,¹⁴

was distinguished by a series of persevering and well directed endeavors to elevate the standard of harmony in Harvard College. * * * But the customs and rules of the College tardily yielded to the influences of the period ; and it was not until after the middle of the eighteenth century, that effectual improvements were introduced. * * * The dissatisfaction of the Board of Overseers with the state of elocution among the undergraduates, and with the standard of classical attainments in the College, was the origin of the present literary exhibitions, which were at first only semi-annual. In October, 1754, a committee was raised in that board "to project some new method to promote oratory." * * * The same Committee¹⁵ had reported in April, 1755, that the fourth part of the yearly income of the Hollis donation, and the whole of the yearly income

¹³ *History of Harvard University.* Quincy, i. 193.

¹⁴ Quincy, ii. 123.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 125.

of other splendid donations, should be applied to encourage the study of the languages, by equally dividing the amount between any three of the Junior Sophister class, two of whom should appear most expert in the Latin and the Greek, and the third in the Hebrew language ; and the other incomes of Mr. Hollis to be divided equally between nine other Junior Sophisters, who should most excel in the knowledge of said languages, the said scholars to be all of good morals. * * * By other action the Corporation * * * voted that the exercises of the Freshmen and Sophomores, with their respective Tutors, on Friday morning (except when they declaim) "be to read some celebrated orations, speeches, or dialogues in Latin or English, whereby they may be directed and assisted in their elocution or pronunciation ; that the Tutors attend the declamations in the Chapel on Friday morning, and that once a month the two senior classes have their disputations in English, in the forensic manner, without being confined to syllogisms ; that the number of opponents and respondents be equal and that they speak alternately ; the questions to be given out by the Tutors at least a fortnight beforehand." [But President Quincy adds] notwithstanding the unanimity with which these principles were adopted, it was found difficult to introduce a practice so little in unison with the private recitations, syllogistic forms, and solemn exercises of ancient times.¹⁶

It was not however until President Willard's administration, namely in 1787 after the War of the Revolution, that we trace some significant changes in the books of instruction, recreating the curriculum, but not up to the standard of that of Philadelphia of 1756 :

Horace,¹⁷ Sallust, Cicero de Oratore, Homer, and Xenophon were substituted for Virgil, Cicero's orations, Cæsar, and the Greek Testament. The number of exercises was increased, and the instructors were enjoined to ascertain that they were learned by the whole class. These classics formed the principal studies of the first three College years. The Freshmen were instructed, also, in rhetoric, the art of speaking, and arithmetic ; the Sophomores in algebra, and other branches of mathematics ; the Juniors in Livy, Doddridge's Lectures, and, once a week, the Greek Testament ; the Seniors in logic, metaphysics, and ethics. The Freshmen and Sophomores were required to study Hebrew, or French, as a substitute. Through the College course all the classes were instructed in declamation, chronology and history. In 1788 Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric was introduced as a text book.

¹⁶ Quincy, ii. 127.

¹⁷ Ibid., ii. 279.

But within fifteen years from this time, Harvard had still further advanced her standard : ¹⁸

In 1803, the former conditions of admission were repealed, and a strict examination in Dalzel's *Collectanea Graeca Minora*, the Greek Testament, Virgil, Sallust, and Cicero's Select Orations ; a thorough acquaintance with the Greek and Latin grammars, including prosody ; also, an ability to translate those languages correctly, and a knowledge of geography and arithmetic to the rule of three, was substituted.

Of the curriculum at William and Mary College, Virginia, at the period of the publication of Provost Smith's Plan, we have no certain knowledge. The visitations of fire to its buildings had caused the destruction of most of its valuable records. The origin of this venerable institution was even more decidedly of a theological intention than Harvard or Yale, and was

to the end that the church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the Gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Christian faith may be propagated amongst the Western Indians to the glory of Almighty God.

The Rev. James Blair, afterwards Commissary of the Bishop of London in Virginia, was sent to England by the Colonial Assembly in 1691 to solicit a charter from the Crown, which was granted on 8 February, 1693, William and Mary giving out of the quit rents two thousand pounds towards the building. When he was charged to convey to Seymour, the Attorney General, the royal commands to issue the charter, Seymour remonstrated against this liberality, upon the ground that the nation was engaged in an expensive war ; that the money was wanted for better purposes, and that he did not see the slightest occasion for a College in Virginia. Mr Blair begged the Attorney would consider " that its intention was to educate and qualify young men to be ministers of the gospel, much wanted there ; that the people of Virginia had souls to be saved as well as the people of England." " Souls," exclaimed Seymour, " damn your souls ; make tobacco !" ¹⁹ Commissary Blair, a native of

¹⁸ Quincy, ii. 280.

¹⁹ This is related by Franklin to Messrs Weems and Gant, two candidates then in London seeking his counsel as to obtaining orders, in his letter from Passy, 18 July, 1784. Bigelow, ix., 10.

Scotland as was William Smith, had come as a Missionary of the Church of England to Virginia in 1685. He was nominated the first President of the College and so continued the half century until his death in 1743. We are told that,

before the Revolution, the College consisted of a school of Divinity, one of Philosophy, in which Natural Philosophy and Mathematics were taught, a Grammar School for instruction in the Ancient Languages, and an Indian school supported by the donation of the Hon Robert Boyle, in which, from about the year 1700 to 1776, eight to ten Indians were annually maintained and educated.²⁰

In this christian and generous thought and action for the aborigines, the College of William and Mary was far in advance of its cotemporaries. Franklin visited the College in April 1756:

This day, Benjamin Franklin, Esquire, favored the Society with his company and had the degree of A. M. conferred upon him.²¹

Thomas Jefferson was then in one of the younger classes, graduating in 1759. Twenty years later, the Master and the undergraduate were united on a Committee to draft a Declaration of Independence from the Mother country which came forth from their deliberations in the immortal words of the younger of the two.

In 1771, there graduated James Madison, afterwards the first Bishop of Virginia, who received the degree of D.D. in 1785 from the University in Philadelphia; who within three years of his graduation was made Professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, and within six years became the President of the College, both of which stations through the remainder of his life to 1812 he filled with zeal and ability, and to which after his consecration in 1790 were added the duties of his Episcopate.

²⁰ *Historical Sketch*, p. 40. Archdeacon Burnaby visited William and Mary College in September, 1759, and referring to the Indian School says, "this pious institution was set on foot and promoted by the excellent Mr. Boyle. * * * At present the only Indian children in Mr. Boyle's school are five or six of the Pamunky tribe, who, being surrounded by and living in the midst of our settlements, are more accustomed to the manners and habits of the English Colonists. * * * The business of the Professor of the Indian School is to instruct the Indians in reading, writing, and the principles of the Christian religion." *Travels*, London, 1798, p. 24.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 42.

Provost Smith's Biographer tells us that Rev Mr Madison introduced the curriculum of the Philadelphia Academy and College of 1756,²² and adopted it on his accession to the Presidency, in the College of William and Mary, from which we may learn that the course previously pursued was a less liberal one and savored more of the courses which we have found to have prevailed in the New England Colleges prior to the Revolution. Franklin may not after his visit of 1756 have again been in Virginia, but his interest was awakened in this then venerable institution of learning on the banks of the James River, and was sealed by his acceptance of a degree of honor it conferred upon him. On his return from that visit he found that the Trustees had approved of Mr Smith's "Scheme of liberal education," and may have sent a copy of it to his friends at Williamsburg as its eminent faculty contained, "Persons of Learning and Experience, in order to obtain their sentiments upon it." The seeds were sown, and when young Madison became the head of the College, at about the same age Smith had become Provost, he was ready and able to carry into practice a new departure in the College form of studies, which otherwise might have remained unchanged in the main since good Commissary Blair had established them four score of years before. The vigor of youth found its way to the front then when possessed by men of courage and cultivation as it does to day, though we are apt to assume that only in these times does the opportunity present itself to the young man to become a leader. Well may it be if the young man of the present will always find himself as well fitted for his opportunity as did Smith and Madison.²³

Of the curriculum in the English Universities we gather the best account, not from English sources, but from a German authority, V. A. Huber, whose studies of the subject in *The*

²² Smith, i. 124.

²³ Mr. Sydney G. Fisher, in his recent interesting publication, entitled *Church Colleges; their History, Position and Importance*, Philadelphia, 1895, says: "Before the Revolution, William and Mary and the College of Philadelphia were the leading seats of learning in the colonies. The fame of Harvard and Yale is of a later date. The Philadelphia College was a little larger than William and Mary, and had a wider curriculum embracing more topics; but was inferior to William and Mary in the quality of its training and in producing remarkable men." p. 25.

English Universities, translated by Francis W. Newman, make of the subject one of the most interesting studies in English life. He says of their course in the eighteenth century :

The average scientific result of the seven years course [academic and collegiate] may be judged of, by considering what was required by the Colleges (not by the University) for the attainment of the Bachelorship in Arts. The candidate was to be well founded in Latin, and to have a moderate acquaintance with Greek, a certain facility in speaking or writing Latin, and a knowledge rather general and elegant, than fundamental, of the commonest Classics, connected more with an ability to *quote passages*, than aught else—a rather piecemeal acquaintance with archæological and historical matters, serviceable for commenting on the separate authors. Mathematical information, slight enough at Oxford, but comprising in Cambridge the higher branches of Mathematics, Physics, and a foretaste of Astronomy with the general Philosophical cultivation which may be gathered from a very moderate acquaintance with the more important works of Bacon and Locke. Whatever was done beyond, either in the Arts or in the Faculties, was a work of supererogation.²⁴

Referring to public examinations, which became the established practice in the Philadelphia Academy for many years to the great benefit of the students and reputation of the institution, Huber had, in a few pages before the above, written :

In Cambridge, the Mathematical examinations appear alone to have been carried on with earnestness: indeed, the examinations for "honors" introduced as early as the middle of last century, became so severe, that only the ablest minds could enter the lists. The publicity of these examinations, and the interest felt in the results, certainly gave a powerful excitement to ambition in the case of those who could compete for them. Another and more widely diffused stimulus, was found in the prizes which were offered, at least after the middle of the century, for compositions in prose or in verse. Independently of the prize itself, the publicity of the recitation and the augury afforded of future progress for the successful candidate, were of great effect.²⁵

He had already spoken of the pre-eminence of Mathematics at Cambridge :

Only the Mathematical studies at Cambridge and those in Natural

²⁴ *The English Universities from the German of V. A. Huber.* By F. W. Newman, ii. 304.

²⁵ *Ibid*, ii. 299.

Philosophy connected with them, require or admit especial mention. In these the impulse reached even the University Statutes, and introduced the germ of the system of mathematical examinations, which has since reached the highest pitch of mechanical perfection; and essentially contributed to gain for Cambridge its mathematical pre-eminence above all other institutions in the world. The name of Newton suffices to explain this preponderance of mathematics, yet we ought not to overlook the merit of his predecessor Barrow, and the earlier predisposition towards this branch of study. That Bentley was not able to elevate the classics to the same pitch, may be explained, both by the firm footing which Mathematics had already gained, and by his own unpleasantness and unpopularity. While Cambridge continued in this praiseworthy path, under Newton's energetic successors, and shortly produced Porson to take the place of Bentley; Oxford also began to break the spell of its political evil spirit, and resume its classical studies. Thus in the second half of the eighteenth century we find both the Universities upon that level of scientific, moral, and religious cultivation, upon which they upon the whole remained till about thirty years ago, when a new impulse began, the ripper and permanent results of which are yet to come.²⁶

Dr. Christopher Wordsworth in his *Social Life at the English Universities* affords us more information as to the ages of the matriculants:

Swift went to Dublin at fourteen. Gibbon entered at Magdalen, Oxford, as a gentleman commoner (April, 1752) before he had completed his fifteenth year. And, that entries at that early age were contemplated as possible, is evident from the fact that there was a regulation at Oxford, which provided that students who entered at an earlier age should not subscribe the XXXIX Articles on their matriculation, but should wait till they had completed their fifteenth year. Out of a dozen cases taken at random, of men who studied at the Universities in the last century (not including Gibbon) I find three who entered at fifteen years of age, two at seventeen, three at eighteen, and four at nineteen.²⁷

The ages of the early graduates at the Philadelphia College show that they entered college life at earlier years than Dr. Wordsworth quotes of the ages at matriculation, at the English Universities. Of the seventy graduates at the sixteen commencements, prior to the abrogation of the Charter in 1779, whose ages are known to us, thirty-seven were not over nineteen years

²⁶ Newman, ii. 293-4.

²⁷ *Social Life*, p. 94.

of age, and of these, fifteen were seventeen years of age, eight were sixteen years, and three were fifteen: these latter were John Bankson, John Maddox Wallace, and Benjamin Duffield. The greatest age at graduation was twenty-seven years, this being the age of Robert Goldsborough, Samuel Jones a native of Wales, and James Cannon a native of Scotland. The average of the whole number was nineteen years and six-sevenths. The sixty-five whose ages are unknown to us would not, it is assumed, materially change these figures. There may be naught to argue from this contrary to the completeness of the College curriculum, which was admittedly more thorough than any cotemporary plan; but the figures testify to the influence of colonial life which stimulated the young men to more rapid courses in their educational life, in order the earlier to embark in their chosen pursuits whether professional or otherwise. In the old country at home more deliberation was had in all such matters, and there probably no one was eager to enter the lists of trade or of profession where social caste prevailed to dictate the mode of a man's pursuit of self maintenance.

XXXVI.

It may be well at this point, though we may anticipate some of our steps, to consider whether the exemplary standard thus raised by the Provost narrowed the door of admission to the young applicant, and served in the course of years to maintain a minimum number of graduates as compared with the other well known and older institutions in the land. To this cause—if it existed—may be added a city location of the College and Academy, wherein was at first no stated home for the student from the interior and which deficiency was only in part remedied within a few years. Harvard, and Yale, and New Jersey, and William and Mary, each graduated more pupils than Philadelphia and King's College together, within the twenty years following 1756. Cambridge, New Haven, Princeton, and Williamsburg were small places, possibly chosen for scholastic sites on account of their freedom from the turmoil of large centres, though the first named was within sound of one. Harvard and Yale drew matriculants from the New England Colonies and some even from New York ; Princeton's supply came as well from Pennsylvania and New York as from New Jersey, the Presbyterian element in Philadelphia contributing largely to it. The College of Philadelphia could only draw from its own province and the Lower Counties—as they were termed, but at the same time attracted many from Maryland, when William and Mary within the period under review had but two Maryland graduates. But Philadelphia had the honor of graduating Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant in 1763, a graduate of Princeton of 1762, which of itself was a testimony to its higher standard. Columbia drew from the churchmen of New York and some West India youth, notably Alexander Hamilton, though the latter's studies were interrupted by the approach of the Revolution. Of the three hundred and eighteen graduates of William and Mary within these two decades, three hundred were Virginians, of whom were Jefferson, Monroe, and Marshall, two from Maryland, one from Jamaica, the three Murrays, sons of the Earl of Dunmore, and to the honor of the college

be it recorded—ten Indians. The two city colleges, New York and Philadelphia, even under experienced leaders supported by strong local influences, suffered for want of that home college life which the other institutions offered. Harvard in this period made an annual average of about forty-one graduates, Yale about thirty-three, Princeton about twenty and William and Mary about sixteen, while Philadelphia with two vacant years, 1758 and 1764, averaged in the twenty a little over seven, and Columbia with its first Commencement in 1758, averaged in the nineteen years but about five and one-half. Of the graduates in this period eight became signers of the Declaration of Independence, William and Mary furnishing Wythe, Jefferson and Braxton; Philadelphia, Hopkinson and Paca; Harvard, Hooper and Gerry; and Princeton, Benjamin Rush—a Philadelphian. Of the College Alumni before 1757, there were ten of the signers, of which Harvard furnished Samuel Adams, Ellery, Williams, Paine and John Adams; Yale, Livingston, Lewis Morris, Wolcott and Hall (these two classmates of 1747); and Princeton, Stockton. The churchmanship of King's College did not attract pupils from the general community, as Yale and Princeton on either side not only furnished to them a more welcome theology but a college home life. Philadelphia with its liberal Constitutions and catholic minded Trustees yet eventually fell under the taint of Episcopacy, for in Christ Church were centred those most active in its control and management. But its standard was elevated, and many of the best minds of Pennsylvania and Maryland and Delaware sought the Muses in its College, rugged as were the steps that led into its Portico. It was to the honor of the College and to the credit of the young Provost, that the maintenance of his high standard of 1756 secured to the graduates a higher rank in general studies, i. e. in Philosophy, than their compeers of other Colleges at the time.

XXXVII.

To carry out inthoroughness this comprehensive scheme of tuition the Provost had associated with him in the Faculty, the Vice Provost Alison, and Professors Grew, Kinnersley, and Jackson, with the assistance of the Tutors James Latta, Hugh Williamson, and Thomas Pratt. Horace Jones had served from 1751, and his engagement ceased in January of this year. Young Duché had served but one year's Tutorship; from August, 1754, he had devoted himself solely to his studies. Jackson, a Tutor from April 1752, had now been appointed Professor of the Languages. John Ormsby, appointed a Tutor in the latter part of 1753, had served but a few months. John Constable's appointment as Tutor in February, 1755, continued barely six months. William Donnaldson served as Tutor but for one quarter, at the close of 1755. Andrew Morton had been Master of the Charity School since March, 1753; William Ayres had been assistant in the Charity School since September, 1755, and when Mr. Morton was appointed Tutor, he was unanimously chosen Master to succeed him; and Mrs. Frances Holwell had been Mistress of the Charity School from December of the same year. John Kirke had assisted in the Charity School during 1774, and was "allowed Twenty Pounds for his service * * * and Thirty pounds for the year ensuing if he continues in the Academy," which, however, he did not. Hugh Williamson added to his duties as Tutor those of Writing Master; but later, Thomas Pratt was called the Writing Master. Williamson and Latta, tutors in the Latin Schools, were pupils in the Philosophy Schools, and were to adorn the first graduating class in the year following.

XXXVIII.

But the activities of the Provost in other matters than those of the College—the claims of which might well be supposed to engage his entire time with only intervals for those pulpit calls which his eloquence made frequent,¹ brought him abreast of the politics of the day in which he stirred with a lively interest, and on behalf of which he often exercised his ready and trenchant pen. Controversy with him was a sure avenue to the display of his keenest abilities, and perhaps was more congenial to him at this time of his life, for he was not over thirty years of age, than the staid and regular duties of the College with its full day sessions and brief holidays in season. This much must be said before we narrate one of these controversies, the consideration of which found its way into the deliberations of the Trustees, and necessarily became part of the history of the College; the only advantage of which lies in the opportunity it affords us in passing to take some view of the political heats of the province and city at that time prevailing.

Early in the year 1756 party feeling ran high; the popular sentiment being keenly at the time against the Proprietaries who continuously instructed their Governors not to approve of any bill taxing their estates, and the other side contending this cry was a pretence to undermine the Proprietaries' interest entirely and take the Government out of their hands. William Smith, who could not rest quiet in any civil strife any more than in a theological controversy, early sided with the latter party, and against the Assembly of which Franklin was a conspicuous and influential member. We have seen from his letter of July, 1754, how early in his Pennsylvania life he had formed views on local controversies. It was in the month of March, 1756, that being at the Coffee House and engaged in animated conversation with Mr. Daniel Roberdeau, afterwards General Roberdeau, the latter said to him "he was sorry a gentleman of his cloth had

¹ Dr. George B. Wood in his *History of the University of Pennsylvania*, read before the Historical Society on 29 October, 1827, says: "The Rev'd Dr. William Smith was eminent for his various learning and general ability. Many living can bear witness to his eloquence as a preacher." p. 20.

intermeddled in party affairs," to which Mr. Smith replied "I am of no Party: I just dress the Sentiments of one side of the Question; I would do the same for you, were there not men of abilities among you." This language was overheard, and being repeated from mouth to mouth was added to, so that the accepted report had it that Smith's language was to this effect: "I only dress the Sentiments of the Proprietary side in proper language; and if it was not that there are men of sense and ability among the friends of the People I would do the same for them." The offense in this latter version lay in the naming of the two parties, and the sting to Smith was in his apparent acknowledgment that the Assembly party were the Friends of the People. This Mr. Smith met by an affidavit not only denying the language as reported, but further denying his having given expression to any sentiments of the kind whatever in a conversation with Mr. Roberdeau or otherwise. This was met by an affidavit of the gentleman and by the same from those bystanders who had noted what had been said in the warmth of the conversation, affirming that Mr. Smith employed the words as first recited above. And to strengthen Mr. Roberdeau's worth and credit with the community, not only did the Rector, Warden, and Vestrymen of Christ Church certify to his having "always supported the character of an Honest, Virtuous, Religious, Upright and Sober man," but certain citizens, seventy in number, joined in a certificate in the same terms, among whom were Drs. Bond and Zachary and Mr. Syng, who were trustees of the Academy. The town talk became oppressive, and the *Pennsylvania Journal*, Bradford's paper, admitted communications on the charge anonymous and otherwise. Humphrey Scourge gave mild advice to a certain Parson: "I could wish for thy own sake, and the sake of those under thy care, that thee would behave more prudently, and give less occasion of offense to the People;" and Obadiah Honesty came out in a Broadside arguing that the probabilities all were against Mr. Smith saying the words currently reported he had uttered. Smith himself was the reputed author of an article in the *Journal* of 15 April in which he referred to the

"aspiring views of a certain mighty politician, who expected that every person would fall down and worship the GOLDEN CALF. I had almost said the GOLDEN BULL." Which were considered by another writer in the issue of the following week as "the vomitings of this infamous hireling against an absent person." And to this on 6 May, Smith's rejoinder contained a qualification of these words, "No one desires to detract from the Gentleman's Merits and Abilities, but certainly they are not too high for competition nor wholly unparalleled." These references to Franklin did not show new antagonisms, but were the fruits of earlier controversies. Franklin was absent during this newspaper war, not returning until June; but his unwillingness longer to continue President of the Board of Trustees took form at the annual meeting in May, when Dr. Peters succeeded him. At the moment of time when William and Mary was bestowing on him their honorary degree, his own College under the heat of local politics was willing his influence in it should be lessened, and accepted his withdrawal from the Presidency.

This present controversy was affecting the College, and the young Provost felt the need of vindication from public calumny. Franklin on his return from Virginia attended the meeting of 8 June, but being again called out of town was not at the meeting of 5 July, Messrs. Peters, Allen, Hamilton, Inglis, Stedman, Maddox, Coleman, Strettel, Taylor and Syng only being present, when

it was moved by one of the Trustees that Examination be made into the foundation of the Several Charges lately published to the Disadvantage of Mr. Smith, as the Reputation of the Academy might be affected by them, and it appearing to the Trustees that in Justice to their own Character as well as that of their Provost, such an examination was very proper, it was referred to Mr Peters, Mr Taylor and Mr Stedman to make full enquiry into this Matter and report the same at the next meeting of the Trustees that it may then be considered what ought farther to be done.

At the same meeting, four of the students of the Senior Philosophy Class, viz. : Duché, Latta, Hopkinson and Williamson, presented a paper to the Trustees which was ordered entered on the minutes bearing on this subject. Magaw and Morgan's signatures are not attached as they were out of town. It was a filial

document, the utterance of an appeal in behalf of their Provost to whom they were personally attached, resenting the

several unjust and malicious insinuations lately appearing in the public papers and been spread through the city by the heat of Party against the Rev. William Smith, Provost of this College, [and thinking it] their duty in justice to the Character of our respected Tutor to certify to you that for near the space of two years last in which we have been under his immediate care, he never did in any of the lectures take occasion to introduce anything relating to the Parties now subsisting in this Province, or tending to persuade us to adopt the Principles of one side more than another. * * * We further beg leave to certify to you that in the whole course of his Lectures on Ethics, Government, and Commerce, he never advanced any other Principles than what were warranted by our standard authors Grotius, Puffendorf, Locke and Hutcheson, writers whose sentiments are equally opposite to those wild notions of Liberty, that are inconsistent with all government, and to those pernicious schemes of government which are destructive of true liberty, * * * as a sufficient proof of which we now lay our notes of the Lectures which he delivered upon the several Branches of Morality before the Trustees and any other persons willing to inspect the same.

At a meeting held on 13 July with the same members except Messrs. Coleman and Syng, and adding Messrs. Turner, Cadwalader and Mifflin, the committee presented their report, "which being several times read and considered the Trustees were unanimously of opinion with the Committee on the several Matters reported by them, approved and agreed to their Report." In the course of this the Committee say :

We have likewise at the request of the Trustees examined and inquired into the conduct of the Rev'd Mr Smith and do report that during his employment in his present Station as Provost of the said College and Academy, it has been becoming and satisfactory to us ; his application, his abilities and Labours in the instruction of his Pupils have been attended with good success and approved by the Trustees and Audience, at the late public examination of the senior Philosophy class, who are now recommended for admission to their first Degree. * * * From these facts and our own personal knowledge of Mr Smith we are of opinion that he has discharged his Trust as a capable Professor and an honest man, and that he has given sufficient evidence of the goodness of his Principles.

The action of the Trustees was accepted as his final discharge from the burden of these public insinuations, and an exoneration from all alleged injury to the institutions by his

political course. Their Committee's report they desired published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, which offered a wider publicity than that afforded by the *Journal*, though as it was known as Franklin's paper, its columns were rather on that account sought for personal reasons. Franklin was absent from the city, but David Hall the publisher returned a reply declining an insertion, and this was a further cause of offence against the proprietor of the *Gazette*. This suspicion was not warranted, however, and importance only is attached to Hall's letter from the fact that the Trustees at their meeting of 10 August thought it merited a full insertion in their minutes. Mr. Hall said in his letter of 15 July :

but as these insinuations were not published in our paper, and as it has some relation to the party disputes that have for some time subsisted, which we have carefully avoided having any concern with, I cannot but think it more proper to publish this by the same channel, through which the Disputes have hitherto been carried on, on both sides; especially as in all probability there will be some answer or remarks offered upon it which we should be under a necessity of publishing, if we printed this, and be thereby engaged in an affair, which we have all along been endeavoring to avoid. I therefore return it to you in time, that it may be published in the other paper, if thought proper.

This referred to Bradford's *Journal*, in which, however, it did not make an appearance. If the report made to the Trustees was offered to Bradford for publication after this refusal by the *Gazette*, and declined by him also, the reason must have been from a like desire to avoid further controversy on the subject.

This declination was in consonance with the general course of Franklin's *Gazette*, and to have printed the Trustees' finding would have been a departure from it. The principles of the paper in this regard were enumerated in the issue of 8 January preceding in Franklin's words, which form a sound example for the guidance of the partisan press of to-day :

Whereas the Publick has been lately informed, that *various seditious and inflaming Papers have been published in this Province containing abusive Reflections, manifestly tending to propagate Dissension, &c.*, which seems (tho' perhaps undesignedly) to throw a general Reflection on all the Printers in the Province; and as the Publishers of this *Gazette* think they

deserve no share of that Blame, having, for a course of years, carefully avoided publishing any Thing of that kind in their Paper; they therefore desire, that Papers of such a Tendency may not be offered to their Press for the future; for if they are, they will (as they have hitherto been) be absolutely rejected, without any regard to the Author or Authors of them. But, on the contrary, if any Pieces of a healing Nature are sent us, with a view of doing away our late unhappy Differences, and of extirpating that cruel Spirit of Party Rage, which has so long torn us to Pieces; and which may be a Means under Divine Providence of uniting us together as one Man in the Defence of our bleeding country, that is daily ravaged by a Savage enemy, supported by a treacherous one; such Pieces shall be most thankfully received and immediately made publick, by the Proprietors of this News-Paper.

XXXIX.

From this picture it is pleasant to turn to another sphere of action in which William Smith found time to engage, one more congenial to his academy connections, and this was the work of the Society for the Education of Germans in America.¹ Before he left London on his return to America in the Spring of 1754, he had been in communication with gentlemen who had associated themselves to secure more education to the ignorant German emigrants to Pennsylvania, and prevent their being led away by French persuasions from British interests, and "that they may become better subjects to the British government and more useful to the Colonies, where Providence has now fixed their habitation." On their behalf the Rev. Samuel Chandler, their Secretary, addressed a letter to Governor Hamilton, Chief Justice Allen, Secretary Peters, Postmaster General Franklin, Conrad Weiser, Interpreter, and Rev. William Smith, which the latter bore with him, appointing these gentlemen their Trustees. Mr. Smith wrote to Mr. Chandler, in a week after his arrival in Philadelphia, conveying the assurance of these gentlemen of how sensible they were of the honor done

¹ Smith, i. 40.

them by the Society, and that they will decline no labor in the execution of their important trust, adding :

We think the scheme you have engaged in for the instruction of these poor foreigners, and blend them with ourselves in the most inestimable privileges and interests, is one of the most generous and most useful that ever engaged the attention even of Britons. But Mess Peters and Franklin are to be sent out on Monday next as commissioners from this Province to the general treaty, to be held with the Five Nations at Albany in New York, on the 14th of next month; we cannot, therefore, do anything in the business you so generously commend to us until their return, especially as Mr. Weiser attends them.

At their first meeting,² 10 August, 1754, held at the house of the Chief Justice at Mount Airy, Messrs. Hamilton, Peters, Franklin, and Smith being present, they resolved "that an English school be erected and opened with all possible expedition at each of the following places, viz : at Reading, York, Easton, Lancaster, Hanover, and Skippack." As there early arose

the difficulty of finding proper Schoolmasters skilled in both languages coming next under consideration, Mr. Smith informed his co-trustees that there were several poor children in the Academy that spoke English and German, who might in a few years be qualified to serve as schoolmasters.

Franklin presented and read a letter to him from the Rev. Henry Muhlenberg in which

he rejoiced much in hearing an illustrious society at home had undertaken to carry on a scheme for promoting the knowledge of God among the Germans in Pennsylvania, and for making them loyal subjects to the sacred Protestant throne of Great Britain, and that he was pleased that the management of the said charity was intrusted to such important persons ; but, as by long experience he was acquainted with almost all the corners of Pennsylvania, and with the temper and circumstances of his countrymen, he much feared some ill-minded persons would strive to defeat so just and noble a view. * * * Mr. Sauer who printed a German newspaper, which was universally read by the Germans all over Pennsylvania and the neighboring colonies, made haste to prejudice them against the scheme.

It was resolved to purchase a German printing-house, to counteract this influence ; and

Mr Franklin said that a few days before a printer of good character, well

² Smith, i. 64.

skilled in English and German, had applied to him to purchase his German printing house, but that if the trustees thought it best to have the press under their own direction, he would endeavor to engage the printer in their service, both as a schoolmaster and printer, and in order to encourage so useful a work, he would dispose of his press to the trustees at £25. less than any two impartial judges would value it at. [This was agreed to, and Mr. Smith was appointed Secretary] to keep a record of the proceedings of the Trustees, so that copies of them might from time to time be transmitted to the Society in London and to the proprietaries.

At a meeting on 23 August held at the Governor's House at Bush Hill, local or deputy trustees were elected for each of the six places already named; and the question arising whether one Calvinist and one Lutheran minister should not be joined with each set of deputy trustees, Mr Weiser observed that

so great was the jealousy of the people at present against the clergy in general, that such a measure at first might be a hindrance to the scheme, especially as these jealousies are daily fomented, as was further confirmed by different articles which he called attention to in Mr Sauer's paper.

Mr. Smith's correspondence in the work of this Society is very entertaining, and affords a view of the apprehension generally felt by the loyal and educated Englishmen of the increase of the German population, who, with an alien language portended trouble to the unity of English rule in Pennsylvania. He writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury 19 October, 1754.³

As the French are daily encroaching behind us, and taking possession of the vast fruitful country upon the Ohio, they will be able to offer our Germans easy settlements, which these last will accept of, as they are an ignorant people that know no difference between French and English government, being wanton with liberty, uninstructed in the use of it, and placing all happiness in possessing a large piece of land. * * * The Indians are going over to the French in these parts, because the latter, having possession by means of their forts, can protect them; and whenever they come a little nearer, the Germans will submit and go over also for protection, caring for nothing but to keep possession of the estates they have settled.

Mr. Smith prepared *A Brief History of the Rise and Progress of the Scheme carrying on for the Instruction of Poor Ger-*

³ Smith, i. 86.

mans and their Descendants, which was approved of at a meeting on 10 December, 1754, and fifteen hundred copies ordered to be printed in English and Dutch. The work went on; and in February, 1755, they commissioned the Rev. Mr. Schlatter⁴ to take a journey through the several parts of the Province and visit the schools already formed, and try to counteract the opposition which yet remained to this benevolent plan, and seek more openings for the furtherance of the objects of the Society. But Christopher Sauer mistrusted its aims and fanned the opposition into life. He wrote to a friend 6 September, 1755 :

I have been thinking since you wrote to me whether it is really true that Gilbert Tennent, Schlatter, Peters, Hamilton, Allen, Turner, Schippin, Schmitt, Franklin, Muhlenberg, Brumholz, Handschuh, &c, have the slightest care for a real conversion of the ignorant portion of the Germans in Pennsylvania, or whether the institution of free schools is not rather the foundation to bring the country into servitude, so that each of them may look for and have his own private interest and advantage.⁵ Concerning Hamilton, Peters, Allen, Turner, Schippin, and Franklin, I know that they care very little about religion, nor do they care for the cultivation of mind of the Germans, except that they should form the militia, and defend their properties. Such people do not know what it is to have faith and confidence in God; but they are mortified that they cannot compel others to protect their goods.

The Society bought Franklin's press on his terms; and Smith writes Mr. Chandler 30 October, 1755 :⁶

The German newspaper succeeded well; there being upwards of 400 subscribers, and more daily coming in, * * * the paper may do more good to the design than several schools, because the Director has express orders not to meddle with any of the disputes in this province, but to strive in every paper to say something to improve and better his countrymen and to confirm them in the Love and Knowledge of the Protestant Religion and Civil Liberty. There are also 3000 Dutch almanacs for 1756 printed.

This was a noble work, in which William Smith appeared to have had the laboring oar, exhibiting at once his faith, his patriotism and his philanthropy. When we consider this, with all its correspondence and perhaps controversy, was added to his first busy year at the Academy which had now become a College

⁴ Smith, i. 92.

⁵ Ibid, i. 95.

⁶ Ibid, i. 96.

with him as its Provost, together with his by-play of local politics, we can form some realization of his great energy and keen intelligence, shunning no work, accepting in the warmth of youth all those duties which an active and willing man always draws to himself, and performing them with singular zeal and tenacity.

In the height of the Roberdeau controversy, occurred the public fast, appointed by the Government of Pennsylvania, for 2 May 1756; and Mr. Smith preached at Bristol,⁷ Pennsylvania, one of his published Discourses, taking as his text certain verses from Jeremiah viii. In his introduction he "acquaints the reader that the discourse was delivered when the Province was groaning under all that load of misery, which was the consequence of Braddock's Defeat and the inroads of the French and Savages on our distressed and helpless Frontiers, and any apology for the matter or manner of it would be needless." In it he eloquently describes the visitations of Providence, which brought from the Authorities the call for a Fast.

Within the short period of one year, how many marks of God's dealing with us have we seen? Not to mention excessive droughts, earthquakes and other omens of his wrath, the troops sent to our protection have been most miserably defeated, and such scenes of barbarity, sorrow and desolation have ensued, as human nature shudders to recount, and history can scarce parallel. * * * Yet what have we profited by all this? * * * Has it brought our civil discords to an end? or has it eradicated those absurd principles of government that have brought our country to the brink of ruin? * * * Have we not many who have made it their business to restrain the ardor of God's people in their righteous cause; to tie up the hands of the king's best subjects in the hour of extremest danger, and cry, Peace, peace, when there is no peace?

These political references were not misunderstood at the time.

During the year prior to this, William Smith had written a pamphlet entitled *A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania* * * * *in a letter from a gentleman who has resided many years in Pennsylvania to his friend in London* in which the

⁷ *Discourses*, London 1759, p. 62. This is the only edition naming the place of preaching. This was afterwards preached "with small variation" at Germantown on the Public Fast in July 1757. *ibid*, p. 61.

conduct of their assemblies is impartially examined, and which passed through three editions in London.⁸ This was charged with being written "with a view to render the Quakers of Pennsylvania and their Government obnoxious to the British Parliament and Ministry." And Smith wrote a second letter entitled *A Brief View of the Conduct of Pennsylvania for the year 1755* * * * *Interspersed with several interesting anecdotes and original papers relating to the politics and principles of the people called Quakers*, which was published in London in 1756.⁹ In his first letter, Smith affords us some interesting figures of the population of the Province :

that the inhabitants were to be computed to be two hundred and twenty thousand—one third Germans, two fifths Quakers, more than one fifth Presbyterians, and some few Baptists. One fourth of the Germans were Roman Catholics. [He] suggested that Christopher Sauer was a popish emissary, in the pay of the Quakers.

And the consequence of Sauer's influence "was that the Germans voted with the Quakers, were under the control of that party, and always voted to keep them in power." And he recommended

to suspend the right of voting for members of the Assembly from the Germans until they have sufficient knowledge of our language and constitution : and to make all bonds, wills and other legal contracts, void, unless in the English tongue ; that no newspapers, almanacs, or periodical paper, by whatsoever name it may be called, be printed or circulated in foreign language ; or, at least, if allowed, with a just and fair English version of such foreign language printed in one column of the same page or pages, along with the said foreign language.

And yet we have found him pursuing, in response to Franklin's wise suggestion, the better course in the Society for the education of the Germans of meeting the redoubtable Christopher Sauer with his own weapons, and employing a German press to circulate its publications among those dreaded foreigners

⁸ Smith, i. 122, 123.

⁹ The *Pennsylvania Journal* of 27 May, 1756, announces this, "Being a Sequel to a Late well known Pamphlet Intitled a Brief State of Pennsylvania." "Just published in London and to be sold by William Bradford, price 2/6." The *Gazette* of the following week has a like advertisement.

whose assumed power for evil was deemed subversive of all that was English in Government or religion ; overlooking the force of a natural sympathy binding the quiet German, intent only in his home life and freedom from state ambition, to the peace loving Quaker who might be the better legislator for his interests. It is difficult for us of to-day, who are reaping the fruits of the inherent strength of our own mother tongue, to realize the apprehension of our colonists at the predominating influence of German language and politics.

XL.

The life of the young College and Academy would not receive full illustration without a proper understanding at this period of the activities of its young Provost ; for it could not be otherwise than that his instant zeal ecclesiastically, politically, and philanthropically should reflect some publicity upon, and secure some influence for, the noble school which he was now with equal zeal extending and strengthening. One thing is quite assured, that the College was kept well before the eyes of the community, and if publicity would bring success it was bound to attain it. But however this may be, these influences were not all salutary, for seeds were now sown which brought forth such malevolent fruit in 1779, and it is difficult to conceive his giving in the exitements of the day that constant and complete attention to the furtherance of his curriculum, which it and the institution it served might seem to require.

The first commencement was hoped for in the Spring of 1756. In the *Gazette* of 29 April, 1756, it is noticed : " On Friday se'ennight at Ten o'clock in the Morning, the public Examinations of Candidates for Degrees in the College of Philadelphia will be begun in the *Public Hall*, and continued that

Day and the Day following." No reference to this finds place in the Trustees' proceedings, and it was probably deemed better to await conferring the first degrees of the College, until after the aspirants had some training in the Scheme of liberal Education which the Provost had about this time submitted for the approbation of the Board. At their meeting of 27 December, 1756, it was "ordered that an exact Catalogue of the Youth at present in each of the Schools be prepared by the Clerk and presented to the Trustees at the next meeting," which was submitted and we find it "inserted in the Minute Book by order of the Trustees" at the meeting of 5 March, 1757. Those who had now earned their Degrees are not included. The Philosophy school had twelve pupils, the Latin, sixty, the Mathematical twenty-two and the English thirty-one. This first roll of students is worthy of recording here as we find the names entered in due order on the minute book.

The following List of the Youth belonging to the College and Academy of Philadelphia is inserted in the Minute Book by Order of the Trustees.

PHILOSOPHY SCHOOL.

SENIOR CLASS.

John Allen
Andrew Allen
James Allen
Joseph Reade
John Morris

JUNIOR CLASS.

Samuel Keene
John Chew
Philemon Dickinson
Alexander Lawson
William Paid [Paca?]
Samuel Powell
Abraham Walton

LATIN SCHOOL.

Benjamin Baynton
Thomas Bond
John Cadwalader
Lambert Cadwalader
Thomas Mifflin
Lindsay Coates
Robeson Yorke

James Murray
Samuel Morris
William Greenway
Tench Tilghman
Joel Evans
John Luke

John Stevens	Francis More
Alexander Wilcox [Wilcocks?]	Benjamin Alison
William Gibbes	Anthony Morris
Richard Peters	John Johnson
James Cruikshank	Thomas Coombe.
William Kinnersley	
Hugh Hughes	Thomas Hopkinson
Mark Grime	James Huston
John Searle M'Call	George Rundle
Andrew Hamilton	George Davis
William Hamilton	William White
	Thomas Murgatroyd
Jasper Yeates	James Sayer
Henry Darler	
John Neilson	John Johnson
George Thomson	John Bennezett [Benezett?]
John Murgatroyd	Edward Welch
	John Ord
Samuel Inglis	William Davis
Thomas Lawrence	William Hockley
Samuel Nicholas	John Reade
Perry Frazier Child	Samuel Correy
Robert Strettell Jones	George Ogle
John Okill	Philip Francis
John Diemer	Amos Denormandie [Andrew.?)
Henry Elves	

MATHEMATICAL SCHOOL.

Nathan Comitage	Cornelius O'Bryan.
Henry Benbrige	Charles Pratt
James Cools [Coutts?]	Thomas Pratt
John Dunbavin	Thomas Plumsted
George Emlen	Thomas Philips
Nathaniel Evans	Samuel Penrose
James Gorrel	John Sharpe
John Jepson	John Wilcocks
John Inglis	John Yeates
Charles Knight	Andrew Yorke
Thomas Maybury	William Karst

ENGLISH SCHOOL.

Andrew Bell	Phineas Bond
James Bingham	Joseph Conyers
John Bingham	John Deering

Richard Duncan	Joseph Syng
George Gostelowe	John White Swift
Henry Kepley [Keppele?]	Thomas Tresse
Matthew Jackson	John Wooden
Joseph M' Ilvaine	Thomas Moore
William M' Ilvaine	Thomas Woodcock
William Merrifield	John Fullerton
George Morgan	Alexander Fullerton
Robert Montgomery	William Falkner
Lindley Murray	John Knox
William Rush	John Montour
Samuel Smith	Richard Stanley
Gillis Sharpe	

XLI.

But in the midst of preparations for the long looked-for first Commencement, the Provost's eloquence as a preacher brought to him an invitation for another of his special sermons from Colonel Stanwix who was about starting with the forces under his command to the Frontiers.¹ The Colonel and his command attended in Christ Church on 5 April, 1757, when William Smith preached his Discourse on "The Christian Soldier's Duty; the Lawfulness and Dignity of his Office; and the Importance of the Protestant Cause in the British Colonies," from St. Luke iii. 14.—"such are the words which were recommended to me on the subject of this discourse."² It is an able argument on behalf of the Christian Soldier's Duty, and an eloquent plea for the rightfulness of human warfare under circumstances of defense and oppression, and one which the necessities of the colony at the time

¹ "On Tuesday last the first Battalion of the Royal American Regiment marched in their several Companies to Christ Church in this city; where, after Prayers by the Rev. Dr. Jenny, a sermon was preached to them by the Rev. Mr. Smith, Provost of the College, at the request of their officers. As the subject was important, there was a very solemn attention in all present; and the Colonel has requested that the sermon may be published, which will be done with all possible Expedition." *Penn. Gazette*, 7 April, 1757.

² *Discourses*, London 1759, p. 97.

demanded. "I will pronounce it," he says "before Heaven and Earth, that from the days of our Alfreds, our Edwards, and Henries downward, the British sword was never unsheathed in a more glorious cause than at present."

The next public occasion in which we find William Smith a participant was upon the arrival in the province of William Denny, the Lieutenant Governor, as successor of Governor Morris, from whom the College obtained its charter. The welcome accorded to Denny was warm on all sides, only equalled in its force by the disappointment soon caused by the failure of his administration, in which came to an issue the contentions between the Proprietaries whom he represented and the Assembly, and which in a few short months produced that mission to England in which Benjamin Franklin and Isaac Norris were delegated to bear the complaints of the Assembly to the King. Governor Denny arrived in Philadelphia 21 August, 1756, and was greeted with sundry addresses from various bodies of citizens, Franklin presenting him with an address as Colonel of the Regiment and Artillery Company of the City of Philadelphia, and with one in behalf of the Hospital. William Smith presented

the humble address of the Provost, Vice Provost, and Professors of the College and Academy of Philadelphia. * * * Permit us to recommend the *Seminary of Learning* under our care to your Honour's Protection, hoping, that you will condescend to grant the same Countenance to it, and to us, which, on all occasions, we have been honoured with from your two worthy Predecessors in the Government; by which means, and the fatherly care of the *Trustees*, its Founders, this Institution, thro' the Blessing of God, has arrived to a very great Degree of Perfection; altho' it has hitherto been carried on under many Disadvantages and in Times that have been far from auspicious to the *Muses* or the softer *Arts of Peace*.

To which the Governor happily said in his response:

As a proper Education contributes greatly to the Advantage of Mankind, you may, on all occasions, rely on my Countenance and Protection; and be assured that I shall think myself happy, in promoting and encouraging so laudable an institution.³

³ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 26 August, 2 and 9 September, 1756.

XLII.

At the meeting of the Trustees held on 12 April, 1757, order was taken for the first commencement, a programme arranged, and the time named. On the 7th of the month the *Gazette* announced that :

The Commencement for giving Degrees to the Senior Class of Students in the College of this City, formerly put off on Account of the Small Pox, is now fixed to be on Tuesday the 17th Day of May next : which will be the first Commencement that has ever been had in this Seminary.

At the meeting of 10 May, the due formality was observed of the Senior Class, Paul Jackson, James Latta, Hugh Williamson, Francis Hopkinson, John Morgan, Samuel Magaw and Jacob Duché, presenting their humble petition, that

having gone through our Course of Studies in the Sciences, as professed in this College, and having performed our public Exercises and been publicly examined as Candidates for Degrees in your Presence, agreeable to Charter, do now humbly request, that you would be pleased by your written Mandate to present and recommend us to the Provost, Vice Provost and Professors for our Admission to such Degree or Degrees as we are entitled to by our several Standings and Proficiencies in this Institution, [which] being considered and approved, the Trustees accordingly directed the Mandate to be issued.

But as some honorary degrees were in contemplation, two Mandates were issued to the Faculty. The first

directing the Faculty to admit Paul Jackson to the Degree of Master of Arts, and Jacob Duché, Francis Hopkinson, Samuel Magaw, Hugh Williamson, James Latta and John Morgan to the Degree of Bachelor of Arts.

And the second to

admit Ebenezer Kinnersley Professor of English and Oratory in the Academy and Theophilus Grew Professor of Mathematics to the Honorary Degree of Master of Arts ; and Josiah Martin, now Student at the Temple, a youth of promising Genius who had finished the requisite Course of Studies in order to the Degree of Bachelor in the Senior Philosophy Class of this College,¹ and Solomon Southwick of Rhode Island, who without the

¹ He died in the Island of Antigua in June, 1762, and Hopkinson wrote an Elegy on his former classmate. *Essays and Occasional Writings*, iii. 70.

usual Foundation of critical Learning and Languages discovered an aptness worthy of Encouragement in Mathematics and some Branches of Philosophy, to the honorary Degree of Bachelor of Arts.

The programme for the Commencement was announced in the *Gazette* on 12 May, 1757, and was as follows :

A PLAN of the COMMENCEMENT to be held here on Tuesday next, in the College and Academy Hall.

Prayers by the Rev. Mr. Peters.

A Sermon adapted to the Occasion by the Provost.

A Salutatory Oration by Mr. JACKSON. And

A Thesis to be defended.—This closes the forenoon.

In the afternoon.

Three other Theses to be defended.

Then the Degrees are to be conferred.

Some Orations are to be spoken by some of the Students who have been admitted to Degrees ; and a Valedictory Oration to be spoken by Mr. JACOB DUCHÉ.

N. B. To avoid Confusion, the Gallery Door will be opened at Half an Hour past Nine, and the Business of the Day will begin precisely at Ten in the forenoon, and at Three in the afternoon.

We can imagine the interest of the occasion to all who were concerned in it, and which enabled the friends of the institution to attend what was practically an All-day Commencement. Such however was the custom of the period, and it lived in some of the American Colleges into the times of the present generation. The Trustees saw the crowning of their eight years' effort in the public graduation of their first class ; the Provost and the Faculty the successful issue of their Liberal plan of Education in fitting their young men for the "Commencement" of their matured lives ; and the young men themselves were impressed with the dignity and responsibility of being the first to earn the honors of their Alma Mater, and they were men who each of them in his life of usefulness attained such eminence and displayed such worth, as to have united in making their class not only the first in the history of the institution but unexcelled in point of average distinction and renown by any of its successors.

The Minutes afford us no record of this day's festivities, nor does the *Gazette* make any reference to the proceedings, as

in some subsequent Commencements. The Trustees were present with but one notable exception, for Benjamin Franklin had sailed a month before on his mission to England representing the Assembly's complaint on the subject of the Proprietaries' claims. Dr. Peters was announced to open the services with Prayer, but he had not been present at the meeting of 12 May nor does his signature appear on the Mandates. The Provost's sermon was from the text Psalm ii. 8, "On the Planting the Sciences in America, and the Propagation of Christ's Gospel over the untutored Parts of the Earth," and is the Fifth in the *Discourses* of 1759.² This eloquent Sermon we have already drawn upon for the Provost's explanation of the term Philosophy as applied in his Curriculum. He sets out with two propositions :

First to observe to you that the propagation of Science (thro' the establishment of seminaries of Learning on this continent) will probably be the most effectual human means of accomplishing so glorious an end [the conversion of the heathen].

Secondly, in this view of things—and surely I can find none higher—to bespeak your continued favor and protection of this infant Seminary. [And later, proceeds in his argument :] Having shewn the subserviency of Human Science to the advancement of Christianity, and that the plan of education, pursued in this Seminary, cannot fail, thro' Divine grace, to be a means of spreading a thirst for heavenly wisdom; what need I add more, to bespeak your continued favour and protection of it? Surely it cannot be indifferent to you, whether the knowledge of Christ and his blessed Gospel shall be spread over this continent, or not? Surely it cannot be indifferent to you, whether your own children should be bred up in ignorance; or whether they shall shine in every moral excellence, the glory of their country and a light to the world around them? You must know the relation in which you stand to them, and the account which you will one day be required to give of their tender years.

Oh ! then, in the first place, I beseech you, let their minds be seasoned with useful knowledge, and cherish this infant Seminary for their benefit, and the benefit of millions that are to come after them. For whatever business you may design them, the education they will receive here will not only prepare them for that, but also for a life of general virtue.

² It is printed as Part II of the Sixth in the *Discourses* of 1762; but does not appear as such in the *Works* of 1803. It may here be noted that the quotations which follow are taken from the copy of the *Discourses* of 1759 owned by Dr. Franklin.

If you intend them for the noble Profession of the Law, to be the protectors of the innocent and the advocates of justice; the best foundation will be a love of humanity, and such a knowledge of the laws of nature and general rights of mankind as they will obtain here. If for the service of the state, the same will hold good. The man best acquainted in the nature of civil government, the just bounds of authority and submission, and the universal principles of equity and virtue, will always be the ablest Politician and firmest Patriot. Again, if they are to follow the healing art of Physic, the knowledge of mathematics and the various branches of Natural Philosophy, will be the best introduction. If proposed for the Ministry of the blessed Gospel, it has been already observed that every human science ought to lend its aid, and kindle a love of wisdom.

If other arguments were necessary to induce you to the cultivation of knowledge and the support of this Institution, I might display to you the wonderful change which the Sciences have produced in the state of every country, where they have been received. Tho' they have not been able wholly to eradicate tyranny, yet they have always crushed and mitigated its influence; inspiring humanity, love of moral excellency, and every softer virtue.

But why should I bring instances from other countries, when one of the most illustrious is before our eyes? This polished and flourishing city! What was it fourscore years ago? Even its foundations were not then laid; and in their place was one depth of gloomy wilderness! This very spot, this Seat of the Muses—where I have now the honour to stand, preaching the Gospel of Jesus, surrounded with men excelling in every valuable accomplishment, and youth rising after their great example—had I seen it then, what should I have found it? A spot rank with weeds perhaps, or the obscure retreat of some lawless and gloomy savage.

O glorious change! O happy day! that now beholds the Sciences planted where barbarity was before! that now sees this Institution at length brought to such perfection, as to extend the Laurel to her first worthy sons! how ought such advancements in knowledge to rejoice every heart among us, but especially you the founders and patrons of this excellent Seminary, who now begin to taste some of the chief fruits of your pious labors.

This sermon affords us some insight into the display of religious influences in the College:

Tho' its wide and generous foundation allows equal indulgence to Protestant denominations of all sorts, without adopting the particular modes of any; yet there is not a greater regard paid to religion, pure evangelical religion, in any seminary in the world than here.

We have forms of prayer, peculiarly well adapted to our own circumstances, twice every day; and the morning is always begun with read-

ing some portion of the holy scriptures ; all which is done before the whole youth assembled. And when they have arrived at their highest progress in Philosophy and Science, we are far from instructing them to think that their education is finished. On the contrary, we strive to shew them the connexion between the precepts of sound reason and the morality of the Gospel ; and teach them that, when Human Science has done its utmost, it is from this last source that they must complete their knowledge and draw superior wisdom. Nor do we now find our labors difficult in this respect. For such an acquaintance with the Sciences, as is mentioned above, is so far from damping the ardor of religious knowledge, that it is inflamed more and more thereby ; which is one convincing argument of the strong and immediate connexion between them.

We are not, then, surprised, when of the seven graduates on this occasion, we see four of them entering the ministry, Duché and Magaw, of the Church of England, and Williamson and Latta of the Presbyterians.

For the second part of the Commencement exercises, the Provost reserved his "Charge, Delivered in the Afternoon of the same Day, to the Candidates who obtained their Degrees," which he opens with a reference to their freedom from the University tests of the old country :

You now appear as candidates for the first honors of this institution. The free spirit that it breathes permits us not to bind you to us by the ordinary ties of oaths and promises. Instead thereof, we would rely on those principles of virtue and goodness which we have endeavored to cultivate. * * * You are now about to step into life, and embark in all its busy scenes. It is fit, then, that you should make a pause—a solemn pause—at its portal, and consider well what is expected from you, and how you are prepared to perform it. * * * Let no part of your future conduct disgrace the lessons you have received, or disappoint the hopes you have so justly raised ! Consider yourselves, from this day, as distinguished above the vulgar, and called upon to act a more important part in life ! strive to shine forth in every species of moral excellence, and to support the character and dignity of beings formed for endless duration ! The christian world stands much in need of inflexible patterns of integrity and public virtue ; and no part of it more so than the land you inhabit. * * * If, then, you regard the credit of this institution, which will travail in concern for you, till you are formed into useful men ; if you regard your own credit, and the credit of the many succeeding sets of youth, who may be hied to glory by your example ; let your conduct in the world be such, at least, as to deserve the applause of the wiser and the

better part of it. Remember you are the first who have received the honors of this Seminary. * * Think, then, what pain it would give us, should we be disappointed in you, our first and most hopeful sons.

This forms an admirable Chapter of Counsel, suitable for all classes and conditions of Youth, and for all times, and is made impressive by the earnestness of youth with its sense of responsibility, for it must be remembered that William Smith had not yet attained his thirtieth birthday. And closing with fervor, he adapted the words Polonius gave to Laertes to this occasion,

Farewell ! my blessing season this in you.

This Charge was printed by Franklin and Hall in pamphlet form, which included also Paul Jackson's Latin Salutatory. In his preface, the Provost says :

Whether the Partiality of Private Friendship has made the Author of the following charge too Sanguine in favor of the young gentlemen to whom it was delivered, Time will best show. * * * other specimens might also be produced, which would redound greatly to the credit of the other young gentlemen, were anything further necessary than the ample Testimony they have already received from an institution which 'tis hoped will never prostitute its Honours to the Undeserving.

XLIII.

But William Smith was not "too Sanguine in favour of the young gentlemen," who formed the first graduating class and which proved such an exemplar to its successors. Their individual merits, and the peculiar circumstances which made them the first children of this Alma Mater, call for some notice here before we proceed further in our narrative.

PAUL JACKSON, who was of Scotch-Irish descent the son of Samuel Jackson of Oxford, Chester County, who died in 1768, proceeded at once to the degree of Master of Arts, the first possessor of it on the University roll, became a Tutor in the Academy in April, 1752, and on 13 April, 1756, was appointed the Professor of Languages, and though thus a member of the Faculty became an alumnus with the Master's degree. To him was accorded, as we have seen, the honor of the Latin Salutatory at the Commencement. But within two years' time his health began to fail, and at the meeting of the Trustees, 9 May, 1758, it was voted that "Professor Jackson, for some time past, having found himself consumptive, requested of the Trustees his Discharge from the care of the Latin School, and their Interest with the Governor to obtain for him a Commission in the Levies now raising for the Expedition against Fort Duquesne. At his pressing Instance, they not only consented to his Discharge, but those of the Trustees who were members of the Governor's Council, recommended him for a Captain's Commission, which the Governor conferred on him, and they have taken it into consideration how his Place shall be supplied;" which was done by the appointment the month following of Mr. John Beveridge. When Mr. Coleman desired release from being Clerk to the Trustees, Mr. Jackson was appointed 11 July, 1755, to succeed him—much to the regret however of the reader of Mr. Coleman's clerkly and well written Minute. He lived but ten years after graduation, and he lies buried at St. Paul's, Chester, Pa., with the inscription on his stone: "Here lies Paul

Jackson, A. M.; he was the first to receive a degree in the College of Philadelphia; a man of virtue, worth and knowledge; died 1767, aged 36 years."¹

JACOB DUCHÉ, jr, was born in Philadelphia in 1737, the son of Col. Jacob Duché, an eminent citizen of that city and a vestryman of Christ Church. We have already known him as a pupil of the Academy, where also for fifteen months, from May 1753 to August 1754, he served as Tutor. In the month of July following his graduation he accompanied Governor Denny as a clerk on his visit to Easton in pursuit of an Indian treaty, Richard Peters being of the party. Intending to seek orders in the Church of England, he crossed the ocean and entered Clare Hall, Cambridge, and was ordained by the Bishop of London 11 March, 1759, returned home the following September, and on 11 December was unanimously appointed Professor of Oratory in the College and Academy, and was made an Assistant Minister at Christ Church. In 1762 he was again in England, and received Priest's Orders on 12 September. When Dr. Peters resigned in 1775 the Rectorship of Christ Church, in which he had succeeded Dr. Jenney, Mr. Duché was unanimously chosen Rector of the united churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's. He was an eloquent preacher, and a fervent reader of the liturgy. His interest in local politics was second only to that of his former Provost, and at the outbreak of the Revolution he took part with the patriots, and on 7 September, 1774, was called upon to open the Continental Congress, meeting in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, with prayers, an event

¹ "Little is known of his early life except that he was a close student, a deep thinker and a man of great natural ability. He became prominent as a physician, soldier and linguist, and was Chief Burgess of Chester at the time of his death. He was made Professor of Languages in the College the year of his graduation, and subsequently became one of the most distinguished scholars of the colonies. His Latin compositions which were published gave him a wide reputation. His studious application impaired his health, and when General Forbes led the expedition against Fort Duquesne, he was appointed on May 11, 1756, captain of the 3rd battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment. The rugged life of a soldier restored his general health, and after the return of his regiment he attended the 'Royal Hospital,' and acquired his knowledge of medicine. He could not have received a regular degree as there were none conferred in the Colonies until 1768." Dr. J. L. Forwood in *Proceedings Delaware County Historical Society*, 7 May, 1896.

which forms one of the most striking pictures in the march of the Revolution. Samuel Adams wrote of this to his friend Dr. Warren :

As many of our warmest friends are members of the Church of England, I thought it prudent, as well as on some other accounts, to move that the service should be performed by a clergyman of that denomination. Accordingly the lessons of the day and prayer were read by the Reverend Doctor Duché, who afterwards made a most excellent extemporary prayer, by which he discovered himself to be a gentleman of sense and piety, and a warm advocate for the religious and civil rights of America.

John Adams wrote also and warmly of this to his wife :

It seemed as if Heaven ordained that Psalm to be read on that morning [Psalm XXXV, being the opening Psalm in the Psalter appointed for the day of the month]. After this Mr Duché, unexpectedly to everybody, struck out into an extemporary prayer, which filled the bosom of every man present. * * * Episcopalian as he is, Dr Cooper himself never prayed with such fervor, such ardor, such earnestness and pathos, and in language so elegant and sublime, for America, for the Congress, for the province of Massachusetts Bay, and especially the town of Boston.

On 11 May, 1775, the second Congress meeting in the State House, Mr. Duché again "performed Divine Services," for which he was unanimously voted their thanks. Duché was present with his Vestry and presided at the meeting at his house, on 4 July, 1776, when they requested the Rector and Assistant Ministers of the united churches to omit the petitions in the Liturgy for the King of Great Britain, as inconsistent with the action had by Congress resolving to declare the American Colonies to be free and independent States. On 8 July he was appointed Chaplain to Congress with a direction to attend on them every morning at nine o'clock, "in consideration of his piety, as well as his uniform and zealous attachment to the rights of America." This he resigned on 17 October.

But when the British entered Philadelphia at the close of the following year, his heart failed him, and the beautiful picture of his devotion in 1775 and 1776 to his country became painfully marred, and was made significant by a weak letter to Washington, which the latter was charitable enough "to suppose was rather dictated by his fears than by his real sentiments."

This man devoted to the duties of his profession, faithful in all social relations, of a winning influence in the community, was yet without firmness in the hour of his country's trial, for which he had—strange inconsistency—offered such fervent prayers to Heaven. His brother-in-law Francis Hopkinson writes him :

Our intimacy has been of a long duration, even from our early youth; long and uninterrupted without even a rub in the way; and so long have the sweetness of your manners and the integrity of your heart fixed my affections.

In December following Duché sailed for England, and his wife and family followed in 1780.

In 1779 Mr. Duché published two volumes of Sermons, and in time he received the appointment as Chaplain of the Asylum in St George's Fields. He sought a return to Philadelphia at the close of the war, but it was not encouraged, as time alone could allay the bitter feelings aroused among his old people by his course in 1777. Yet when William White went to England for consecration in 1787 he sought out his former Rector and Pastor, who was present at Lambeth on 4 February to witness the consecration of White and Provoost. When he returned finally to Philadelphia, in May, 1792, he was the guest of Bishop White, during which time the latter arranged his visit to President Washington who had been apprised of it and consented to it. He died 3 January, 1798, and was buried in St. Peter's churchyard. Of his oratorical powers Bishop White records :

The next best reader of the Prayers [after Whitefield], within the sphere of the acquaintance of the present writer, was a gentleman already mentioned under the head of preaching, the Rev. Mr. Duché. He was perhaps not inferior to Mr Whitefield in the correctness of his pronunciation. His voice was remarkably sweet; although short of the voice of the other gentleman in the compass of its powers, and especially in modulation. Mr Duché was frequently oratorical in his sermons, but never so in the reading of the prayers; although always read by him with signs of unaffected seriousness and devotion.²

² *Commentaries Suited to Occasions of Ordination*, New York, 1833, p. 183; On his memorising his sermons, caused by near sightedness, v. p. 169. "The only clergyman here known to have derived advantage from memorising his sermons

And as a tribute to his personal attractions, the Bishop further says, when speaking of his own consecration :

The recollection of the benefit which I had received from his instructions in early life, and a tender sense of the attentions which he had shown me almost from my infancy, together with the impressions left by the harmony which had subsisted between us in the discharge of our joint pastoral duty in Philadelphia, being no improper accompaniments to the feelings suited to the present very interesting transaction of my life.³

Mr. Duché was the first alumnus to enter the Trusteeship of his College, being elected 10 February, 1761, to fill the vacancy made by Mr. Martin's death. His attendance at the meetings was constant, and his counsel and influence must have been felt, for as pupil, tutor, and professor he was thoroughly informed as to the needs of the College and was ready at all times to further the plans of the Provost. The last meeting he attended was on 28 June, 1777—from that date to 25 September, 1778, "there were no regular meetings of the Board on account of the State of public affairs, nor any Minutes taken", as the city was then in possession of the British army.

FRANCIS HOPKINSON was born Philadelphia on 21 September (o. s.), 1737, the son of Thomas Hopkinson, a Trustee of the College and Academy, a sketch of whose life has already been given in a preceding page. His talents for literature and music must early have displayed themselves, and his mother who had been

adequate to the pains taken, was the late Rev Jacob Duche, of the City of Philadelphia. When he began his ministry in Christ Church of that city, his voice, his pronunciation, and his action, were immediately subjects of great commendation; but he had the disadvantage of nearness of sight. In a short time, however, he was observed to lay by, almost entirely, the help of his manuscript; his notice of which, when it happened, became visible to the congregation; as he had to bring his face very near to the cushion on which his sermon lay. This amiable gentleman had a very extraordinary talent for that particular exercise of the memory, to which he was thus incited. There are many still living who know with what ease he prepared himself in this department. And he has often been heard to acknowledge, that it would have been generally impossible to him, a few days after the delivery of a sermon, to have recited a single paragraph of its contents. Certain it is, that he manifested no signs in the pulpit, of his being there puzzled in the work of recollection. And this circumstance, added to what has been said of his voice, and the praise due to the correctness of his action, made his delivery exceedingly pleasing." From "A Commentary on the Duties of the Public Ministry" in the *Quarterly Theological Magazine*, Philada, for January, 1814, p. 129.

³ *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, New York. 1836, p. 137.

left a widow when he was fourteen years of age, wisely continued him at the Academy, of which he was the first scholar, and in the course of his tuition there we have already seen what a prominent place he earned in all the public exercises. In his declamation of 1753, and his poem on the death of his fellow student, young Martin, in 1754, we see the beginnings of those abilities which were carefully cultured to bear fruit to his good reputation in after years. Graduating in 1757, he took his Masters' Degree in 1760, and his musical attainments added a charm to the services of the day. An organ had first been fitted up in the Hall by kind friends for the use of the College, and we are told

one of the Students, who received his Master's Degree on this occasion, conducted the organ with that bold and masterly Hand, for which he is celebrated; and several of the Pieces were also his own Composition.⁴

After graduation he began the study of Law under Benjamin Chew, Attorney General, and was admitted to the Bar in 1761. In 1759 he had become secretary of the Library Company, and was its Librarian from February 1764 to May 1765. He was also Secretary of the Vestry of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peters' in 1764-5, and was elected a Vestryman in 1769, serving to 1773 when his residence in Trenton severed his connection with the church; but resuming his residence in Philadelphia he was again elected Vestryman in 1788 serving thereon until his death. He displayed his talent in vocal and instrumental music by leading the choir and playing the organ in Christ Church, as well as teaching the children "in the art of psalmody," for which the Vestry recorded their thanks, 3 April, 1764.⁵

⁴ *Penna Gazette*, 15 May, 1760.

⁵ He wrote to Dr Franklin, 13 December, 1765, "I visited your Family the Day before Yesterday & put Miss Sally's Harpsichord in the best order I can but the instrument, as to its Touch & all machinery, is entirely ruined & I think past Recovery * a * But we will talk more about this next Spring. I have finished the Translation of the Psalms of David to the great Satisfaction of the Dutch Congregation at New York & they have paid me £145, their currency, which I intend to keep as a Body Reserve in case I should go to England." MS letter in the American Philosophical Society's Collection. The work referred to was "The Psalms of David with The Ten Commandments. Creed, Lord's Prayer, &c In Meter. Also the Catechism, Confession of Faith, Liturgy, &c, translated from the Dutch For the use of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the City of New York." New York. Printed by James Parker at the New Printing Office in Beaver Street, MDCCLXVI.

An opportunity offering for a visit to England, he sailed thither in May, 1766. An affectionate tribute to his merits were given before his sailing by the Trustees, which would serve him as a special academic letter of credit in his proposed travels; before separating from the Commencement exercises of 20 May, 1766, their Minutes recite :

After the Business of the Commencement was finished, it was resolved, that as Francis Hopkinson, Esqr, (who was the first Scholar entered in this Seminary and its opening, and likewise one of the first who received a Degree) was about to embark for England, and has done Honour to the Place of his Education by his abilities and good morals, as well as rendered it many substantial Services on all public occasions, the Thanks of this Institution ought to be delivered to him in the most affectionate and respectable manner. And Mr Stedman and the Provost are desired to communicate the same to Mr. Hopkinson accordingly and to wish him a safe and prosperous Voyage.

In London, which he reached late in July, he expected to meet Franklin, his father's friend, but the latter was then in Germany. In intercourse with the Bishop of Worcester his relative and with Benjamin West in London, he passed many happy days ⁶ and remained in that city until June, 1767. He returned home in August following. Marrying in 1768 a daughter of Joseph Borden, jr., of Bordentown, he resided half of the year at that place, until his interests grew there and those in Philadelphia lessened, and in 1774 was called to a seat in the Provincial Council of New Jersey. But the current for Liberty took him along, and he threw himself into the movement for independence, and became a member from New Jersey of the new Congress, and on 2 July, 1776, voted in favor of the Resolution

⁶ He writes thence to Dr. Franklin from

“Hartlebury Castle, May 31st, 1767.

“My dear Sir

“I have once more the Pleasure of writing to you from this delightful Place; where, I thank God, I enjoy perfect Health and all the Pleasures the Country can afford. Time rolls away in the most agreeable Manner imaginable: Reading, walking, riding, Music, Drawing, &c, season the Hours with much calm and rational Pleasure; and to crown all, the good Bishop and Mr. Johnson treat me with all possible Affection and Kindness. Yet after all (such is my Partiality for dear Philada. and my Friends there) that I must say it is with great Delight I look forward to the Time of my Embarkation.” Addressed “Dr Franklin, at Mr Stevenson’s Craven Street, London.” MS. letter in the American Philosophical Society Collection.

for Independence.⁷ When the British sought revenge in the Jerseys by destroying the houses of the principal Whigs, when their movement in Philadelphia by that course proved a failure, and in which the Borden Mansion fell a victim to the flames, Hopkinson's house was also fired, but escaped destruction in a singular manner. It is related that Captain Ewald, a Hessian officer, who was in command of the party of British employed in firing the houses, entering Hopkinson's was amazed to find his library filled with scientific apparatus in addition to the books on the walls; and picking up a volume of Provost Smith's Discourses, he wrote in his Mother tongue, "This man was one of the greatest rebels, nevertheless, if we dare to conclude from the Library, and Mechanical and Mathematical Instruments, he must have been a very learned man;" and he spared the house from the flames.

He was at Bordentown when the melancholy tidings reached him of Duché's defection, and thence he wrote to him his letter of wounded affection and yet patriotic scorn, which he sent under cover to Gen. Washington:

The Intimacy of my connection with Mr Duché renders all assurance unnecessary that the letter addressed by him to your Excellency on the 8th of October last year gives me the greatest concern. * * * I would not forbear communicating some of my sentiments to him on this occasion. These I might probably have been able to convey to him by secret means, but did not chuse to incur the imputation of a clandestine correspondence. I have therefore taken the liberty to send the enclosed letter to you unsealed for your perusal. Resting it entirely on your judgement to cause it to [be] forwarded or not. * * * The occasion is a very interesting one to me. My friendship for Mr Duché calls upon me to do all I can to warn him against the fatal consequences of his ill-advised step, that he may if possible do something to avert them before it is too late.

But the letter never reached its destination, Washington writing him 27 January, 1778:

⁷ It was shortly after this he and John Adams met; the latter writing to his wife from Philadelphia 21 August, 1776, says: "I met Mr Francis Hopkinson, late a Mandamus Counsellor of New Jersey, now a member of the Continental Congress, who, it seems is a native of Philadelphia, a son of a prothonotary of this county, who is a person much respected. The son was liberally educated, and is a painter and a poet. I may possibly give you some more particulars concerning him." *Letters to his Wife*, Boston, 1841, i. 157.

Having never found an opportunity of conveying the Letter which you sometime ago sent me for Mr Duché, by such a channel as I thought would reach him, I return it to you again.

In September, 1776, Hopkinson was appointed Third Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey. This he held until he accepted the Treasurership of the Continental Loan Office, an office under Congress. From this he became Judge of the Admiralty by appointment of President Reed of Pennsylvania, and was 16 July, 1779, commissioned thereto, thus filling an office honorably occupied by his Father nearly thirty before. In September, 1789, Washington appointed him United States Judge for the District of Pennsylvania. In the Constitutional Convention of 1787 he was an active and able participant, and with his zeal and force aided in its final adoption.

His political influence was largely aided by his skillful pen, which was of a genial cast while witty and pungent, and the cultivation of measured verses in early youth stood him in good stead when he wanted to hold up to ridicule the Tory cause. His *Pretty Story*, 1774, his *Political Catechism* of 1777, his *Battle of the Kegs* in 1777, his *New Roof* of 1787, and other pieces make his valuable contribution to the political literature of the times. But with softer strains his poetic qualities showed themselves in hymns and domestic ballads, and his musical talent found exercise in the composition of hymn tunes which are to this day familiar to our ears. His *Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings* were published in Philadelphia in 1793, "in the dress in which he left them." Thomas I. Wharton wrote of him, "a poet, a wit, a patriot, a chemist, a mathematician, and a judge of the admiralty; * * * with the humor of Swift and Rabelais, he was always found on the side of virtue and social order." John Adams wrote to his wife 21 August, 1776:

I have a curiosity to penetrate a little deeper into the bosom of this curious gentleman. He is one of your pretty, little, curious, ingenious men. His head is not bigger than a large apple, less than our friend Pemberton or Dr. Simon Tuft. I have not met with anything in natural history more amusing and entertaining than his personal appearance yet he is genteel, and well bred, and is very social.

A condescending encomium from the Boston visitor, who now in the metropolis for the first time met different types of men hitherto unknown to his observation.⁸

Francis Hopkinson died suddenly, of apoplexy, on 9 May, 1791. His son Joseph, a graduate of 1786, is known as the author of *Hail Columbia*, our patriot song. His sister Elizabeth was the wife of Rev. Jacob Duché; and Mary, of Dr. John Morgan, both his fellow graduates. His brother Thomas was a graduate of 1766 and later entered the ministry of the Church of England. Four generations of Hopkinsons, in lineal descent, adorn the list of graduates of the institution which their ancestor the first Thomas Hopkinson aided in founding.

JAMES LATTA was a native of Ireland, of Scotch-Irish Stock, and was born in 1732. His mother was an Alison, a relative of Dr. Francis Alison. His parents came to this country when he was about six years of age and settled near Elkton, Maryland. He was placed at school to his kinsman, Dr. Alison, at New London, Pennsylvania; and shortly after the latter went to Philadelphia in 1752 to begin his work at the Academy, young Latta followed him thither and completing his course there graduated with honor in the class of 1757.⁹ Before the completion of his course he was, like Williamson, employed as Tutor by the Trustees: he and his classmate "having alternately supplied the Place of one Usher in the Latin School from the 13 June until the 1 November [1755] be paid after the rate of Sixty Pounds per Annum for their attendance during the above Term, and that their future salaries be ascertained at the next meeting of the Trustees." He continued Tutor after his graduation to the end of the year 1759, and when Mr. Jones left, in July 1758, he was appointed to succeed him as Clerk to the Trustees. He was pursuing meanwhile his studies for the Ministry, and on 15

⁸ *Letters to his Wife*. Ibid.

⁹ Minutes of Dec. 1755. Dr. Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit* gives a letter from a relative of Dr. Latta stating that he had the Salutatory oration in Latin at the Commencement; but the publication of Paul Jackson's Latin Salutatory with the Provost's charge disposes of this statement.

February, 1758, he was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Philadelphia. His connection with the College ceased in November, 1759, when the Synod directed him to go on a mission to the destitute settlements in Virginia and North Carolina, he having been ordained a few weeks before. In 1761 he was installed as Pastor of the congregation at Deep Run, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. He left this in 1770 for the pastoral care of Chestnut Level, in Lancaster County, and was there installed in November, 1771. He here added the care of a school to his many duties, for which he was well fitted by his training in the College. During the revolutionary war, it is said he accompanied a Pennsylvania regiment in one campaign as chaplain. He was alive to all the controversies in his church during these years of trial, and an active participant in them, and was generally on the side of progress. When the subject of introducing Dr. Watt's Psalms and Hymns into public worship disturbed the traditions of many of the congregations, he advocated the new Psalmody, and in the controversy issued a pamphlet of one hundred and eight pages in defense of the new practice; it is said this was the only work he ever published. The Degree of D.D. was proposed for him by the Trustees in 1799; that he accepted the Degree about that period is a fact well sustained, yet his name does not appear on the roll of any other College; but as we have the record of its proposal, it is right to assume it was formerly conferred upon him, though we fail to find record of its consummation. He died 29 January, 1801, aged 77 years. He married about the year 1765, Miss Mary M'Calla of Deep Run. Of his children there were four sons, all of whom entered the ministry; of these three were graduates of the University, Francis Alison in 1790, William, 1794, and John Ewing in 1795. Dr. Samuel Martin's Memoir of him, says:

Dr Latta was remarkably well qualified. Without severity, he had the faculty of governing well. He possessed the happy talent of making his pupils both fear and love him. * * * As a scholar, too, he had few equals; his erudition was general and profound. Such were his known abilities, and such his reputation as an instructor, that when any of his

pupils were sent to the University over which the late Dr Ewing presided, who has been so deservedly famed as a scholar, they were always received without examination. It was sufficient to know they had received their education with Dr Latta * * * It was indeed almost impossible to be long in his company without being both pleased and improved. Both old and young were fond of his society. When paying a visit to any of his people, it was pleasing to see the youth gather around him to enjoy his conversation. * * * He was conscientious in the discharge of every duty. And with such dignity did he support the sacred office which he bore, that there was scarce ever an instance of any person conducting himself profanely or rudely in his presence.

SAMUEL MAGAW was born in 1735, the same year with his classmates Morgan and Williamson. We know little of his early life. Graduating in 1757, he received his Master's degree from the College in 1760. He soon made preparations for the ministry, and with John Andrews of the class of 1765, the Provost of 1810, he went to England for Orders, bearing a letter from Provost Smith dated 13 November, 1766, introducing them to the Bishop of London: "I cannot now let the Bearers, Mr. Samuel Magaw and Mr. John Andrews go without a few lines. They were educated and graduated under me and I hope in Examination will do credit to our College." On 18 December, Dr. Smith wrote: "My last to your Lordship was by Mr. Andrews and Mr. Magaw, both educated in our College, since which another Mr. Edmiston¹⁰ educated with them has sailed from Maryland on the same errand. I hope it will appear to your Lordship that they are all well grounded in their education."¹¹ Magaw and Andrews were ordained Deacons, 2 February, 1767 in St. James' Chapel, Westminster, by the Bishop of St. Davids'

¹⁰ "William Edmiston, class of 1759. He was ordained 15 March, 1767, and priest on the 29th at St. James, Westminster, by the Bishop of Oxford, acting for the Bishop of London. On his return to Philadelphia he did not at once present his letters in Maryland, owing to the hesitation of the colonial authorities in accepting the Bishop of London's licenses. See Bishop White's reference to *this*, *Memoirs*, p. 19. He became Rector of St. Ann's, Annapolis, and later of St. George's, Spesutia; but his Tory activities lost him the latter and in September, 1775, he went to England. Dr. Ethan Allen's *Historical Notes of St. Ann's Parish*, p. 79. The name is variously spelled, Edmiston, Edminston, Edmonson.

¹¹ Perry's *Historical Collections*, ii. 412, 413. Smith, i. 403.

and Priests on the 15th of the same month by the Bishop of London. Returning, Magaw was a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts at Dover and its vicinity, Delaware. He became Rector of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, in January 1781, in which duty he continued until 1804 when he was succeeded by Dr. Pilmore. He was elected Vice-Provost of the University of the State of Pennsylvania in 1782, but his functions ceased when the merger was made into the University of Pennsylvania, in 1791, Dr. Andrews then becoming Vice-Provost and Provost in 1910. Dr. Magaw took an active part in the various Assemblies of his Church in Pennsylvania, in Conventions and Societies; and held a conspicuous place in all their deliberations; and published some Sermons, one of which was preached at the opening of St. Thomas' Church for Colored People in 1794. "In the latter part of his time he became deaf and was retired. He was a man above the average, of great ability and learning." He died 1 December, 1812. He left behind him a memory of amiability in deportment and faithfulness in the discharge of all his duties.

JOHN MORGAN, was born in Philadelphia in 1736. His father was a near neighbor of Franklin's. His early education developed in him a great aptitude to study. He acquired the rudiments of his classical learning at the Nottingham Academy of Dr. Finley's, who was afterward President of Princeton College; and entering as one of the first pupils of the Academy in Philadelphia he graduated in 1757. During the last year of his attendance here, he pursued his medical studies under Dr. John Redman. Desirous of surgical practice in the field, he was commissioned lieutenant and surgeon of the Provincial Troops, and served against the French and Indians until 1760. Taking his Master's Degree at the College in this year, he went to Europe to pursue yet further his medical studies. He passed some years abroad, attending for two years the Lectures at the University of Edinburgh, taking his degree there in 1763. While in London attending the Lectures of Dr. William Hunter

he was in intimate acquaintance with Dr. Franklin, and on his going to Edinburgh he bore a letter from him to Lord Kames, dated London, November, 1761, in which he says :

May I take the freedom of recommending the bearer, Mr Morgan, to your Lordship's protection. He purposes residing some time in Edinburgh, to improve himself in the study of physic, and I think will one day make a good figure in the profession, and be of some credit to the school he studies in, if great industry and application, joined with natural genius and sagacity, afford any foundation for the presage. He is the son of a friend and near neighbor of mine in Philadelphia, so that I have known him from a child, and am confident the same excellent dispositions, good morals, and prudent behavior, that have procured him the esteem and affection of all that knew him in his own country, will render him not unworthy the regard, advice, and countenance your Lordship may be so good as to afford him.

Dr. Morgan from Edinburgh went to Paris, and there passed a winter, still enlarging his medical studies, and afterwards traveled in Holland and Italy. Upon his return to London he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and was admitted a licentiate of the College of Physicians in London, and a member of the College of Physicians in Edinburgh, and had been admitted to membership in the Society of Belles Lettres in Rome.

Thus furnished by study and travel, and with the earlier field hospital service, he returned to Philadelphia in 1765. He had written from London in November, 1764, to Dr. Cullen : " My scheme of instituting lectures you will hereafter know more of. It is not prudent to broach designs prematurely, and mine are not yet fully ripe for execution." These he had talked over with the younger William Shippen, his schoolmate at Nottingham, when they were a year or more together in Edinburgh.¹² Shippen had returned home in May, 1762, and in the autumn of that year began his private course of lectures, his introductory

¹² Dr. Shippen in his letter to the Trustees of 17 September, 1765, says : " I should have long since sought the Patronage of the Trustees of the College, but waited to be joined by Dr. Morgan, to whom I first communicated my plan in England "

being delivered in the State House.¹³ His courses proved to be the introductory to the larger scheme of Dr. Morgan which became the Medical School of the College and Academy of Philadelphia. Dr. Morgan had formed his plans maturely, and upon the counsel and advice of his friends abroad. He arrived home early in 1765, and at a Special Meeting of the Trustees called for 3 May, 1765, there attended among others both the Doctors Bond, Dr. Cadwalader, and Dr. Redman, now a Trustee and Morgan's old preceptor, when the following letter was read from the Proprietary. This letter, with its wise recommendations seems the herald of the new Medical Department, in the account of which it may properly belong, yet it is so full of personal references to the young Surgeon who had taken counsel with Governor Penn on the subject so near his heart, that it seems to belong in a sketch of his life.

Gentlemen.

Doctor Morgan has laid before me a Proposal for introducing new Professorships into the College for the Instruction of all such as shall incline to go into the Study and Practice of Physick and Surgery, as well as the several Occupations attending upon these necessary and useful Arts.

He thinks his scheme, if patronized by the Trustees, will at present give Reputation and Strength to the Institution, and tho' it may for some Time occasion a small Expence, yet after a little while it will gradually support itself, and even make considerable additions to the Academy Funds.

Dr Morgan has employed his Time in an assiduous Search after Knowledge, in all the Branches necessary for the Practice of his Profession, and has gained such Esteem and Love from Persons of the first Rank in it, that as they very much approve his Plan, they will, from Time to Time, as he assures us, give him their Countenance and Assistance in the Execution of it.

We are made acquainted with what is proposed to be taught, and his Lectures may be adopted by you, and since the like Systems have brought much Advantage to every Place where they have been received, and such Learned and eminent Men speak favorably of the Doctor's Plan, I could not but in the most kind manner recommend him to you, and desire that he may be well received, and what he has to offer be taken, with all becoming Respect and Expedition, into your most serious Consideration ; and if

¹³ See his announcement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* 11 November, 1762, of beginning "a course of anatomical Lectures" on 18 November.

it shall be thought necessary to go into it, and thereupon to open Professorships, that he may be taken into your service.

When you have heard him, and duly considered what he has to lay before you, you will be best able to judge in what Manner you can serve the Public, the Institution, and the particular Design now recommended to you.

I am

Gentlemen

London Feb 15, 1765

Your very affectionate Friend

Thomas Penn

To the Trustees of the
College &c of Philada

Dr. Morgan also presented a letter to the same effect "by two worthy Trustees of this College now in England, viz.: The Hon'ble James Hamilton, Esqr. and the Revd Mr. Richard Peters." And

The above Letters and Proposals being duly weighed, and the Trustees entertaining a high sense of Dr Morgan's Abilities, and the Honors paid to him by different Learned Bodies and Societies in Europe, they unanimously appointed Him Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physick in this College.

Thus was created the Medical Department of the College, which has literally fulfilled Thomas Penn's words in giving "Reputation and Strength to the Institution." The history of this important department is elsewhere given, and while to it probably belongs the official life of Dr. Morgan which adorned it, we must pass on to a recital of other events in his life in which he served the community and his friends; first noting that at the commencement of that year, viz. on 30 May, at the "Forenoon's Exercises" came "the first Part of Dr. Morgan's inaugural oration," and "the weather being very warm, the remainder was adjourned to Friday Forenoon, 31 May," and "Dr. Morgan then printed the remainder of his learned and elaborate oration." This was entitled "A Discourse upon the Institution of Medical Schools in America," and was published by William Bradford; it was a significant and bold venture for a young man of but twenty-nine years to enter upon in the new country, but his faith and courage fitted him to the duty, "and

hope assured success.”¹⁴ At the meeting of 23 September following a letter from his friend Shippen was read, applauding their action in so promptly meeting Dr. Morgan’s views and scheme and stating to them “a Professorship of Anatomy and Surgery would be gratefully accepted by him,” to which they unanimously appointed him. Thus were the two friends united in a congenial work in a public institution, fulfilling their plans as they talked them over during the interval of their Edinburgh studies. William Shippen, an alumnus of Princeton in 1754,¹⁵ had not the claim, though a Philadelphian, upon the College and the Academy of this city that its own John Morgan had, who came with his proposition endorsed by the highest civil influence known to the province. The location of Morgan’s Alma Mater in the largest city of the colonies enabled it to utilize his practical schemes and secure for itself the honorable distinction of organizing a Medical Department in advance of other kindred institutions; but Shippen contributed ideas from his own well stored brain and trained mind, thoughts and suggestions which helped to nourish the new Department, and it was but just that Princeton should furnish its second Professor.

Dr. Morgan tells us when he returned from Europe, he departed from the customary practice, and was the first physician who restricted himself to simply prescribing for the sick. And he writes :

As far as I can learn everybody approves of my plan for instituting medical schools, and I have the honor of being appointed a public professor for teaching physic in the College here. Can any man, the least acquainted with the nature of that arduous task, once imagine it possible

¹⁴ *A Discourse Upon the Institution of Medical Schools in America; Delivered at a Public Anniversary Commencement held in the College of Philadelphia May 30 and 31, 1765. With a Preface Containing among other things the Author's Apology for attempting to introduce the regular mode of practising physic in Philadelphia.* By John Morgan, M. D.: Fellow of the Royal Society at London; Correspondent of the Royal Academy of Surgery at Paris; Member of the Arcadian Belles Lettres Society at Rome; Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians in London and in Edinburgh; and Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the College of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by William Bradford at the corner of Market and Front Streets MDCCLXV.

¹⁵ And a classmate there of Provost Ewing.

for me to acquit myself in that station in an honorable or useful manner, and yet be engaged in one continued round of practice in surgery and pharmacy as well as physic? * * * My usefulness as a professor makes it absolutely necessary for me to follow that method of practice which alone appears to be calculated to answer that end.

Medical science alone did not occupy his activities. He was an interested member of the American Philosophical Society. When the Trustees sought for funds from the learned and the educated in the West Indies, Dr. Morgan was their ambassador, and a very successful voyage he made thither, which will have more particular notice when our narrative reaches that period.

In October, 1775, Congress appointed him Director in General and Physician in Chief to the General Hospital of the American army, and he at once proceeded to Cambridge, and from thence back to New York. His reforming spirit in administration was far in advance of the times, and he could not overcome the crowding difficulties of his Medical Bureau, due to inexperience and a clinging to former ways; clamors arose, to which Congress responded by removing him in 1777; but on a subsequent examination by Congress, all the complaints were found entirely without foundation, and an honorable acquittal of all the charges made against him rendered.

He died in Philadelphia 15 October, 1789, and was buried in St. Peter's Church. It was the year of his return from Europe and of appointment as Professor, that he married Mary Hopkinson, the sister of his classmate Francis Hopkinson, whose elder sister Elizabeth had married six years previously, another classmate, Jacob Duché.

HUGH WILLIAMSON, of Scotch-Irish parentage, was born in Nottingham Township, Chester County, Penn., 5 December, 1735. His early education was pursued under Dr. Alison's care at New London, and when that able preceptor became a professor in the Philadelphia Academy his parents sent him thither. His proficiency earned him a Tutorship as early as July, 1755, in which he continued the remainder of his College life. His father

died the year of his graduation; and the family having previous to this moved to Shippensburg, Williamson made this his residence until 1759 when he went to Connecticut to prosecute his theological studies, where he was licensed to preach, and afterwards returning to Pennsylvania was admitted a member of the Presbytery of Philadelphia. His health however was not robust; and he was unable to undertake any stated ministerial duty.

We find him again resuming his connection with his College. At the meeting of the Trustees on 13 January, 1761, the President acquainted the Trustees that notwithstanding that repeated advertisements had been published in the Gazette of the want of a Professor of Mathematics in the Academy, and he had wrote to some of his acquaintances in the other Colonies to enquire if there was any fit person, and that Dr. Smith had likewise made enquiry in Maryland, and Dr Alison at Boston and other Places thro' which they had travelled in the Vacation, yet no one properly qualified could be heard of. In this exigency Dr. Smith had wrote to the Rev'd Hugh Williamson one of the late Ushers in the Latin School (who was known to have made a considerable Progress in the Mathematics, and being lately ordained among the Dissenters yet at present was not in the Exercise of his Function) to know if he would undertake the Care of that School, upon which Letter he now waited upon the Trustees and made a tender of his services, which were accepted and in case he should upon tryal give Satisfaction, he is to receive One Hundred and Twenty five pounds per annum to commence from the Day on which he shall take the Charge of the School.

In this duty he continued less than three years, and at the meeting of 8 November, 1763 :

desiring admittance he came in and acquainted the Trustees that he could not continue much longer in the care of the Mathematical School, having disposed of himself some other way, he requested they would as soon as conveniently they could, provide a Master for it.

And action was had looking to this provision, at the meeting of 13 December "Professor Williamson still expressing a desire to be dismissed." But he filled out the College term, and parted from his duties 10 May, 1764. His mathematical and other studies made no obstacle to his engaging with interest in provincial politics; and having his interest enlisted on the Proprietaries' side, probably from sympathy with the Provost's views, he replied on their behalf in a pamphlet to Franklin's

Cool Thoughts on the Present Situation of our Public Affairs published early in 1764, the year when a crisis seemed to be consummating between the two opposing and heated parties. But Williamson was himself one of "the proprietaries' new allies; the Presbyterian Clergy of Philadelphia," who feared that the substitution of a Royal Government for that of the Proprietaries which was now sought by the popular party would bring a State church into the province, and openly took the ground that the change would be the ruin of the province,¹⁶ and what was denied to him in public speaking or preaching, he yet could ably set forth his views by his pen. And this rejoinder was followed by the subsequent contribution to the political literature of the times.

In the same year Williamson crossed the ocean in order to pursue medical studies at the University of Edinburgh and on the Continent. He remained abroad for two¹⁷ years, and returning to Philadelphia, began the practice of medicine, his health not permitting any stated ministerial duties. His attainments in science were great, and he was one of a committee, of whom also were David Rittenhouse, Provost Smith, Dr. Ewing, and Charles Thomson, appointed by the American Philosophical Society to make observations of the transit of Venus on 3 June, 1769, and the same committee was instructed also to view the transit of Mercury on 3 November of the same year. The reports of these observations, in which Williamson as a mathematician had a large share, are given in the first volume of

¹⁶ Franklin in his Preface to Galloway's Speech, Bigelow, iii. 310. Williamson's pamphlet was entitled "The Plain Dealer, Number 11, Being a Tickler for the leisure Hours' Amusement of the Author of Cool Thoughts, Wherein the Tone of his several Arguments in Favour of a change of Government is stated in a clear Light and accommodated to the Comprehension of Readers of every Capacity. By X. Y. Z. Gentleman." In Dr. Smith's preface to John Dickinson's speech he gave a very eulogistic Epitaph on William Penn. In Franklin's preface to Galloway's speech, he burlesqued this and applied it to Richard and Thomas Penn. This in turn gave rise to Williamson's later pamphlet: "What is Sauce for the Goose is also Sauce for a Gander, Being A small Touch in the Lapidary Way, or Tit for Tat, in your own Way. An Epitaph on a certain great Man. Written by a Departed Spirit and now most inscrib'd to all his dutiful Sons and Children, who may hereafter chuse to distinguish him by the name of A Patriot." *Bibliography of Franklin*, Ford, 393.

¹⁷ With Capt Falconer from London, came passenger Hugh Williamson, M. D. belonging to this Place. *Penna Gazette*, 11 Dec., 1766.

the Transactions of the Society and afforded valuable information to the foreign correspondents of the Society. In 1770, Dr. Williamson published through the same channel some observations on the change of climate which had been remarked within a range of years to have taken place in the middle colonies of North America. This and other scientific investigations of his brought him the notice of foreign savants, and his medical alma mater, Utrecht, made him Doctor of Laws in 1772, and he was made a member of the Holland Society of Sciences, and the Society of Arts and Sciences of Utrecht.

In 1772 he undertook a voyage to the West Indies to raise funds for the Academy at Newark, Delaware, the successor of Dr. Alison's school of which in early life he had been a pupil, and of which he was a Trustee; and in the year following in company with his co-Trustee, Rev. Dr. Ewing, afterwards Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, he made a tour through Great Britain on the same errand, and in this duty they remained together until the autumn of 1775, but Williamson did not return home with Ewing. He then travelled through Holland and the Low Countries, but when the news of American Independence reached him, he retraced his steps and reached Philadelphia in March, 1777. The story which had credence for a number of years that it was through his agency the Hutchinson letters were procured for Franklin who sent them to Massachusetts, and which is yet frequently repeated, is contradicted by the fact that Dr. Williamson, at the time of Dr. Franklin sending those Letters, namely in December, 1772, was at the time in the West Indies, and he did not sail for England as stated above until December, 1773; the ship he sailed in from Boston lay in the harbor ready for sail, when the famed Tea Party took place on that eventful night of 16 December, and he was the first one to communicate to the British Government the tidings of this decisive destruction of the East India Company's cargoes of tea.

On Dr. Williamson's return to Pennsylvania, no opportunity appeared open for the pursuit of his profession, and turning his face southward he engaged in mercantile pursuits; but his medical

reputation brought to him in the winter of 1779-80 the appointment of chief of the medical department of the North Carolina troops; he was present at the Battle of Camden 18 August, 1780, and under a flag of truce entered the enemy's lines to attend to the wounded when the regimental surgeons declined the duty. In 1782 he became a member, from Edenton, of the North Carolina Assembly. In 1787, he was one of the delegates from that State to the Convention which framed the Constitution which met in Philadelphia; and he was a member of the first Congress which met in New York in 1787, and it was while here he married Maria, daughter of Charles Ward Apthorpe, formerly a member of the Provincial Council of New York. In 1812, appeared his *History of North Carolina* in two volumes, printed in Philadelphia. Much of his time after this was passed in New York. He lived to a great age, notwithstanding his early debility and in despite of an unusually active and busy life in the wanderings of a cosmopolite, and died in New York, 22 May, 1819. At the close of that year his friend Dr. Hosack was appointed to read a Biographical Memoir of Williamson before the New York Historical Society; he describes him as

no less distinguished for the manliness of his form, than for the energy and firmness of his mind. Dr. Williamson in his person was tall, considerably above the general standard, of a large frame, well proportioned, but of a thin habit of body. He was remarkable for his erect, dignified carriage, which he retained even in the decline of life. * * * His style both in conversation and in writing, was simple, concise, perspicuous and remarkable for its strength; always displaying correctness of thought and logical precision. In the order, too, and disposal of his discourse, whether oral or written, such was the close connexion of its parts, and the dependence of one proposition upon that which preceded it, that it became easy to discern the influence of his early predilection for mathematical investigation. * * * Whatever be the merits of Dr. Williamson as a scholar, a physician, a statesman, or philosopher; however he may be distinguished for his integrity, his benevolence, and those virtues which enter into the moral character of man; he presents to the world claims of a still higher order. The lovers of truth and virtue will admire much more than his literary endowments, that regard for religious duty, of which, under all circumstances and in all situations, he exhibited so eminent an example.

XLIV.

The commencement of 1757, with all the satisfaction and pleasure it brought to its participants, had one shadow, which however did not show itself at once. The Provost's signature to the diplomas was thought sufficient to give them force, and this appeared to be the intent of the Charter of 1755, where it was

Ordained, That the Provost, vice provost, or other person appointed as aforesaid, shall make, and with his name, sign diplomas or certificates of the admission to such degree or degrees, which shall be sealed with the public seal of the said corporation, and delivered to the graduates as honourable and perpetual testimonials thereof.

But at the Trustees' meeting of 14 June, the Vice-Provost Alison, and Professors Kinnersley, Grew and Jackson "petitioned they might be allowed to join with the Provost in signing the College Diplomas," as follows:¹

Gentlemen. The Custom as far as we know or can learn has universally obtained in other Colleges, both in Europe and America, of granting Diplomas or honourable Certificates, signed as well by all the Professors as by the Provost or President. The Initiation of this generally received Mode in the Diplomas to be granted in this College will, we humbly conceive, be more satisfactory to the graduates, who will no doubt chuse to carry with them the most express and ample Proofs of the Respect and approbation of every Professor belonging to the Institution; more reputable to the Vice Provost and Professors to whom it may be of some advantage to be known in a Way that will carry the least appearance of Vanity or ostentation, and more honourable and useful to the Institution itself as the Number of Professors employed in it and their names, if at any Time they should be Men of Merit and Reputation, which it is not unreasonable to suppose, may be of service to engage the Notice of People in Distant Parts and by that means to add to the Number of Students. We therefore the Vice Provost and Professors of this College and Academy humbly petition the Trustees to grant us by a Law the Privilege of joining with the Provost in signing the College Diplomas.

¹ Francis Hopkinson's diploma bears the autographs of the Provost, Vice Provost, and the other three professors; if the Provost's was originally given alone, and thus became the occasion of the petitions, this action of the Trussees may have secured the subsequent affixing the signatures of the others. The appearance of this document seems to give color to this suggestion.

This was referred to Messrs. Chew and Stedman for their opinion, to be given at the next meeting, and on 12 July their Report was :

The Committee on considering the Charter conceive that by the said Charter it is not necessary that Diplomas should be signed by any more of the Faculty than the Provost. Yet as they may receive additional Weight and Credit by being signed by the whole Faculty, and no Mischief or Inconvenience, that we apprehend can arise from such a Proceeding, we are of Opinion, that the whole Faculty should on this occasion be admitted to sign with the Provost.

This discreet and equitable report was

read and referred to the next Meeting of the Trustees, in Consequence thereof Mr Smith requested a Copy of the Petition, which the clerk was desired to make out and deliver to him as soon as it may be convenient.

But no action was reached until the meeting of 23 December, when

the Report of the Committee upon the Propriety of Diplomas being signed by the whole Faculty, entered on the Minutes of 12th of July last, is approved by the Trustees.

At this December meeting the fees for graduation were named as follows :

A Bachelor shall pay to the College Library	£0.15.0
A Master shall pay to Do	1. 0.0
A Bachelor shall present to the Provost at least	1. 0.0
“ “ to each of the Professors including the Vice-Provost under whom he has studied since his entering the College	0.15.0
The Keeper of the Great Seal for affixing it to any Diploma, honorary ones excepted shall have	0.10.0

At the beginning of this year, at the meeting of 11 January, the Rate of Tuition for the Students in Philosophy was “augmented to ten Pounds per Annum” to “commence at the End of Three Months from this Date.”

BENJAMIN CHEW, who drew up the report on the petition of the Vice-Provost and the Professors, was elected a Trustee on 11 January, 1757, to fill the vacancy made by the death of Dr. Zachary. The son of Dr. Samuel Chew, he was born at his Father's residence, on West River, Maryland, 29 November, 1722. He was young when his Father removed to the Lower Counties. After completing his education, he entered the office of Andrew Hamilton, the Councillor, but the latter dying in 1741, Chew went abroad and entered the Middle Temple in London. He returned to America in 1743, on hearing of the death of his Father, and was admitted an attorney of the Supreme Court of the Province of Pennsylvania in September Term, 1746, but it appears did not practice until about nine years later. His residence was at Dover, Delaware, and in 1751 he was included in the Boundary Commission as a representative of the Lower Counties. He removed to Philadelphia about 1754. His reputation largely exceeded his age, and though so new a resident of Philadelphia he in January 1755 became Attorney General, succeeding Mr. Francis, and in August following, became Recorder of the City. And at the close of the same year he was called to the Governor's Council, in the midst of the excitement following Braddock's defeat. His was a busy life, filling these public offices; and in 1765, to these were added that of the Register-General of the Province. In 1761 he built his Mansion, "Cliveden," at the then outlying town, Germantown. When William Allen resigned the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court in 1774, Chew was appointed his successor on 29 April. At the outbreak of the Revolution these offices fell with the Royal authority, which was their derivation, though his continuance as Register-General was made necessary by force of circumstances, and his acts were in 1778 validated by the Legislature. As a suspect he was under surveillance, during the Revolution, and was for some time under arrest; but he was released in June, 1778, and remained at his house in peace until the quietness of the times removed him from all suspicion. During his absence his house was the conspicuous figure in the Battle of Germantown, Octo-

ber, 1777, and by its possession a handful of British troops were enabled under its cover to detain the main body of Americans in its attack long enough to prevent the consummation of Washington's plans for the struggle of the day, to ensure the defeat of the American army. In October, 1791, he was appointed Judge and President of the High Court of Errors and Appeals of Pennsylvania, and these he held until the abolition of the court in 1808. He died 20 January, 1810, and is buried in St. Peter's Churchyard. Notwithstanding his accumulating duties, he gave faithful attendance on the meetings of the Trustees, and from his acknowledged judgment and learning he was sought on many of the special committees, as in the case of the vexed question which his opinion settled in July 1757. During the Revolutionary period, we find him at the meetings of January, 9 May, 3, 17 October, 1775; April, June, October, 1776; 5 June, September; November 1778; and in 1779 from March quite regularly to 28 September. He was not present at the final meetings of October and November, 1779, when the blow of destruction was impending; his presence would not have aided the unfortunate institution against the attacks of the party who sought the abrogation of its charter. His eldest son Benjamin, a graduate of 1775, became a Trustee in 1810. The latter's sons Benjamin and Samuel were graduates of 1810, John of 1812, Henry Banning of 1815, William White of 1820, and Anthony Banning of 1825; while a grandson of Henry B. Chew renews the link as a graduate of 1886.

Chief Justice Chew was the last of those Trustees whose office dates prior to the first Commencement. Of the original twenty-four, Logan, Lawrence, Zachary and Willing had died; Isaac Norris, who had succeeded James Logan, resigned in 1755; and to the nineteen original Trustees remaining were now added Cadwalader, Hamilton, Stedman, Mifflin and Chew. Of the original number, seven were Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania, Logan, Lawrence, Turner, Strettell, Peters, Taylor and Hopkinson; and of the six new members, five were also Councillors, Norris, Cadwalader, Hamilton, Mifflin and Chew. Allen, the Recorder of the City at the organization of the Trustees,

became Chief Justice the year following, and his wife was the daughter and sister of Councillors. Francis was Attorney General of the Province at the time of the organization, and in 1750 succeeded Allen as Recorder of the City. Masters married in 1754 the daughter of a Councillor. Zachary was the grandson of an early Councillor. Franklin's genius and leadership found no place in the Council, but his influence was greater than any such seat could create, for he was the foremost man in the Province. Of the rest, Inglis, M'Call, Leech, Shippen, Syng, Willing, the two Bonds, Plumsted, Maddox, White, Coleman and Stedman had earned for themselves eminence in the community as merchants or professional men. Such a collocation of men of provincial note and influence was the most remarkable and distinguished ever gathered together in one common work in this Province; and as such, in force and dignity was perhaps never equalled, certainly never excelled in any of the sister Provinces; and all this was in the cause of Education, and the men were inspired and united in their work by one who had attained to a high appreciation of the needs of the Province in this direction, and yet who it may be said was himself without early education further than what could be drawn out of the materials he found around him by his own inborn faith and perseverance.

The period of Organization of the College and Academy may be said to be completed on the graduation of the first class in 1757. There has been much to study in this formative time, in both men and methods, and its picture has to be drawn with more measured details than may be required in its subsequent periods. From this point on for nearly a score of years we may designate as the ante-Revolutionary period. The Institution felt the influence of party broils and wrangles of the time, as this was unavoidable when the men the most conspicuous in its control and management did not avoid provincial politics. We shall find this period to end only in disaster, and we must endeavor to fathom those causes which led to the injustice of 1779, when the fair fabric was laid low which had grown to such vigor by its first commencement. It is difficult

to draw the line between the differing influences which were fostered within its boundaries, for though Education was its aim, yet there was too much fomenting and seething within the Province in which it was placed to keep that aim undisturbed ; and many matters may have taken form that do not appear on record, which left their sting behind to bear fruit in the uncertain and harassing times of mid-revolution, in which perhaps institutions were made the victims of mistrust and suspicion in order to strike at individuals.

XLV.

That the mixing of politics in college life was not due to colonial influences in this case, but rather in the inborn taste of the average Englishman, whether in home or colonial life, for politics generally, is borne out by the consideration of their influence in the universities at home. Mr. Wordsworth in his *Social Life at the English Universities*, quoting Hartley Coleridge, "Everything in England takes the shape and hue of politics," proceeds to say :

If this was true of the country in the earlier half of the present century, it was so preeminently at the Universities in the Eighteenth, * * * It might at first sight appear that politics could have very little to do with the Life and Studies of a University. But this is far from being the real state of the case. After three such revolutions as the country had experienced within half a century, it was impossible that the interest of the country should not be fixed upon public affairs. The taste for Pamphlets which had arisen in the days of Charles I. had now increased a thousandfold. * * * If we take up a chance volume containing 18th century tracts relating to either of the Universities, it will be no extraordinary thing if there are one or more bearing directly upon the politics of the day : very few we shall find, if we have the time or the patience to read them through are totally unconnected with party dissensions. * * * Politics usurped the place of Christian doctrine in the pulpit ; politics lurked in the Coffee houses and the taverns—her spirit was not expelled even from the 'Triposes' and Tripos-speeches. At Oxford the Act (or Commemoration) was full of

it * * * Party feeling had a great power in producing and fostering the nightly demonstrations which disturbed the more peaceful students and inhabitants of Cambridge and Oxford, at the beginning of the last century, and early in our own.¹

That a certain knowledge of cotemporary politics can be made a handmaid to Education, there can be no question, for the pupil in this can with the aid of his preceptor be led to juster and truer views of the former, than if he was shut out of all knowledge of civil movements around him and only turned into them without training when Education has set him nominally free from its bonds. The boys in the College and Academy were trained to loyalty; the Commencement of 1762 provided a Dialogue and Ode on the death of our late gracious Majesty George II; the Commencement of 1763 had a like exercise in honor of the happy accession and nuptials of our present gracious Majesty George III. But the controversies over the Stamp Act made loyalty to such a gracious sovereignty less palatable, patriotism became an element in the community, and its votaries were found in our College Halls in increasing numbers year by year. Smith, the author of the Dialogues of 1762 and 1763, could not sympathise in this patriotism as did Hopkinson the author of the Ode, who with his pen and good humor helped in the nationalising of his native land. Thus, in our narrative we cannot recite the work and influence of the remarkable curriculum alone, and note the happy results for learning and knowledge in its students which proved its excellence, without throwing upon it, and the men who employed it, those lights and shadows which the contemporary circumstances surrounding the new birth of a nation would naturally engender. In our case, this is imperative; for some of the Trustees and members of the Faculty were deep in the controversies of these years, and their personal influence must have been felt by the lads. Could it be a matter of little moment to any of these, that the Founder of their Home of learning was the foremost man of the day in all public affairs whether of politics or of philanthropy, and was in most of these years representing his

¹ *Social Life*, pp. 5, 24, 25, 26, 27.

adopted Province at the throne of power pleading for liberty? Could it be a matter of indifference to any that their Provost was taking his share in controversy whether public or anonymous? Would they not catch at least the echo of these influences? And may it not lie in such surroundings that the College and Academy turned into the arena of the Revolution more men in proportion to her graduates than any other Collegiate institution? If this was so, no regret can be felt at the exhibitions of partisan strife we shall witness as we proceed in the years whose records are yet to be studied. In this central Province of the colonies all the great movements of the time found their larger expression, and the College lads would have been cold indeed did their feelings not respond to the thought that they were waiting on the infancy of a great Nation, in whose future success they might have some share, whether more or less. Hopkinson who set his loyal Odes of 1762 and 1763 to his own music and sang them, was equally with Paca nurturing those greater principles which caused them to set their hands to a Declaration that loyalty to one's own country was the highest patriotism. Duché put his hands to the same plough, but looked back and was lost. Latta, and Magaw, and Morgan, and Williamson, were all true to the same pole. These were the farthest removed from the storm burst of 1775. But they, even from this distant point, attain a like degree in the work of their country's freedom with John Morris, Patrick Alison, Robert Goldsborough, Whitmel Hill, Thomas Mifflin, Richard Peters, Tench Tilghman, Alexander Wilcocks, Joseph Yeates, Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, John Andrews, William White, Francis Johnston, Joshua Maddox Wallace, Benjamin Duffield, Henry Latimer, and others. Happily for their country, these men came to the struggle with minds trained in the best school for learning known in the colonies, and the record of such results should alone have saved it from the suspicions and the injustice of 1779; but, the party heat of that year having found its victim exhausted itself, and the successors of these partisans in a single decade made restitution and galvanized their victim into new life.

XLVI.

During the preparations for the first commencement there arose the beginnings of a contention in which the Provost largely figured. It was in the case of Judge Moore of Chester County, against whom as early as March, 1757, petitions were being sent up to the Assembly praying his removal for sundry alleged acts of injustice and cruelty. These the Assembly deferred the consideration of for several weeks, but the petitions accumulated. At last in August a hearing of both parties is had, and Judge Moore presents a paper in general contradiction of the petitions. Adjournment is had, but instead of appearing he sends in a Memorial denying authority of Assembly, as all matters charged against him were cognizable by common law. The House continued the case and took testimony from the petitioners, and finally on 27 September adjudged him guilty, and addressed Governor Denny requesting him "to remove William Moore from the office of Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and Justice of the Peace and from all other publick Offices, Posts and Employments." The animus of all this lay in the imputed enmity of the Friends in the Assembly to Judge Moore, as he had taken a prominent part in the attacks on the Friends for their Peace principles when war was hovering on the borders of the Province. The address to the Governor was by order of the House published in the *Gazette*, where many of the official documents reached the public eye. Judge Moore took umbrage at this; and the Assembly having adjourned on 1 October, and the election for the new Assembly shortly recurring, he deemed it important to submit a counter address to the Governor, which was also inserted in the *Gazette*; his language was free and aggressive, for the body which had maligned him was in his opinion dead; but the new Assembly composed mainly of the same members accepted his address as an attack on their dignity, and 6 January, 1758, they summoned him and also William Smith to the Bar of the House to answer such questions as should then and there be put to them. Mr. Smith's connection with this was due not only to the general suspicion that he was the author of

Judge Moore's letter to the Governor that was deemed so offensive by the Assembly, which however Judge Moore declared was his own authorship ; but to the fact that he had been instrumental in causing its publication in the German newspaper that was published under the care of the German Society, which was not denied. The Governor appointed a day for hearing the case, but in the meanwhile the House impatient at the Governor's tardiness and wishing to lose no time in avenging the indignity to the former house had placed Judge Moore under arrest, which in turn he pleaded as an excuse for not appearing before the Governor for the appointed hearing. Governor Denny and the Assembly fell into an angry correspondence, as the latter came under the belief that he was seeking the refuge of technicalities on behalf of the Judge. On 11 January he was adjudged guilty of a high contempt, and ordered to be imprisoned until he should retract. On the 13th, Mr. Smith was called up to answer for his share in this controversy, and on the 24th he was adjudged guilty of "promoting and publishing the libellous paper &c," and on the next day, on being ordered in and informed of this finding, he arose and said he would make an appeal to the King. On being presented with the alternative of a retraction, he replied, in one of his eloquent outbursts,

as he was conscious of no offense against the house, his lips should never give his heart the lie, there being no punishment which they could inflict half so terrible to him as the thought of forfeiting his veracity and good name with the world,¹

which attracted applause among his friends who were in the house, but for which they in turn were brought up for censure and admonition.

Mr. Smith was then committed to the Sheriff for imprisonment, and to Jail he went. On 4 February he applied to Chief

¹ *American Magazine*, p. 200. In this serial will be found, in the Numbers for February and August, 1758, Mr. Smith's narrative of this whole proceeding. "The Assembly of this province hath been sitting since the 2nd inst [January], during which time some steps have been taken, so alarming in their nature, and attended with such public heats and animosities, that we dare not trust ourselves at present to give a particular account of them, least we should have caught some degree of the general infection to make us depart from our usual coolness and candor of disquisition," p. 199.

Justice Allen, a College Trustee, for a writ of Habeas Corpus, but the latter did not think himself authorized in granting such as the petitioner was committed by the House for a breach of privilege. His appeal to the Governor was as well unsuccessful, for his endorsement on the petition read, "The unhappy situation of the Petitioner moves me with great compassion, but if I have a Power in any shape to interpose in this matter, I do not incline to excuse it, as it might, at this critical Juncture, endanger the safety of the whole Province." Here he continued until liberated about 11 April by the Supreme Court on the adjournment of the Assembly; but on reassembling in September new writs were issued and he was again arrested and was in imprisonment until the final adjournment. In the meanwhile, his appeal was prepared and had gone forward and had been referred to the Attorney General. The new Assembly in November, again in pursuit of the vindication of the honor of the former Assembly, voted Smith's commitment to the Sergeant-at-Arms, but he could not be found and by 1 December had sailed for England to prosecute in person his Appeal from the judgments of the assembly. As to Judge Moore. the Governor gave him a hearing in August, and adjudged him free of the charges preferred against him; but the assembly still sought reparation and his retraction, without avail; and in February, 1759, the Sergeant-at-Arms reported that "Moore has absconded without paying his fees, and Smith having lately embarked for England."

It is difficult for us, so many years after these transactions, to form an exact opinion on the merits of this peculiar case. Mr. Smith to a letter to the Bishop of London written from the "Philada. County Gaol", 7 February, 1758, speaks of the

Persecuting spirit of the Quakers against those who had the courage to avow themselves strenuous advocates for the defence of this His Majesty's Colony. * * * Against me in particular they have had a long grudge supposing me the Author of some Pamphlets published in London to alarm the Nation of the dreadful consequences of suffering such men to continue in power at this time. But finding no pretext to distress me, though lying in watch for three years, the Assembly called me before them and committed me to gaol for having reprinted a Paper (in the German Newspaper

under my Direction as a Trustee for a Society in London) which had been printed four weeks before in both the English Newspapers, and in one of them by the Assembly's own Printer after consulting the Speaker and two other leading Members.²

This statement brings the gravamen down to one charge, of his instrumentality in printing it in the German paper. It is true it had appeared in Franklin's *Gazette* and Bradford's *Journal* but only in sequence with other State Papers, and these newspapers were more just to Judge Moore in printing both sides of the controversy than was the German paper in merely printing the Judge's Counter Address. In this sense the Assembly adjudged him guilty "of promoting and publishing a false, scandalous, virulent and seditious libel against the late House of Assembly of this Province, and highly derogatory of and destructive to the rights of this House and the privileges of Assembly." Their error and fault lay in their entire course, for they could not pass upon the libeller of the former assembly, and their proceeding to his imprisonment was contrary to all principle of sound justice. The Germans found that their only means of securing general news was through a newspaper in their own language; and as they were assumed to be inimical to the Assembly which was largely composed of Quakers, to circulate Judge Moore's Counter Address was certainly treating them to that view of the controversy which was the most prejudicial to their influence, and they rightly deemed that this was not the intent of the publication in the German newspaper. But whatever the former Assembly might have done to vindicate their honor, their successors had no standing upon which to take up the cudgels for them. Here was Mr. Smith's strong point, and he was aware of it; and he would be content with even imprisonment if he felt that justice in the end would be attained.

That there were lurking suspicions against Mr. Smith as to his connection with the controversies of the day, and somewhat of a fear of the force of his trenchant pen, there can be no doubt, but to what extent there existed ground for the former we now

² Isaac Norris, William Masters, and Joseph Galloway. *American Magazine*, p. 200.

know not, but we can well judge that both his tongue and his pen were deemed strong weapons, which perhaps were more dreaded than respected. These were not entertained alone by the Quakers, as Smith always termed the Friends, although he appeared to lay at their door all the charges of enmity to him. In the Assembly which now passed judgment upon him there were three of his College Trustees, Leech, Masters, and Plumsted, all Churchmen, and so far as we know they did not befriend him. Even good old Dr. Jenney, the Rector of Christ Church, had no warm thought for the young cleric-politician, for on 27 November of the same year he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury :

What I am most concerned for and apprehensive of evil consequences from is the practice of some Clergymen here to intermix what is their true and real business with politics in civil affairs and being so zealous therein as to blame and even revile those of their Brethren who cannot approve of their conduct in this particular. I am very sorry to be forced to name one William Smith, who 'tis said is gone to England with this view, and without doubt will wait upon your grace. * * * He pretends to be a great intimate of the Hon'ble Mr. Thomas Penn, our Proprietor, and several other great men whose favour he boasts of, but I am in Hopes that no great man will support him in his misrepresentation of me without giving me an opportunity to clear myself.

One element of opposition to him was found, probably, in a natural but unreasonable local prejudice against a new comer into the community engaging so heartily in provincial contests, for he had been a resident of Philadelphia but three years when he became a partisan of Judge Moore. His dislike of the Assembly, on account of its Quaker influences, was perhaps reciprocated on account of their repugnance to a minister of Christ who was so valorous for war; but his opponents in the Assembly were not always these Quakers. Politics found in him a congenial adherent, and it was impossible with his peculiar temperament for him to keep out of the fray that was raging in the press around him. Had a contrary attitude prevailed, his influence on the side of peace and harmony would have been of great avail, but his pen was but adding fuel to the flames.

XLVII.

The circumstances of the province military-wise were peculiar, and were made more conspicuous in its position of danger by surrounding enemies, from whom it could only defend itself by its own resources. These resources, so far as the descendants of Penn's followers could be considered, were not drawn from any military preparations, but only from the mighty arm of peace and good-will. Had the Friends been the only citizens in the Province, it is not without reason to suppose that they would never have been harassed by enemies, for the Indians would have been their defendants against the French instead of befriending the subtle foe ; but from the mixed nature of the inhabitants offences could not be avoided, and the peace policy of the Friends lost all its force. Mr. Smith, in November, 1757, describes the situation thus :

The province of Pennsylvania has something peculiar to itself that renders this task harder in it than in almost any other country. We are at present a trading and not a military colony ; and of eight religious denominations that are of most note among us (if we follow the example of our mother country) we can only depend on four to bear arms. The Roman Catholics are excluded for political reasons ; the Unitas Fratrum or Moravians are exempted from all personal service by an act of parliament in 1749 ; and the Quakers and Mennonites, two numerous and wealthy societies, cannot bear arms consistent with their religious tenets ; so that the danger and burden of publick defence is devolved on the members of the Church of England, the English and German Presbyterians, the Lutherans, and the English Baptists. But these will think it hard and unequal to expose their lives to maintain their neighbors in ease and safety, who have equal estates and privileges ; and it may be thought as hard to oblige men by a law, to do that in defence of their lives or estates, which they are persuaded will ruin their souls. * * * If the burden of defence be cast on the four religious denominations who can bear arms, it would be unequal and severe ; nay, it would be to preserve the religious rights of one part of the State at the expense of the civil rights of another.¹

Thus the Friends, being the greatest in number and influence of all the combatants, attracted to themselves the opposition of those who were impatient at their conscientious

¹ Proposal for a Militia in Pennsylvania. *American Magazine*, p. 63.

denial of appropriations for military purposes, and in contemporary politics they bore the brunt of accusations that they were exposing the borders of the Province to Indian and French depredations. This revilement was convenient and easy, yet no attempt was made by their accusers to pursue that even-handed justice with the native Savage which would have gone a long way to avert the calamities of war.

XLVIII.

Mr. Smith's occupation in this arraignment and imprisonment necessarily deprived the College of his continuous attention; and references to this peculiar condition of affairs are found twice in the Minutes of the Trustees. On 4 February, the first meeting after his imprisonment, when the refusal to him on that day by Chief Justice Allen of a writ of Habeas Corpus rendered his release for the remainder of the Assembly's session hopeless, it is recorded :

the Assembly of the Province having taken Mr Smith into Custody the Trustees considered how the Inconveniences from thence arising to the College might be best remedied, and Mr Smith having expressed a Desire to continue his Lectures to the Classes which had formerly attended them, the Students also inclining to proceed in their Studies under his care ; They ordered that the said Classes should attend him for that Purpose at the usual Hours in the Place of his present Confinement :

this being in the County Prison at the corner of Walnut and Sixth Streets, and here the young Provost taught his classes within a stone's throw of the lot which James Logan had in 1749 offered the Trustees for the use of their new Academy. And here he remained, unyielding in his position and surrounded by his classes, until his liberation in April upon adjournment of the Assembly. But no steps were taken for the annual commencement, possibly under the apprehension lest

a public ceremony of this kind would draw some of the hostility exhibited by the partisans of the Assembly against its Provost, personally towards the College and its Trustees. Three of the young men were ready for their degrees; Andrew Allen, James Allen, and John Morris had undergone the usual public examination with approbation, but they had to await the commencement exercises of 1759 for their public reception.¹

But in the midst of Mr. Smith's trials and imprisonment, came the romance of his life. In his acquaintance with Judge Moore and his family, he could not but be attracted by the charms of his daughter Rebecca, a beautiful and accomplished girl. She was a faithful visitor to her Father in his confinement, and while the Judge and the Provost in their long hours of imprisonment must have often conferred together upon their wrongs and have fostered each in the other common courage and endurance, and maintained a mutual hope of ultimate freedom, the latter must have had frequent and favorable opportunities of cultivating an acquaintance with the former's lovely visitor; an engagement followed, and in a few weeks after his liberation they were married on 3 June, 1750, at Moore Hall, in Chester County, the Judge's residence. Mrs. Smith's eldest sister, Williamina, had married in 1748, Dr. Phineas Bond. Of this alliance, his Biographer records:

he was indebted for a well-assorted and happy connexion; it was every way judicious; family, fortune and external circumstances, combined with considerations of feeling to make it wise.

¹ Minutes, 8 June, 1759. See Smith i. 186.

XLIX.

But, with all his employments of mind and heart early in 1758, William Smith's thoughts drifted again to public affairs; and out of his keen anxieties for the safety of the Province in the approaching campaign which General Forbes was now undertaking against Fort Duquesne, came his "Earnest address to the Colonies, particularly those of the Southern district; on the opening of the Campaign, 1758," to which the concluding paragraph gives an eloquent closing :

Rise, then, my countrymen, as you value the blessings you enjoy, and dread the evils that hang over you, rise and show yourselves worthy of the name of Britons ! rise to secure to your posterity, peace, freedom, and a pure religion ! rise to chastize a perfidious nation for their breach of treaties, their detestable cruelties, and their horrid murders ! remember the cries of your captivated brethren, your orphan children, your helpless widows, and thousands of beggar'd families ! think of Monongahela, Fort William Henry, and those scenes of savage death, where the mangled limbs of your fellow citizens lie strewed upon the plain ; calling upon you to retrieve the honor of the British name ! Thus animated and roused, and thus putting your confidence, where alone it can be put, let us go forth in humble boldness ; and the Lord do what seemeth him good.

The hopeful anticipations of the colonists for this campaign were realised ; and we find Mr. Smith preaching in Trinity Church, New York, on 17 September, 1758, his sermon on "the Duty of praising God for signal Mercies and Deliverances, on occasion of the remarkable success of His Majesty's Arms in America, during that Campaign;" which he repeated at Oxford, Pennsylvania, on 1 October :

After the days of mourning which we have seen, the short period of one year has produced such a turn in favour of the Protestant cause, as astonishes ourselves, and among posterity will scarce be believed. The wonderful successes of the Prussian Hero, towards the close of the last campaign in Germany ; and the successes which, in the present campaign, God has already been pleased to bestow on the British arms in America, by the reduction of Louisburg, ¹ and other important places, furnish a series of

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 24 August, 1758, announces the "New York post riding ninety miles last Monday to bring news of the fall of Louisburg, our bells were set a Ringing, the Guns were fired, Bonfires were lighted, and the city was beautifully illuminated."

such happy events, that if any one had proposed them to our hopes a twelvemonth ago, we should have thought him mocking our credulity, or insulting our distress. * * * The best fruits of victory are beset around with thorns ; and what are days of rejoicing to others are but days of mourning to many, whose dearest Relatives have given up their lives, a sacrifice in the contest. This world is a chequered scene, and we are to expect no pure bliss in it.

L.

The new Assembly which convened in November was seeking Mr. Smith for further imprisonment. His appeal had gone forward to England. He may have hoped the coming Assembly would not strain its authority as had the former Assembly, and he might remain unmolested in the pursuit of of his duties. But he was disappointed, and at his request the President called

an especial Meeting on the 22d November, that the Trustees might be made acquainted that he had been imprisoned by a former Assembly for a supposed offence in promoting and publishing an Address of William Moore, Esq^r, to the Honourable William Denny, Esq^r, the Governor of this Province, which that House had voted a Libel against them and the Privileges of Assembly ; that he conceived though the Charge against him had been true, which however he utterly denied, he did not think it a Matter cognizable before them: that, not having hitherto made any Submission for the said supposed offence, the present assembly had issued their Warrant to apprehend him and take him into Custody ; and being, in this Situation, rendered incapable for the present to discharge the Duty of his Station, he designed with the consent and approbation of the Trustees speedily to sail for England to solicit his Majesty for relief ; and prayed the Trustees to grant him their License for that Purpose ;

and on Dr. Peters assuring them of the expected assistance of the Rev. Mr. Ewing in the Provost's absence,

the Trustees took Mr Smith's Request into consideration and unanimously agreed to give Mr Smith their Leave to take a Voyage to England, and to

be absent from his service in the College till the first Day of June next, at which Time they would very cheerfully receive him again as their Provost, and on this occasion they thought it incumbent on them to do Mr Smith the Justice to testify their Sense of his great abilities and the Satisfaction he had given them in the faithful Discharge of his office.

Furnished with this diplomatic but kindly action of the Trustees—for they forebore using any word or phrase which might seem to befriend the subject of it as endangering the notice of the Assembly, Mr. Smith took passage for England about 1 December, arriving in London on New Year's Day, 1759. He prosecuted his appeal with success, and on 26 June the Privy Council granted him the relief he sought, "declaring his Majesty's high displeasure at the unwarrantable behaviour of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania in assuming to themselves powers which do not belong to them, and invading both his Majesty's Royal Prerogative, and the Liberties of the Subject"; and with the order in his pocket to the Governor to signify the same to the Assembly, he set his face homeward and arrived in Philadelphia on 8 October. He also brought with him the Degree *Sacrosanctæ Theologiæ Doctor et Magister* from the University of Aberdeen, dated 10 March, 1759, and that of *Doctor in Sacra Theologia* of the University of Oxford, of seventeen days later. His visit to England was singularly favorable, as the influence of the Penns, of whose cause in Pennsylvania he was perhaps the ablest advocate, befriended him and enabled him with more readiness to prosecute his appeal. This was helped in turn by the Oxford Degree; and at a time when the Assembly's representative was pleading without success for relief from Proprietary restrictions, to mark with signal favor, by college and royalty, the man who was in fact combating that complaint, was an opportunity that might not be lost at this critical political juncture. The Penn family were now Church of England people, and had lost the personal sympathies of their great ancestor's co-religionists who were quite free to join the popular party who were combating the Proprietary selfishness. Thus on every hand, the Penns would welcome the man whose trenchant pen was maintaining their authority

in a distant province which had reason to fault their absenteeism and exactions. Under these peculiar circumstances, Dr. Smith did not confer with Franklin, then in England. We know not whether they met. Ordinarily, it might be thought he would seek counsel of the man who had made for him such an excellent position in Pennsylvania; but to avail himself of the influence of the Penns, it was essential there should be no entanglement or acknowledged intercourse with the representative of the Assembly whose attitude was one of opposition to that family. However, the author of the Account of the College and Academy of Philadelphia in the *American Magazine* for October, 1758, might not expect a welcome or any aid from the man upon whom he had therein recorded an injustice; and a copy of this may have reached Franklin, as his partner must have kept him supplied with all home publications.

The *American Magazine* or *Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies*, was undertaken in October, 1757, by a "Society of Gentlemen," and published by William Bradford, at his establishment in the London Coffee House, at the corner of Front and Market Streets, and bore the Motto on its title pages, *Veritatis cultores. Fraudis inimici*. Bradford had such a publication long in mind, and finally in William Smith he found his editor.

The parties saw in each other their required complements; and with such a literary support as Dr. Smith—both ready and able with his pen, methodical in business, and with talents formed equally to gratify the learned and to attract those inspiring to learn—Bradford felt that he could safely begin his work.¹

¹ Smith, i. 165. The Editor writes to George Washington, 10 November 1757, soliciting his interest in the publication and displaying some of his plans in its conduct: "Sir: You'll perceive your name in the list of those 'tis hoped will encourage the enclosed Magazine & I hope you'll forgive the Liberty we have taken as you are placed in good company & in a good design. 'Tis a work which may be rendered of very general Service to all the Colonies. We shall be under particular Obligations for every Subscriber you can procure, to give the work a general Run. I have not been unmindful of the Papers you sent relating to the French Memorial & you would have seen proper use made of them before now * * * in the general History of the present War which you find promised in the Magazine. I shall therefore, be greatly obliged to you for every Light you can throw upon that Subject. * * * As you acted a principal part in all these Affairs, and as it is our design to do the utmost Justice to all concerned & especially those Patriots & brave men born in America, who have distinguished themselves in the present war, I must rely on your

The Editor in his preface says :

We think we have every advantage for carrying it on, which this new world can afford. We are placed in the centre of the British Colonies, in a city that has extensive commerce, and immediate communication with all our other settlements. We have also the opportunity of decorating our work with engravings of every sort, for demonstrations in mathematics, and other necessary cuts and figures, by means of an able workman residing among us.

Ebenezer Kinnersley and Thomas Godfrey were contributors to its pages. Some of the early poems of Frances Hopkinson adorned them. William Smith contributed the *Hermit*, the *Antigallican*, the *Planter*, the *Watchman*, and the *Prattler*, each continued through various numbers ; and the *Monthly Chronicle* furnished the latest news from abroad and political intelligence at home. It was a Magazine well ahead of the times ; but its life was brief, the last number being that of October, 1758, which contains a Postscript dated 14 November, reciting that

as the design was at first set on foot by a number of gentlemen, merely with a view to promote a taste for Letters and useful knowledge in this American World, and as several of the principal hands who first engaged in it, are now obliged to give their constant attention to other matters, the carrying on the work falls too heavy on the remainder, so that it has been determined to discontinue it, at least for some time.

The Editor, upon whose skill and management its life depended, was now contemplating his visit to England in prosecution of his appeal, and Bradford discontinued its publication, "which if reputation or profit had been their motive, the work would have been long continued."

The account of the College and Academy prepared by the Provost for the last number of this Magazine was inserted in substance in the edition of his *Discourses* which were published

Assistance, so far as comes within your knowledge. * * * As this history is to be a full one & will probably be long preserved, I flatter myself that your Regard for your Country and Desire to have its interests understood will excuse this trouble, & induce you to send me as soon as possible what I have requested. If we delay long, the Thing may fall to other hands, less inclined to a disinterested execution of it. * * * Send the subscribers' Names for the Magazine to me but do not mention my name to any Body. * * * Wm. Smith." *Letters to Washington* edited by S. M. Hamilton, 1899, ii. 233.

in London during his visit there in 1759, and this has been followed in the later edition of his *Discourses* and that of his *Works*. Both publications open with the statement that

in the year 1749, a number of private gentlemen, who had long regretted it as misfortune to the youth of this province that we had no public Seminary, in which they might receive the accomplishments of a regular education, published a paper of hints and proposals for erecting an academy in this city.

But the *Discourses* of 1757 omit a phrase in the third paragraph, found in the *Magazine*:

At first only three persons were concerned in forming it, two of whom are since dead, and the other now in England. These communicated their thoughts to others, till at last the number of [here the narrative continues alike in both] twenty-four joined themselves together as Trustees, &c.

The one "now in England" was Franklin; the two "since dead," were Francis and Hopkinson; for though Logan, Lawrence, Zachary and Willing were also "since dead," the two here named were those intended by the writer. It is not probable this mode of reference to the author of the *Proposals* and the originator of the Academy would have been made had he been at the time at home. This allusion of 1758 was of an opposite character to that of 1753 (which was indeed repeated in 1762) where in his *Miranians* he refers to "the English School and Academy in Philadelphia first sketched out by the very ingenious and worthy Mr. Franklin of that place."² Certain personal references to the Faculty of the College, added to the account in the *Magazine*, and which will be noticed hereafter, do not find place in its subsequent publications. It was no light work to edit such a Magazine, and it affords another evidence of William Smith's mental activity and unfailing industry that he should continue it through the particular harassments that the year 1758 brought to him.

² *Miranians*, p. 15. In the second edition included in the *Discourses* of 1762, this reference is put in a footnote and reads "first sketched out by the ingenious Dr. Franklin of that place."

L.I.

In following the steps of the Provost from the Commencement of 1757, we have done so continuously for the space of two years, in order that the narrative of this period of his life should be unbroken. It is not only the doings of the man that have been noted, but of the Provost, for it seems almost impossible to separate the man from the incumbent, as the influences which he carried with him were felt more or less by the College; his individuality and force impressed themselves upon every undertaking in which he took an interest, and what work was there in which he had a share in which he did not fully interest himself?

The subject of a Library had forced itself upon the attention of the Trustees. At the meeting at which the Provost's arrest was reported, 4 February, 1758, a Minute records :

It being represented to the Trustees that many of the Students in the Philosophy School had been very deficient in their Exercises and otherways much retarded in their Studies for Want of a Library furnished with suitable Books in the different Branches of Science, the Clerk was therefore directed to acquaint the Trustees by the next written Notices that a Proposal was under consideration for granting a sum of money to be laid out in purchasing an assortment of approved Authors for the Use of the College, a list of which was laid before the Trustees at this Meeting.

No further reference to this present effort appears, but it was successful. On 9 February, 1762,

Mr William Dunlap having been so good as to make a present of some books to the College, the Catalogue was read over and the Books examined therewith having been first placed in their proper order upon Shelves.

And two years later we find the subject a matter of action; on 10 April, 1764,

Mr Peters and Mr Duché are appointed a Committee to inspect the College Library, taking Professor Ewing to their Assistance, and to compare it with the Catalogue which after their examination is to be inserted in the Minutes. And further that they examine the Apparatus for Experimental Philosophy and compare it with the Catalogue, which is likewise to be inserted in the Minutes;

which latter however, the Clerk failed to do, and thus deprived us of the pleasure of knowing the works of a College Library at that day.

Professor Ewing's name first appeared in the Minutes of 22 November, 1758, when provision had to be made to supply Mr. Smith's place, who was then granted leave to depart for England :

The President further acquainted the Trustees that Mr Ewing, late Professor and teacher of the Mathematics in the new College erected at Princeton in New Jersey, was represented to him as a Person capable of continuing Mr Smith's Lectures in the Philosophical Classes, and of instructing the Students in the several Branches of Knowledge allotted to Mr Smith, and that it was believed he would readily give his Assistance in the Academy till Mr Smith's return. The Trustees desired Mr Peters would immediately write to Mr Ewing to know if he would supply the Place of Mr Smith in the Philosophical Classes, and if he should accept, and be found capable of this service then to engage him on such Terms as could be agreed to, to be paid by Mr Smith out of his Salary. [And with further concern for the College, whose interests doubtless felt the depressing effects of all the political turmoil in which its head was involved,] The Professors were ordered to attend upon this occasion and desire respectively to give their assistance in their respective services to the Students under Mr Smith's care and to Mr Ewing or whoever else should be got to supply his Place, and they with the utmost Cheerfulness, each for himself, declared Nothing should be wanting in their Power to serve the Students and likewise Mr Ewing or any other Gentleman who should be employed to do Mr. Smith's Duty.

At this meeting attended Messrs. Peters, White, Cadwalader, Allen, Stedman, Maddox, P. Bond, M'Call, Mifflin, Inglis, T. Bond, Plumsted, Turner and Shippen. It was a grave moment, and called out a larger number than customary of the Trustees; two of whom, Maddox and Mifflin, were now to meet with them no more.

At the following meeting, on 12 December, the President acquainted the Trustees that having wrote to Mr. Ewing, according to the Desire of the Trustees at the last Meeting he had been kind enough to come to Town, and had, by Way of Trial, assisted Mr Alison in reading the Lectures and giving the Instructions to the Students in the highest classes in the same Manner Mr. Smith used to do, and

appeared to be extremely well qualified and the Students having expressed their Satisfaction to Mr Peters he should, with their leave, proceed to engage his Service upon the best Terms he could make with him, which they desired might be done.

Thus was begun a connection with the institution which lasted until Dr. Ewing's death in 1802; appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy in 1762, he was made Provost of the new institution which in 1779 took the place of the College and Academy, and in turn became the first Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, the institution which carried on the work and the traditions of both.

Vice-Provost Alison was ably assisted by Mr. Ewing, and the Senior Class proceeded without interruption to the completion of their studies. On 6 April, 1759, the Trustees met "in the common Hall," namely Messrs. Peters, White, Cadwalader, Turner, Stedman, E. Shippen, M'Call, Inglis, Strettell, T. Bond, Plumsted, P. Bond, Chew, W. Shippen, and Leech, and attended

a Public Examination held in the presence of the Governor, several strangers of Distinction, and many of the Citizens, when the under named Students were examined,

Samuel Powel
William Paca
John Beard
William Edmiston

Samuel Keene
Alexander Lawson
Nathaniel Chapman

[and on the day following, the day being Saturday] the examination was continued and the Students having acquitted themselves to the Satisfaction of the Trustees and all present, it was the unanimous opinion of the Trustees that they should be admitted to the first Degree of the Batchelor of Arts; and that the Commencement should be held on the eighth of June, and Notice be given thereof in the *Gazette*.

At this last meeting,

the Reverend Mr Hector Alison and the Reverend Mr John Ewing, Assistant Professor of Natural Philosophy in the absence of the Provost, petitioned that the honorary Degree of Master of Arts might be conferred upon them at the next commencement; and it appearing that they merited the same, their Request was granted.

At the meeting on 8 May, Messrs. Peters, Coleman and

Edward Shippen alone attended, but the minute of their proceedings recites :

The two Charity Schools were visited, the Boys and Girls examined as to their Reading, Writing and casting Accounts, and it appeared that they were carefully instructed. The copy Books of the Boys in the Latin School were likewise examined and it is recommended to Prof. Beveridge that the Boys attended their writing more diligently.

LII.

The second Commencement Day arrived, 7 June, 1759, and was duly advertised, "at which time the Company of all that please to attend will be very acceptable."¹ The Trustees met, and the three undergraduates who met with no Commencement in 1758, Andrew and James Allen and John Morris,

reminded the Trustees that they had finished their Studies and had undergone a public Examination last year,² and were favored with their Approbation, and therefore, with their leave, they proposed to offer themselves for the Degree of Batchelor of Arts, and requested a Mandate to the Faculty to admit them,

which was granted them; and then "the Vice Provost presented to the Trustees" the young men who had passed their Examination in April, together with John Hall,

as Candidates for the Degree of Batchelor of Arts, informing them, that they had finished their Studies, had undergone a public examination, and were well qualified; whereupon the Trustees issued the written Mandate under their Hands and the privy seal of their College, directed to the Provost, Vice Provost and Professors requiring them to admit said Students to the Degree of Batchelor of Arts, and likewise they gave a like Mandate to admit the Reverend Mr Hector Alison, now on Duty as Chaplain in the Pennsylvania Regiment, and the Reverend Mr John Ewing, their present Lecturer in Natural Philosophy to the honorary Degree of Master of Arts.

¹ *Penna. Gazette*, 7 June, 1759.

² This may have been had on Monday, 14 August, 1758, notice for which was advertised in the *Penna. Gazette*, 10 August.

The minute then proceeds to narrate, by way of making a record of the Commencement exercises :

After which the Trustees repaired to the Academy Hall, preceded by the candidates for Degrees in their Gowns, and the members of the Faculty in their Gowns, and were followed by the Masters and Tutors of the several schools at the head of the Junior Classes and the Scholars, who walked in Procession, two by two ; and having respectively taken their Seats, the Commencement was opened by Prayers, performed after the Rites of the Church of England by the Reverend Mr. Peters, President.

The honorable the Governor, several officers of the Army, a great many Gentlemen of this and the other Colonies and a number of Ladies and Citizens were pleased to favor us with their Presence.

There was a great Variety of entertaining Orations and public Disputations in the Latin and English languages, in which the Students, acquitting themselves with universal applause, the Rev Mr Alison, who presided according to Charter, in the absence of the Provost, conferred the several Degrees as directed by the two Mandates.

At the close of this Ceremony, which was performed in a very solemn Manner, the Vice Provost made a serious Address to the Graduates, exhorting them to fear God, prosecute their Studies, and make it the whole Endeavor of their Lives to become as useful as possible in their respective Stations, and to consider this World as preparative for the Fruition of our holy GOD, in that glorious State of Immortality, which through the Merits of our blessed Saviour, was to succeed this transitory life. And then concluded with a suitable Prayer.

It gave the Trustees a very sensible Pleasure to hear the Commendations that were given of the whole Performances by almost every Body present.

Of the distinguished class who received their degrees this day, Andrew Allen and Samuel Powel in later years became Trustees of the College, the former being a member of the Council ; William Paca became a Signer of the Declaration of Independence and Governor of Maryland ; John Morris became Master of the Rolls of Pennsylvania ; John Beard a Tutor in the College ; and William Edmiston and Samuel Keene entered the ministry. By the Treasurer's books we find that Keene was tutoring during his last year at College.

LIII.

It was during the controversies of the past year and before Mr. Ewing was called to take the Provost's classes in his absence, that another Professor was added to the Faculty. At the meeting of the Trustees on 13 June, "the State of the Latin School was taken into consideration; Mr. Alison declared that the Philosophy Schools were so full, that in his present state of health he could not continue to attend and recommended it to the Trustees to supply that place as soon as possible." Whereupon,

Mr Peters informed the Trustees that Mr Beveridge was come to town in consequence of the Letters wrote to him by Mr Smith, Mr Alison and Mr Jackson; that he had examined him in a close manner, by which he was satisfied as to his Knowledge of the Latin, and as his Testimonials certified the same, as well as that he was a man of Virtue and good morals, he was of opinion that he would make an excellent Master. [Testimonials were submitted from] the Ruddimans and others of eminent character in Edinburgh and from the gentlemen Trustees of Hereford School. [He] was called in, and after sometime spent in Conversation, withdrew. The Question hereupon was put whether he should be appointed to the Professorship of the Languages, and the care of the Latin School, [and the vote was unanimous in his favor.] He was called in again and accepted on the same terms with Mr Jackson, but acquainted the Trustees that some time in August, his affairs required his being at Hereford, and prayed the Trustees he might be allowed to go there in order to settle his concerns and bring his Family to Town. In his younger years he taught a grammar school in the city of Edinburgh, under the particular patronage of the great Mr Ruddiman.

William Smith, in the last number of the *American Magazine*, October, 1758, speaks warmly of his attainments as a classical scholar, and quotes some of his Latin verses :

By the specimens he has given, he will undoubtedly be acknowledged one of the ablest masters in the Latin Tongue on this continent; and it is a singular happiness to the institution that on the vacancy of a professor of languages, the Trustees were directed to such an excellent choice, as it must be the certain means of increasing the number of students from all parts, with such as are desirous of attaining the Latin tongue in its native purity and beauty.¹

¹ *American Magazine*, p. 640.

Alexander Graydon says of him " he was no disciplinarian, and consequently very unequal to the management of seventy or eighty boys." From his student's view, he records this description of him :

The person whose pupil I was consequently to become, was Mr John Beveridge, a native of Scotland, who retained the smack of his vernacular tongue in its primitive purity. His acquaintance with the language he taught, was, I believe justly deemed to be very accurate and profound. But as to his other acquirements, after excepting the game of backgammon, in which he was said to excel, truth will not warrant me in saying a great deal. He was, however, diligent and laborious in his attention to his school ; and had he possessed the faculty of making himself beloved by his scholars, and of exciting their emulation and exertion, nothing would have been wanting to an entire qualification for his office. But, unfortunately, he had no dignity of character, and was no less destitute of the art of making himself respected than beloved. Though not perhaps to be complained of as intolerably severe, he yet made a pretty free use of the ratan and the ferule, but this to very little purpose. * * * So entire was the want of respect towards him, and so liable was he to be imposed upon, that one of the larger boys, for a wager, once pulled off his wig, which he effected by suddenly twitching it from his head under pretence of brushing from it a spider ; and the unequivocal insult was only resented by the peevish exclamation of *hoot mon !*²

In preparing their plans for the Fall term of 1759—for the Provost was yet detained in England—some changes were made necessary in the corps of teachers. Dr. Peters reported to the Trustees, 14 August, that

Mr. Kinnersley still continued very bad, and that he had not been able for some time past to attend the English School, and that he had prevailed upon Mr. Montgomery to supply his Place, and he had the Pleasure to let them know that the Scholars were well instructed. * * * Mr. Grew was fallen into Consumption, and not being able to attend the school, Mr. Pratt the Writing Master, for the present supply'd his Place. * * * Mr. Latta being obliged, in consequence of an order of the Synod, to go to Virginia and Carolina this Fall, and there to officiate as an itinerant Preacher, had given them notice that he could not continue after the middle of October. * * * Mr. Morton now one of the Tutors in the Latin School had given them Notice of his Intentions to acceptan Invitation he had received to take the charge of the Public School at Bohemia

² *Memoirs*, p. 35.

[Maryland], and made them the most grateful acknowledgments for the many Favors they had conferred upon him and particularly for their late Advancement of him into the Latin School, intimating at the same time that if there should be a vacancy in the English School and they should think him worthy of that Professorship, it might induce him to alter his intentions.³

At the meeting of 11 September, Mr. Montgomery, upon his petition, was appointed an Usher in the Latin School on trial, to fill one of the

Places which were Vacant in the Latin School by the going away of Mr Latta and Mr Morton, and Mr Peters and Mr Alison reporting that he was a good Latin and Greek Scholar, and in other respects well qualified.

And at the meeting of 9 October, he was confirmed as an Usher and John Beard, a graduate at the the last Commencement, was also elected an Usher in the Latin School. Joseph Montgomery, who was a graduate of Princeton in the class of 1755, did not continue in this connection longer than May, 1760. He entered the Presbyterian ministry, and was a member of the Continental Congress from 1780 to 1784.⁴ Mr. Grew soon fell a victim to his consumption; and at the meeting of 11 December following

It was further agreed that our want of a Mathematical Master should be advertised in the next *Gazette*, and the Provost was instructed to draw and insert a proper advertisement.

Within a twelvemonth two vacancies occurred among the Trustees by death: to succeed Mr. Francis, Edward Shippen, jr., his pupil and his son-in-law, and the nephew of Dr. William Shippen the Trustee, was elected on 12 September, 1758; and to succeed Mr Mifflin, William Coxe, also a son-in-law of Mr Francis, was elected on 11 July, 1759.

³ Mr. Morton subsequently took orders in the Church of England, being ordained by the Bishop of London 17 March, 1760, and licensed for Missionary work in New Jersey. Later we find him Rector of St. Thomas' Church, Hunterdon Co., New Jersey, and officiating at Easton, Penna. *Penna. Magazine*, x. 258. Perry's *History of the American Episcopal Church*, i. 243.

⁴ *Memoir* by his great grandson, Hon. J. Montgomery Forster.

LIV.

Provost Smith, as has been seen, was detained in England longer than was anticipated, and he arrived home early in October, the day before the monthly meeting of the Trustees. On the 9th, only three of the Trustees being in attendance, Messrs. Peters, Stedman and Strettell, business was proceeded with, the Provost was received, and the pleasant event recorded at full in the Minutes :

The Reverend Mr Provost Smith arrived yesterday from England and was very kindly and affectionately received. He expressed great concern for his long absence, and hoped that as he had obtained the Royal order in his favour, he should for the future be able to discharge his Duty without any interruption. He informed the Trustees that this Academy was in high Esteem in Great Britain and was well assured the Institution would find many warm and good Friends among the best personages in that Kingdom, and having had the Honour of receiving the Degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Oxford which had been conferred on him at the joint request and recommendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and many of the principal Bishops, he produced his diploma, the preamble of which being much to his credit, as well as the credit of this Seminary, is here inserted¹ [at full in the minutes in the original Latin].

But a more substantial gift than this was the subject of the next minute :

The Provost likewise brought over with him, and delivered to the Trustees, a Deed of Gift from the Honorable Thomas Penn assigning over to them in their Corporate Capacity for the use of the Institution his fourth part of the Manor of Perkasié in Bucks County containing Two Thousand Five hundred Acres which the Trustees considered as a noble Benefaction from that worthy gentleman, and was received with a due sense of gratitude.

Thomas Penn's concern for the College had been kept warm by his Secretary, the President of the Trustees, who had furnished him from time to time—as we have seen—with the work of the

¹ This refers to him, reverendum et egregium virum Gulielmum Smith, ex Academia Aberdonensi in Artibus magistrum, et Collegii apud Philadelphiam in Pennsylvania Propositum, etc., etc., but does not allude to Aberdeen's Doctorate. In the Minutes of the Trustees the ex Academia Aberdonensis in Artibus Magistrum is omitted.

pupils to inform him as to the progress of the College and its influence upon them ; and his interest in it was further fostered by a reasonable desire that the province, which was of his Father's settlement, and bore his name, should thus be honored by an educational establishment of growing repute. And the young Scotch Provost won his sympathies and earned his regard, and he now made him the happy messenger of his kind thoughts and the bearer of his benefaction to the College.

The Trustees and Students were shortly afforded one of those civil exhibitions, so common yet so useful in a loyal Province, which the Provost was skilful in devising and executing. The December meeting found present Messrs. Peters, Plumsted, Cadwalader, Turner, Chew, Allen, Coleman, W. Shippen, Stedman, Strettell, White, P. Bond, M'Call, and

Mr Hamilton, who was again appointed by the Honourable the Proprietaries to the Government of this Province, having been pleased to resume his seat as one of the Trustees.² * * * And being received at the Gate, was conducted up to the Experiment Room, to take his place among the other Trustees. * * * and after paying him their Compliments of Congratulation on his safe arrival and Reappointment they attended him into the Hall³ followed by the Masters, Tutors, Graduates and Students, in orderly procession, where being seated the following address, and congratulatory verses were delivered in the presence of a large number of Citizens.⁴

1. The address by the Provost, attended by the rest of the Faculty.

2. The Latin verses, presented by the Rev. Jacob Duché, A. M., attended by a deputation from the Graduates and Philosophy Schools ; the verses being written by Professor Beveridge.

Nonne hinc Schulkillius amnis,
Hinc Delavarius item, sedesque paterna salutant.

3. The English Verses, by Mr William Hamilton, attended by a deputation from the Lower Schools.

O ! Friend to Science, Liberty and Truth,
Patron of Virtue, Arts and rising Youth ;
Indulge our weak Attempts! with Smiles approve
This humble Boon of Gratitude and Love.

² He had not attended the Trustees' meetings since that of 17 August, 1757.

³ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 27 December, 1759.

⁴ Minutes of Trustees.

In answer to these the Governor replied :

Gentleman of the Faculty : I thank you for this Kind Address of your Body, and for the Marks of Regard shewn to me by the Youth educated under your Care.

I should think myself greatly wanting in the Duties of my Station, if I did not countenance every Institution for the Advancement of useful Knowledge : and I am so sensible of the particular good Tendency of this Seminary, whereof I became an early Promoter, that I shall always be happy in affording it every reasonable Degree of Encouragement in my Power.

I am glad to find it growing in Reputation, by means of the Youths raised in it, and doubt not but it will continue to do so, under the Direction of Gentlemen, who have given unquestionable Proofs of their Capacity, and, on that Account, have received the highest honors from some of the most learned Societies in Great Britain.

After these grateful exercises, instead of proceeding to a lunch and social intercourse, the Trustees returned to the Experiment or Apparatus Room, and resuming their business, took kindly action towards the aid of the widow of Professor Grew.

A scheme was now on foot to make all the exhibitions and services in the Hall more attractive by securing an organ for their accompaniment. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 27 December, 1757, tells us :

By permission and particular desire towards the raising a Fund for purchasing an organ to the College Hall in this city and instructing the charity children in Psalmody, at the Theatre, in Society Hill, this evening will be presented, the tragical and interesting History of George Bamwell. N. B. As this Benefit is wholly intended for improving our Youth in the divine art of PSALMODY and CHURCH MUSIC, in order to render the Entertainment of the Town more compleat at Commencements and other public occasions in our College * * * To begin exactly at 6 o'clock.

We see here the hand of young Francis Hopkinson, whose musical accomplishments were being turned to pleasant use not only on behalf of his Alma Mater, but to Christ Church as well, where the Vestry a few years later voted him their thanks for his "great and constant pains in teaching and instructing the children." The organ was procured and in place for the commencement of 1760, when

The Orations, Disputations, and other Academical Exercises were

agreeably intermixed with sundry *Anthems* and Pieces of *Psalmody*, sung by the *Charity Boys*, attended with an organ, which the Liberality of the Town lately bestowed. At the close of the whole, the Audience was most delightfully entertained with two Anthems sung by several Ladies and Gentlemen, who have not been ashamed to employ their Leisure Hours in learning to celebrate their Master's Praises with Grace and Elegance.⁵ And we have already noted how Hopkinson "conducted the organ with that bold masterly Hand for which he is celebrated."

LV.

The Commencement of 1760, on 1 May, we are told, "was held in the *College* of this city, before a vast Concourse of People of all Ranks and Distinctions," and the Degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred upon Patrick Alison, Chaplain to Congress in 1776, Thomas Bond, jr., son of Dr. Bond, Lindsay Coates Robert Goldsborough, of Maryland, Whitmel Hill, of North Carolina, John Johnson, Thomas Mifflin, Governor of Pennsylvania from 1790 to 1799, and Robert Yorke; and the Degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon Duché, Hopkinson, Latta, Magaw, Morgan, and Williamson in course, and upon Josiah Martin, jr., formerly with those of the class of 1757, and who took the honorary degree of B. A. with them in that year, and Joseph Montgomery who earned his degree at Princeton in the class of 1755.

The Trustees were of opinion that it might be of service to the Institution to confer Honorary Degrees on some of the Ministers and Gentlemen of this and the Neighboring Colonies who were of distinguished character, for their usefulness and Learning. And it appearing to them that the following Gentlemen were such, a Mandate issued under their Hands and the Lesser Seal, requiring the Faculty to admit them to the Honorary Degree of Master of Arts; viz.: the Reverend Mr Samuel Davis,

⁵ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 15 May, 1760. The organ "was placed in the centre of the East Gallery facing the Pulpit," according to the Minutes, p. 117.

President of the College of New Jersey ; the Reverend Mr Philip Reading, of Appoquinimink ; the Reverend Mr Thomas Barton at Lancaster ; the Reverend Mr Samuel Cooke at Shrewsbury ; the Reverend Mr Robert M'Kean at Brunswick ; the Reverend Mr Sampson Smith at Chestnut Level ; the Reverend Mr Matthew Wilson in Kent County.

The opinion of the value of these degrees was not long maintained by the Trustees. When Dr. Alison, in 1762, in the Provost's absence, made sundry recommendations in line with the action of 1760, the Trustees at their meeting of 11 May that year,

desired the President to acquaint Dr. Alison that it was the unanimous opinion of the Trustees present that the College must lose Reputation by conferring too many Honorary Degrees, and that for the future the Faculty would not proceed to the Recommendation of Persons for Honorary Degrees without first conferring with the Trustees.

Only a few weeks after the Commencement Archdeacon Burnaby in his *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America* passed through Philadelphia and among the institutions in the city he refers to is the "Academy or College originally built for a tabernacle for Mr. Whitefield ;" and adds "this institution is erected upon an admirable plan, and is by far the best school for learning throughout America."¹ The day before the Commencement of 1760, there assembled in Christ Church the first Convention of the Church of England Clergy, of which Dr. Smith was elected President ; and of the number were Messrs. Reading, Barton, Cooke and McKean,

¹ *Travels*, London, 1798, p. 66. Dr. Burnaby's comments on the Pennsylvanian of the period are graphic if not flattering. "As to character, they are a frugal and industrious people; not remarkably courteous and hospitable to strangers, unless particularly recommended to them; but rather, like the denizens of most commercial cities, the reverse. They are great republicans, and have fallen into the same errors in their ideas of independency as most of the other colonies have. They are by far the most enterprising people upon the continent. As they consist of several nations, and talk several languages, they are aliens in some respect to Great Britain; nor can it be expected that they should have the same filial attachment to her which her own immediate offspring have. However, they are quiet, and concern themselves but little, except about getting money." But as a flattering offset to this, the Archdeacon adds: "The women are exceedingly handsome and polite; they are naturally sprightly and fond of pleasure; and, upon the whole, are much more agreeable and accomplished than the men. Since their intercourse with the English officers, they are greatly improved; and, without flattery, many of them would not make bad figures in the first assemblies in Europe." p. 67.

who were now honored with the College degree. Dr. Smith's sermon, preached before the Convention on the day subsequent to the Commencement, forms the sixth in the Volume of his *Discourses* of 1762. A second Convention was held in 1761, and the clergy who were attending it went to the Commencement of that year which was held on Saturday, 23 May, in a body, when Dr. Smith preached in the College Hall before them.² This

was held in the College of this City, before a vast concourse of People of all Ranks. * * * There was performed in the Forenoon an elegant *Anthem* composed by JAMES LYONS, A. M., of New Jersey College, and in the afternoon an Ode, sacred to the Memory of our late gracious Sovereign George II., written and set to Music in a very grand and masterly Taste by FRANCIS HOPKINSON, Esq., A. M., of the College of this city. A sett of Ladies and Gentlemen in order to do Honour to the Entertainment of the Day, were kindly pleased to perform a Part both of the *Anthem* and *Ode*, accompanied by the Organ, which made the Music a very compleat and agreeable Entertainment to all present.

An all day Commencement in our time would not be permitted in the busy life of the present; but certainly the young graduates of that time must have had a higher esteem and love for their Alma Mater who thus made the occasion of their entering upon their first Degrees the scene of a two sessions' entertainment which was so "compleat and agreeable" to all present.

At this commencement there graduated, William Fleming, Marcus Grimes, James Hooper, John Huston, William Kinnersley, the son of the Professor, Matthew McHenry, Abraham Ogden, Richard Peters, the nephew of Dr. Peters, Joseph Shippen, a nephew of Dr. William Shippen, Tench Tilghman, Washington's Aide-de-Camp, Henry Waddell, Alexander Wilcocks, and Jasper Yeates,³ afterwards a Justice of the

² Smith, i. 276. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 28 May, 1761. This is Sermon XVIII, of Smith's *Works* of 1803, ii. 337, and is there described as "first preached before the Trustees, Masters and Scholars of the College and Academy of Philadelphia at the Anniversary Commencement, May, 1761;" but it is the same sermon which he preached at the first commencement, and is known as No. V. in his *Discourses* of 1759.

³ His daughter Mary married in 1791, Charles Smith, the son of Provost Smith.

Supreme Court of Pennsylvania ; a class of thirteen, the largest up to the year 1770. Of these, Peters and Wilcocks became in later years Trustees of the College.⁴ But two Masters' Degrees were conferred, namely, on the Rev. Isaac Eaton, and the Rev. Samuel Stillman.

The Commencements of 1762 and 1763 were without the presence of the Provost, who was during the period covering these events on his tour through England making collections from the friends of education in the colonies towards the new College which was growing up with bright promises in Pennsylvania ; and 1764 was also without any graduating Class, Dr. Smith arriving home in June of that year. While his continued absence affected the number of students in attendance in the instruction of the College, his visit abroad proved of that substantial benefit which enabled the Trustees to strengthen financially the foundations of the institution and to enlarge their abilities in accommodating the coming numbers of the future years.

⁴ It was on 4 September of this year that Dr. Smith preached on the Great Duty of Public Worship at the opening services of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia. This forms part II. of No. VI. in the *Discourses* of 1759, and No. VII. in the *Discourses* of 1762.

LVI.

In the midst of the concerns of the Trustees for the management of their Trust, a new question had arisen in 1760, bearing on the desire of some of the Professors to take private pupils. The matter must have been of moment, for serious consideration was given to it by them at their meeting of 8 July in that year.

Mr Peters, at the Instance of the Faculty, acquainted the Trustees that several applications had been made to one of the Professors, to give private Instructions after School Hours to some of the Boys that were under his Care during the Day, but that it was not thought proper to do anything of this kind without the particular direction of the Trustees, to which all the Masters declared themselves always ready to conform. The matter was fully debated at the Board, and being represented that this Method of allowing the publick Professors to become private Tutors to any parcel of the Youth under their general Management would be attended with many Inconveniences; that it would lead to disagreeable distinctions among the Youth, discourage many of the poorer sort who could not afford the Expence of private Tuition, and subject the Masters to the suspicion of partiality in Favour of those who could afford it, as well as bring the Institution into Disrepute by encouraging a Notion that the general Scheme of Education was not sufficient without these private helps. The Trustees in consideration of all this, and in Regard to their original Faith to the Publick (viz: to keep all the Youth, as much as might be on an equal footing) were unanimously of Opinion that none of the Publick Professors should make any Distinctions among the Youth under their care in respect to their Tuition, but that such parent or Guardians as were desirous of having any extraordinary helps for any particular Scholar or Pupil might supply themselves with private Tutors where they could be found.

So far for the regulation by the Trustees of what was claimed to be ill practices among the Professors. The latter themselves felt the need of revising the Rules of the school, and on 10 February, 1761,

having prepared a Draught of several necessary Statutes the same was presented by them to the Trustees for their approbation and being read paragraph by paragraph several Debates arose thereupon, and the President, Mr Stedman, Mr Cox, and Mr Willing were appointed a Committee to revise and amend the Draught agreeable to the Sense of the Trustees

first acquainting the Faculty with their Sentiments in the several Points in which they differed from them and conferring with them thereupon.

At the following meeting, 10 March, young Duché now taking his seat as Trustee.

Mr Peters from the Committee appointed to examine the Draught of the Laws proposed by the Faculty and read at the last Meeting of the Trustees reported that they had conferred with the Provost and Vice Provost thereupon, and had made such Alterations therein as to them appeared just and proper which they now submitted to the Trustees, and their amended Draught being read, debated, altered, settled, and approved of, they are now ordered to be entered as Statutes in Force.

These are very primitive and particular, and in strong contrast to the broader statutes of reason and self-respect which prevail to-day. One need not wonder that the boys of that day were stung into forwardness and mischief, by a restraint that their spirits rebelled against. The boys of to-day are the same in natural force and youthful elasticity as were their ancestors in adolescence; but education in its many changes within a century has submitted to none greater than the abandonment of impossible rules of propriety and frequent chastisements. These Rules and Ordinances of 1761 close with the word *chastised*, but the alternative is a money penalty, and the worth of a chastisement is but sixpence; the pence are numbered but the strokes may be without number. Who would not rather suffer the certain pence rather than the uncertain strokes. Alexander Graydon entered the Academy about this period; but a visitation of Yellow Fever early afforded him a welcome holiday. "About the year 1760 or 1761, to the best of my recollection, the city was alarmed by a visitation of the Yellow Fever. * * * The schools were shut up, and a vacation of five or six weeks its fortunate consequence."¹ He describes some of his early duties. "The task of the younger boys, at least," for he was but about eight years of age when he entered,

consisted in learning to read and to write their mother tongue grammatically, and one day in the week (I think Friday) was set apart for the recitation of select passages in poetry and prose. For this purpose each scholar,

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 43.

in his turn, ascended the stage, and said his speech, as the phrase was. This speech was carefully taught him by his master, both with respect to its pronunciation, and the action deemed suitable to its several parts.²

Let us have his account of his first fight, before referred to :

A few days after I had been put under the care of Mr. Kinnersley, I was told by my classmates, that it was necessary for me to fight a battle with some one, in order to establish my claim to the honor of being an Academy boy; that this could not be dispensed with, and that they would select for me a suitable antagonist, *one of my match*, whom after school I must fight, or be looked upon as a coward. I must confess that I did not at all relish the proposal. * * * I absolutely declined the proposal; although I had too much of that feeling about me, which some might call false honor, to represent the case to the master, which would at once have extricated me from my difficulty, and brought down condign punishment on its imposers. Matters thus went on until school was out, when I found that the lists were appointed, and that a certain John Appowen, a lad, who, though not quite so tall, yet better set and older than myself, was pitted against me. With increased pertinacity I again refused the combat, and insisted on being permitted to go home unmolested. On quickening my pace for this purpose, my persecutors, with Appowen at their head, followed close at my heels. Upon this I moved faster and faster, until my retreat became a flight too unequivocal and inglorious for a man to relate of himself, had not Homer furnished some apology for the procedure, in making the heroic Hector thrice encircle the walls of Troy, before he could find courage to encounter the implacable Achilles. To cut the story short, my spirit could no longer brook an oppression so intolerable, and stung to the quick at the term coward which was lavished upon me, I made a halt and faced my pursuers. A combat immediately ensued between Appowen and myself, which for some time, was maintained on each side, with equal vigour and determination, when unluckily I received his fist directly in my gullet. The blow for a time depriving me of breath, and the power of resistance, victory declared for my adversary, though not without the acknowledgment of the party, that I had at last behaved well, and shown myself not unworthy the name of an Academy boy. Being thus established, I had no more battles imposed upon me.³

² *Memoirs*, p. 28.

³ *Ibid*, p. 28.

LVII.

The College was now attracting students from the country and other provinces. Indeed, each of the graduating classes thus far had members not natives of Philadelphia, viz : William-son of Chester County, Alison of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania ; Keene, Paca, Goldsborough, and Tilghman, of Maryland ; Ogden of New Jersey ; and Hill of North Carolina ; to which might be added Latta and Magaw of Ireland. And concern filled their minds as to the influence upon their prospects should they be unable to assure their friends at a distance of comfortable quarters for their sons. The subject took form at the Trustee's meeting of 10 March, 1761, the same at which the new Rules and Ordinances were affirmed.

Some of the Trustees mentioned the Inconveniences arising from the Scholars being boarded at such great Distances and in such different parts of the City as well as the great Expence that Strangers were put to by the late high demands that was made for their Board on account of the rise of Provisions, etc., whereupon it was considered whether it might not be better to have some additional Buildings erected on the Ground belonging to the Academy that might hold a number of the Scholars that came from other Provinces and the West Indies, and put them upon a Collegiate way of living, as is done in the Jersey and New York Colleges. But on inquiring of the Treasurer what might be the state of the Academy Funds and finding that they had not beforehand above £3000, a great part of which was in the hands of the several Managers of the Lotteries, it was dropt for the Present as being utterly inconsistent with our capital.

At the meeting of 14 April, only Messrs. Inglis, Stedman, and Duché attending with the President, the subject was the topic of discussion. Dr. Peters regretted the smallness of attendance as it was desirable to make publick

the Substance of what passed at the last meeting with respect to a Sett of Buildings for the Lodging and Dieting a Number of Students, as he found it was most heartily desired by a very great Number of respectable People in the City, and as the Town was now full of Officers and Strangers many gave it as their opinion that a Lottery to raise £2000. for such a useful Purpose would soon fill, and the other gentlemen likewise saying that they had heard the same observations made by many People of Credit as well Strangers as Citizens, they had mentioned it occasionally to several of

the Trustees who were all of opinion that the present good Disposition that the People were in should not be lost and expecting to have had a larger meeting, Mr. Stedman had drawn up two Schemes which were read.

The subject slumbered until the meeting of 10 November following, when

the President, Mr. Stedman, Mr. Willing, and Mr. Cox, having formerly had under consideration a Plan for additional Buildings were appointed a Committee on this occasion; and they were desired to meet upon this Business immediately, and as soon as they should have perfected Matters & were ready to make their Report, the President was desired to call a special meeting,

which was held on the 28th, there being present Messrs. Peters, Cadwalader, Stedman, Cox, Turner, Allen, Duché, White, Inglis, Willing, Shippen, Leech and Chew, when the Report of the Committee was submitted and adopted. As it contains in Dr. Peters' words a statement of the present condition and the promising prospects of the institution, it merits the entire insertion here. Containing as it does the bold and yet practical suggestion of soliciting funds from the Mother Country, and asking Dr. Smith to be their mouthpiece for the same, it in fact opens a view of one of the most interesting periods in the history of the College, and which proved to be one of those important movements in the life of the institution from which great results in financial strength and in influence flowed. But for this incidental desire to put their pupils from abroad "upon a collegiate way of living," the suggestion may not have arisen for this foreign mission which in the end redounded so much to the advantage of the general work they had in hand "for the Advancement of Learning for ever."

But the Committee can speak for themselves :

Gentlemen. Having been nominated by you as a Committee to consider the Ways and Means for improving the State of the Academy and compleating its Funds so as to place it on a permanent and respectable Footing for the Advancement of Learning for ever. We have had several Meetings with the Provost and Vice Provost upon these Topics, and upon the whole after mature Deliberation have agreed to recommend the following things, viz:

1. As it appears to us by a prevailing Objection against this Institution

from abroad, that our Youth, especially such of them as are grown in years are left to lodge at large in the City, not under the Controul of the Masters or any Persons having proper authority over them; by which they are exposed to many Avocations, and much unnecessary Expence, the thoughts of which have prevented sundry Persons who wish well to the Institution from sending their Children to it, some not knowing where to lodge them in safety, and others being apprehensive of the great Expence attending it: And as a Sense of these Inconveniences put the Trustees sometime ago upon soliciting a Sum of Money by way of Lottery partly to erect some necessary lodging Rooms to accommodate the Elder part of the Youth that come from abroad and partly to rebuild the Charity Schools that are in a ruinous condition :

We are therefore of Opinion that Workmen should now be agreed with to go on in the ensuing Summer with one half of the Buildings contained in the Plan formerly given to us by Mr Robert Smith, which will be 70 feet long by 30 wide and will have on the Ground Floor two Charity Schools, with a Kitchen and a Dining Room, and in the upper Stories Sixteen Lodging Rooms, with cellar beneath the whole, which, by an Estimate given to us may be executed for £1500, and the Rent of the Rooms at a Moderate Charge may nearly bring the interest of the Money, and the chief of those objections will be taken off which sundry Persons have not failed to improve to the Disadvantage of this Institution.

In regard to the Funds we apprehend that if a final Settlement be speedily made of the Lottery accounts, and leave be got to sell the Perkasie lands to add to the Capital (which there is no Reason to doubt of obtaining on a respectable Application) we should then probably have near £8000. in Bank ; so that if an addition of £6 or 7000 more could be speedily procured, the whole put together would furnish an *Yearly Income* sufficient with the Tuition Money, to support the Institution for ever. But if this matter should be delayed a few years longer our present Capital would be exhausted and the same addition which would now compleat it, would then only put us where we are at present, if it could be procured.

We are therefore of opinion that as the Method of Lotteries which is at best but precarious and attended with much Trouble to Individuals must speedily fail us, we have no resource but once for all to betake ourselves to the Generosity of the Public. And when we consider the Encouragement that has heretofore given by the Mother country to Seminaries of Learning erected on this Continent, at a time when the Affairs of America were not thought of half the Importance which they are at present, and these seminaries far less extensive in their Plan than this Academy, and Countenanced by the Governments in which they are erected: We cannot entertain the least Doubt, but under our Circumstances a Seminary placed in this large and trading City and which prom-

ises to be of so much use for the Advancement of true Learning and Knowledge, will at this time meet with great Encouragement in England, where there are Thousands that want nothing more than opportunities of Showing their Beneficence and good will to anything calculated for the Benefit of these Colonies, and we have the greatest hopes in this affair from the assurance given us by Dr. Smith of the Disposition which he found in sundry Persons of Distinction when he was lately in England, to befriend this Seminary on a due Application to them and which some of them have been pledged to respect in their private Letters to him.

We therefore most heartily recommended to the Trustees to take this Matter into their immediate and most serious Consideration and to engage some proper person to go over to England with all convenient Expedition and furnish him with proper Recommendations and Credentials in order to solicit the Benevolence of the Good People of Great Britain for such further Support of the Institution so that it may be put upon a footing sufficient to maintain for ever an expedient Number of Professors, Masters, and Tutors as well as to enable the Trustees to make such additional Buildings as will obviate the objections made to the Institution in its present form for want of Lodging and Superintending the Morals of the Students.

It is recorded that a

great majority voted to carry on the whole Buildings, as recommended in the Report which was accordingly agreed to provided the Expence did not exceed the sum raised by the last Lottery, [and] the Trustees unanimously agreed that there was a Necessity of nominating some proper person to solicit the Benefactions of their Mother country for the further support of this Institution, and it was agreed that Dr Smith was the properest Person to undertake the Service.

And the Committee having intimated

that in some previous Conversation with him they had reason to believe he would be very willing to serve the Institution in this way if it should be approved by the Trustees. They therefore desired he might be sent for, and the President acquainted him in the name of the Trustees that it was their unanimous Desire that he would with all convenient Speed undertake a Voyage to England for the Purposes above mentioned, and that they would endeavor to supply his place with some proper Person who should in his Absence carry on his part of the Lectures in the Philosophy School. Dr Smith answered that it might be a little inconvenient to him to undertake a Voyage at this Season of the Year, yet he was willing to serve the Institution in this or any other Method in his Power ; and further that he would make all the Dispatch he could in preparing himself for the Voyage ; and had good Hopes from what had passed between him and some Persons of Distinction in England, of answering their Expectations in this Matter.

These Buildings were to be erected partly on the original Academy lot and partly on the lot purchased from Mr. Hazard in 1750, facing upon the Eastern campus, with Mr. Dove's two Fourth Street Dwellings to the Northward in the rear.

The Provost lost no time in preparing for this absence which might be of uncertain length, and welcoming any duty which would redound to the service of the College, he looked to a parting from his wife and their two young sons, William Moore and Thomas Duncan, with equanimity and patience. The Trustees at the meeting of 15 December, adopted Letters and Instructions for his introduction and guidance abroad; on 10 January, 1762, he preached in Christ Church the Sermon¹ at the funeral of Dr. Jenney, its venerable Rector; "God Knows but this may be my last opportunity of ever speaking to you from this place: my heart is full on the occasion," he says in conclusion; on 25 January he sets out for New York where he remained over a fortnight, sailing thence on 13 February to England and arriving early in March. There we leave him, until we can carry on the story of the College up to the time of his return in June, 1764, freighted with those substantial bounties which so materially added to the resources of the College.

The proposed Buildings, which proved the occasion of this foreign mission of the untiring Provost, were at this meeting of 28 November, 1761, committed to Messrs. Peters, Cox, Stedman, Willing, Chew, and E. Shippen "to agree with proper Workmen for carrying them on the ensuing spring." The location of these was at the meeting of 12 April, 1762, decided upon: the members resumed the consideration whether it would be better to build on the North or South Side of the Academy, and as well on Account of the South Exposure as Keeping clear the South Door which is the common Entry into their schools it was agreed that they should be placed at the North End of the Square.

On 1 November, Franklin arrived in Philadelphia on his return home after a five years' absence in England on behalf of his country, bringing with him his Oxford Doctorate of 22 February, 1762, and bearing from Dr. Smith to William Coleman

¹ Entitled the Gospel Summons, and is No. VIII. in the *Discourses* of 1762.

the Treasurer, the cash account of the fund he then had in hand,² and attended the meeting of the Trustees on the 9th, when the first letters from Dr. Smith were read descriptive of the lengthy and formal beginnings of his collections. At the next meeting Dr. Franklin attended, 8 February, 1763, and a minute records:

The Charity Schools being now removed into the new Buildings it was represented that some little Conveniences would be wanted, as Shelves and Cupboards, and the Carpenter was accordingly ordered to make them, and on 28 May Dr. Peters writes to Dr. Smith :³

the new Buildings are finished, and I think it will be an easy matter to find some reputable person who will take upon them at a yearly rent to provide all necessaries and to be subject to such Rules of Oeconomy and Discipline as will keep those in perfect good Order who shall be allowed to live in them. I do not encourage any Schemes (and I believe others think as I do), till we shall be favored with your Judgment and assistance.

These the Trustees had on Dr. Smith's return, and later on we shall find a picture of the home-life in the College Buildings.

² Minutes of Trustees, 9 November, 1762.

³ *Pennsylvania Magazine*, x. 352.

LVIII.

But we must return to the year 1762:¹ The Commencement of that year was held on 17 May "in the presence of a learned, polite and very brilliant Assembly. Every part of the public Hall was crowded with Spectators." And what added to the pleasure of the loyal mind was,

his Honour the Governor, who is one of the Trustees of this Institution, was pleased to attend the whole day. A great number of the Clergy of different denominations, together with many other Gentlemen of Learning and the first Distinction, from the neighboring Parts were likewise present.²

The morning exercises were opened with a Salutatory Oration in Latin by one of the Candidates. This was followed by a forensic Disputation, in which the

Disputants discovered a great deal of Sprightliness, Wit and good Sense ; and closed with a Latin Syllogistic Disputation. In the afternoon two English Orations were pronounced, followed by another Syllogistic Disputation in Latin. The Vice Provost then conferred the Degrees, and he delivered from the Pulpit a solemn charge to the Candidates. The young Orator who spoke the Valedictory with much elegance and Tenderness met with deserved applause. Then came the Loyal Dialogue and Ode on the accession and Nuptials of his Majesty which closed the whole Performance.

This latter had been arranged by the Provost before his departure for England four months before, he writing the Dialogue, and "one of the Sons of this Institution" writing and setting to Music the Ode—no less a one than Francis Hopkinson. The graduates of the occasion were Samuel Campbell, who became a Tutor in August, 1759, and clerk to the Trustees in 1760, John Cooke, William Hamilton, the "Master Billy Hamilton" referred to on former pages, Samuel Jones, a native of Wales, John Porter, a Tutor from October, 1761, and

¹ The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 7 January, 1762, announces This Day is published and to be sold by A. Stewart, price 4p or 3/ per Doz. *A Letter from a Gentleman in England to his Friend in Philadelphia ; giving him his opinion of the College of that City.* No copy of this is known to any one of this day ; and the only knowledge of the publication is this advertisement. It forms title 1824 in Mr. Hildeburn's *Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania* ; i. 373.

² Minutes, p. 169, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 27 May, 1762.

Stephen Watts, who became Tutor in the College in the following August. John Beard, Nathaniel Chapman, William Edmiston, and William Paca, were the only members of the class of 1759 who proceeded to their degree of M. A.

Henry Marchant, formerly a Student of this Institution having pronounced an elegant spirited Oration upon the Study of the Law, was admitted to a Master's Degree ; also the Rev'd Mr Morgan Edwards, the Rev'd Mr Joseph Mather, the Rev'd Mr John Simonton, and Mr Isaac Smith of Nassau College, now Student of Physic, to the honorary Degree of Master of Arts. And Mr Thomas Pollock [who had become a Tutor in November, 1761] to the Honorary Degree of Bachelor of Arts.

It was a satisfactory minute that recorded :

Everything was conducted with the utmost Decency and Order. The Candidates acquitted themselves in every part of their Exercises to the Satisfaction of all present, and have derived considerable Honor to themselves and to the Institution.

A broadside programme of these interesting exercises in Latin is preserved among the Penn Papers in the archives of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, thanks to the cotemporary care of the Penn's Secretary and the Trustees' President, the ever watchful and considerate Dr. Peters.

LIX.

The Commencement of 1763 held on 17 May, had the attendance of Dr. Franklin—the only one of his College and Academy which won his presence, for he had sailed on his first Mission a month before the first Commencement, and before another he had sailed on his second mission. The Minutes of this meeting are comparatively meagre, but the faithful chronicler of all College events, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 26 May tells us how the Public Commencement was held at the College “in the Presence of a learned, polite and very brilliant Assembly. Every part of the public Hall was crowded with Spectators.” But a more graphic account, and one worth transcribing here, is that of Dr. Peters to Dr. Smith in his letter of 28 May:¹

* * * I was forced to stay with the greatest reluctance till the very day before the Commencement which was held on the 17th instant before a very crowded audience. As it was Synod time, whilst only two of our own Clergy, Mr. Barton and Mr. Inglis could be spared from their Churches, being oblig'd to prepare their congregations for Whit Sunday which you know is a large Communion Day. Two of the graduates were preferred to vacant Tutorships, Davis² in the English School and Lang in the Latin School, and Mr. Hunt, of whom I have taken care for your sake, will have a tutorship likewise in the English School which is full, in order to give Mr. Kinnersley leisure to teach all the boys of other schools that are wishing to learn how to read and speak properly in public. This you know has been disused and we have suffered much for want of it.³ * * *

¹ *Pennsylvania Magazine*, x. 350.

² John Davis' name does not appear in the Treasurer's accounts.

³ This matter was the subject of a minute at the Trustees meeting of 13 June following Dr. Peters being present, as “some of the parents of the children had complained that their children were not taught to speak and read in publick.” Mr. Kinnersley was called in who “declared this was well taught not only in the English School which was more immediately under his care, but in the Philosophy Classes every Monday afternoon and as often at other times as his other Business would permit.” But it appeared to the Trustees that “no more could be done at present without partiality and great inconvenience * * * and they did not incline to make any alteration or to lay any Burthen upon Mr. Kinnersley.” A partial explanation of this may be in some of the parents resting under the belief that their children were not so favored as others in public speaking; but with Dr. Peters admission to Dr. Smith, the Trustees formal action must have been taken to shield Mr. Kinnersley. This action is so indefinite, and so contrary to that taken at the meeting of the Trustees on 8 February, 1763, on the motion of Dr. Franklin, that it can only leave an impress that some design existed to nurture rather the Classical and Mathematical branches of

The printed Theses will shew you who took their Degrees of right. In my absence the Faculty recommended for honorary Degrees the Rev'd Jo. Rogers and the Rev'd W. Miller and Mr. M'Kean the Lawyer at New Castle.

From this last reference we are not far out of the way in claiming for Dr. Peters the authorship of the warning note uttered by the Trustees in the previous year against "conferring too many Honorary Degrees."

But this Commencement was without Hopkinson's rhythm and sweet notes. Dr. Peters writes the story to Dr. Smith :

I am sorry to tell you that a foolish but tart difference has arisen between the Faculty and our good Friend Francis Hopkinson on account of a grammatical squabble, wherein Mr. Hopkinson was the Aggressor, but he did not mean to offend any of the Faculty, only to expose Stuart the Printer; I should not mention this, but only to inform you that the Faculty applied to Sam. Evans to write the Dialogue and to Mr. Jackson to write the Ode for them,⁴ Mr. Duché and Mr. Hopkinson declining to have anything to do with it by means of this Squabble about the Grammar. My endeavours to reconcile prov'd unsuccessful.⁵ It is unfortunate that we have not at this time any publick performance more worthy of being laid before the publick. You must make the best Apology you can.

the college at the expense of the English, a design rather the result of indifference than of intent and perhaps of a want of appreciation of its importance, although Mr. Kinnersley would naturally foster it would be thought a branch in all its details over which he was supreme. That the matter was a grave issue can be seen in the force of the Minute of 8 February, where it is stated that "Mr. Kinnersley's time was entirely taken up in teaching little Boys the Elements of the English language, and that speaking and rehearsing in Publick were totally disused to the great prejudice of the other Scholars and Students and contrary to the original Design of the Trustees" and "it was particularly recommended to be fully considered by the Trustees at their next Meeting..". This, though, was not done until the meeting of 12 April, at which however Dr Franklin did not attend, when he, Mr. Coleman, Mr. Cox and Mr. Duche were appointed a committee to confer with Mr. Kinnersley how this might be done as well as what assistance would be necessary to give Mr. Kinnersley to enable him to attend this necessary service, which was indeed the proper business of his Professorship." But no report was made, and the next reference to the matter is at the meeting of 13 June, just referred to, by which it would seem it was more convenient to accept Mr. Kinnersley's denials than to pursue the matter further.

⁴ These were sent to Dr. Smith who had them printed in the *Liverpool Advertiser* of 21 July, copies of which he distributed with advantage to his Mission. When he received his Dublin degree he sent Dr. Martin "a letter of thanks * * * also one of the Liverpool papers containing the Dialogue and Ode which made part of the Exercises at the College," *Life and Corresp.* i. 326, 331.

⁵ This foolish but tart difference arose out of the publication by "Andrew Stuart for the College and Academy of Philadelphia, MDCCCLXII" of a *Short Introduction to Grammar for the Use of the College and Academy in Philadelphia, being a New Edition of Whittenhall's Latin Grammar with many Alterations,*

The graduates at the Commencement of 1763 were, James Anderson, John Davis, Isaac Hunt who became the father of Leigh Hunt, and who failed in attaining his Master's Degree in 1766 on account of his share in some of the newspaper political controversies of that day, as elsewhere stated; Robert Johnston, appointed Tutor in September, 1763; James Lang, William Paxton, Stephen Porter, Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, an alumnus of Princeton of 1762, and John Stuart. We now have to wait until 1765 for the next Commencement. Of the three who shortly received Tutorships, Hunt served but three months, Johnston to May, 1764, and Lang to January, 1764.

Additions and Amendments from ancient and late Grammarians. Hopkinson's humor was too lively for him to let pass the opportunity of making some jest of this ambitious little book. And next year there appeared *Errata or the Art of Printing incorrectly; Plainly set Forth by a Variety of Examples Taken from a Latin Grammar lately printed by Andrew Steuart for the Use of the College and Academy of this City.*

*Still her old Empire to restore she tries
For, born a Goddess, DULNESS never Dies.*—Pope.

Philadelphia, MDCCLXIII.

As the writer finds "151 Capital Blunders in 137 Pages," he says "Our worthy Printer, A. Steuart, fired with a laudable Zeal for the Honour of *America*, and learning to tread the servile Paths of Imitation, has ventured to strike out a Method of Printing entirely new; the many Advantages of which it is our present Purpose to set forth in the best Manner we are able. It is to be observed that Mr. Steuart has been employed to print a *Grammar* for the use of our *Academy*; which after a long space of Time, he has done in so Artful a Manner, that, without the Help of this our *Errata*, or List of Mistakes, or some other like it, it is indeed no Grammar at all. For as *Grammar* is justly defined, *That Art which teacheth to write and speak correctly*, that Book which of itself teacheth no such Things cannot properly be said to be a Grammar. So that this our Work may well be called a Key to the said *Book*; without which it must remain unintelligible * * * This *Grammar* is not the first, and very probably will not be the last Effort of his Genius; but we think ourselves happy in being the first to notice it to the Public, and in preventing others from mentioning this Performance of his to his Dishonour by giving it the laudable Term we have done in our Preface." Hopkinson's humor was taken seriously, for it assured the death of Steuart's print of the work of the Faculty, who doubtless relied upon him for correct proofreading.

LX.

The year 1763 is noted for the offer of the Sargent prizes. At the meeting of 8 February, Franklin referred to the Trustees a letter he had received from Mr. John Sargent, a Merchant of London on the subject, about which there had been some conference when Franklin was in London, and shortly after he left there, Mr. Sargent wrote him on 12 August, 1762, as follows :¹

Dr. Sir. By our Friends here I am enabled to convey the enclosed Trifles to you, which are the best I could meet with at present and cost five guineas each.

You remember the Intention, viz : for the two best Performances at the general Meeting or Publick Act of your College or Seminary.

The subject of one to be, in a short English Discourse, or Essay, "on the reciprocal advantages arising from a perpetual Union between Great Britain and her American colonies."

The other prize, for some Classical Exercise, that you shall think best suited to your Plan of Education and the ability of your young people.

I submit to your Judgment whether the former shall be confined to your Students or left open to every one, whether of the Seminary or not. Yourself and Mr Norris your Speaker and any third [here the copy ends].

As Franklin felt unauthorized to accept Mr. Sargent's nomination of the subjects, he

informed the Trustees that neither he nor Mr Norris inclined to do anything in the Matter, being clear of opinion that Mr. Sargent would not have mentioned them on this Occasion if he had been acquainted with the Trustees or the Constitution of the Academy. And therefore he desired the Trustees would take the whole under their care.

¹ A letter of same date from Mr. Sargent's firm, Sargent, Aufrere & Co., to "Dr. Franklin at Portsmouth to be left at the Post House till called for" is with the American Philosophical Society, reading: "We have just sent you by the channel of the Post Office the two Gold medals which you will apply as a mark of our good Wishes for your College, & now enclose a Letter of Credit which we hope you will never have occasion for, but if you should, we are perswaded the Name of B. M. da Costa whatever Port you are carried into will be respected and procure you all you wish, etc." William Temple Franklin in his *Life and Works*, 1818, oct., 1; p. 180, says his Grandfather "on his return to Philadelphia from England in 1775 carried thence two large gold medals given by Mr. Sargent, one of his friends, to be bestowed as prizes, &c., &c.;" but the author confounded this with the former voyage home. Dr. Franklin sailed from Portsmouth in the latter part of August, 1762, and brought then with him these medals. He did not reach Philadelphia, however, until 1st November following.

After considering the Letter which Mr. Peters and Mr. Franklin were desired to think of a proper Classical Subject and to inquire of Dr. Alison and Mr. Ewing if both or either of these subjects might be proposed to the present Candidates for Degrees, and if proper Orations could be prepared by them against the next Commencement. The Medals were very kindly accepted and the same gentlemen were desired to return the Thanks of the Trustees to Mr Sargent for his Gift.

At the meeting of 8 March they

acquainted the Trustees that they had conferred with Dr Alison and Mr Ewing and finding it to be their Opinion that the Subject proposed by Mr Sargent was too high for the Present Candidates for Degrees, but that they might perhaps find time to undertake the classical Subject; they had therefore proposed to them, if the Trustees approved of it, to prepare Orations on the Subject of a Roman Education, for as in this the Foundation was laid of all those great characters which were so much admired in the Roman History, the Students would have an ample opportunity in this subject to show their Abilities and Improvements in Literature.

But as to the other Medal, it was said with perhaps some significance, "As to the other Subject they would recommend it to the Trustees to let it lye a little longer for consideration." Dr. Peters wrote an acknowledgment of thanks on 6 April, and his letter is entered on the minutes, giving Mr. Sargent

their hearty Thanks for the Regard you have been pleased to shew to the Institution in the Disposal of the two gold Medals committed to the care of our worthy Member Dr Franklin, He has been so kind as to present these two curious Medals to the Trustees as your Gift, and to communicate to them your Letter, whereby we observe you have yourself made Choice of one of the Subjects for the Students to try their Abilities upon, and we are obliged to you for your Attention to the Welfare of these Colonies in desiring that it may be on the reciprocal Advantages arising from a perpetual Union between Great Britain and them; * * * indeed this came too late to be proposed to our Students as they had all the Subjects of their Exercises given them against the approaching Commencement, and were ingenuous enough to acknowledge they did not think themselves furnished with a competent Stock of that sort of Knowledge and Reading which is required to write well on that Subject;

and then he acquainted him with the present decision of the Trustees.

But the medals were not brought into service for the space

of three years. On 18 February, 1766, it was proposed by the Trustees

to bestow Mr Sargent's Prize-Medals at the next Commencement, for the two best Performances on the Subjects proposed by him, [and it was] agreed that the Medal for the best classical Performance be confined to the present Set of Candidates for Bachelor's Degrees at the ensuing Commencement, and that the Subject proposed for the other Medal, being of a higher Nature, be left open to all those who have received any Degree or Part of their Education in this Seminary and the Provost was desired to draw up a proper advertisement for this Purpose, and to publish the same, after communicating it to the Governor, Mr Allen, Mr Shippen and Mr Duché for their Opinion and Approbation.

In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 6 March, this public announcement appeared, and in the reference to the Medal to be awarded the political Essay, Dr. Smith wrote :

As the subject proposed for this Medal, is one of the most important which can at this Time employ the Pen of the Patriot or Scholar ; and as it is thus left open for all those who have had any Connection with this College, either as Students or Graduates, it is hoped for the Honour of the Seminary, as well as for their own, they will nobly exert themselves on a Subject so truly animating, which may be treated in a Manner able interesting and pleasing to good Men both here and in the Mother country.

The public tension in the Spring of this year was great on the subject of the Stamp Act, for a crisis was approaching in colonial attachments to the Mother Country, and it was understood that the British government was about considering whether it would maintain or abandon its position on this parliamentary import.

On 8 May the Trustees, Messrs. Penn, Chew, Allen, Cadwalader, Coxe, Willing, Strettell, and Duché with Dr. Smith, Dr. Alison, and Dr. Shippen, junior, Professor of anatomy, in attendance, gave the Forenoon to receiving and examining the Pieces that might be produced for Mr. Sargent's Medals. Dr. Smith laid before them

nine Performances, sealed up under Covers as directed, and marked to be written for the Medal proposed for the best English Essay on the Reciprocal Advantages of a perpetual *Union* between Great Britain and her Ameri-

can Colonies ; also nine sealed Performances for the Medal proposed for the best Classical Performance.

After reading three of the English performances adjournment was had until the Afternoon, when Messrs. Redman, Lawrence and Inglis and Dr. Morgan gave their attendance, and the other six pieces were read. The Trustees little thought that the Author of the Prize Essay was one of their afternoon's company. Rereading three of the pieces,

the Medal was unanimously decreed to the Piece having the Motto "Force may subdue, but Commerce &c," which on opening the cover answering to the Motto was found to belong to John Morgan, M. D. F. R. S. and Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic in this College. The second also was judged a Masterly, judicious and Sensible Performance, well worthy of a Medal also, if there had been another for the same subject ; and the third was likewise greatly approved of as a spirited Performance, so far as it went ; and it was agreed that the Publication of both, together with the Prize Piece, would be of service at this Crisis ; which Determination was accordingly inserted in the public Papers ; in Pursuance of which, Stephen Watts, M. A., the modest and candid author of the second Piece, directly disclosed his Name with his Consent to publish it with the Piece. The author of the third Piece gave the same Leave, but for particular considerations desired his Name not to be affixed.

This was Joseph Reed, an early student of the College,² the young lawyer of Trenton, a graduate in 1757 of the College of New Jersey, who was now to receive the honorary Master's Degree from the Philadelphia College, and thus be brought within reach of the Sargent Medal ; and whose political prominence in the future Commonwealth of Pennsylvania was to connect his name closely with the ill fortunes of the College in 1779. Dr. Smith says of this, in his Preface to the Dissertations,

the author of the third Dissertation, wrote concerning his piece, that he had but two days to spare, from a particular hurry of business in his possession, to prepare it in ; and that so far from thinking it disgraced by being the third best, he would have rejoiced, for the honor of the Seminary in which he received his first education, if all the others had been superior also ; and that if there were any observations in it which had not

² He was entered by his father Andrew Reed in 1751 and appears in the list of students the two years succeeding.

occurred to the other gentlemen, or were likely to serve as hints for able pens to set so important a subject in a proper light, he readily consented to its publication; but requested, for particular reasons that his name might not be annexed to it.

A fourth Dissertation was also published, written by the favorite son of the College, Francis Hopkinson;³ or to employ the too partial words of his Provost:

The fourth little piece is the production of an ingenious son of the College in his own unpremeditated way. He has by many compositions done honor to the place of his education; and by this, which was only the sudden work of a few hours of that day, in which the other pieces were under examination, he meant not to come in competition for the prize, but only to throw his mite into the general stock.

An evening session afforded the Trustees an opportunity "to proceed to the examination of the Latin Pieces, but were obliged to adjourn them till next Day." An all day session of these worthy men, earnest in interest for their College and diligent in attendance on their duties, testifies to the spirit of its management at this time. At the next day's session Dr. Peters attended; was his absence on the first day due to a desire to avoid decision on a composition in which a consideration of the Proprietaries' interests might be discussed?

This last day's session was fruitless as it was found

that the candidates for the other Medal had imprudently and for want of experience, discovered their Mottoes and consequently their Names to each other, so that the Authors of the several Pieces were generally known both within and without Doors * * * it was determined that the Medal could not consistent with Mr. Sargent's Trust be disposed to any of them * * * it was therefore proposed to give them a new subject * * * but there was not time to write anew * * * and the Candidates requested that it might be left for another year, and then be open for all Bachelors of Art, and this was acquiesced in.

³ *Four Dissertations on the Reciprocal Advantages of a Perpetual Union Between Great Britain and her American Colonies written for Mr. Sargent's Prize Medal. To which (by Desire) is prefixed An Eulogium Spoken on the Delivery of the Medal at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 20th, 1766, Printed by William & Thomas Bradford, at the London Coffee House, MDCCCLXII, p. 112.* This is title No. 2213 in Mr. Hildeburn's *Issues of the Press*, ii. 51. Though there were more than three hundred and fifty copies of this publication subscribed for by the leading citizens and other friends of the College, yet the book is now very rare. See also *Life and Correspondence of President Reed*, i. 40.

The presentation of the Sargent Medal to Dr. Morgan at the ensuing commencement was a great feature of the occasion. "His Honour the Governor as President of the Trustees," gave "into the Hands of the Provost the Prize Medal, ordering him to deliver the same as it had been previously decreed;" the Provost in a few words introduced Dr. Morgan who "then delivered his Essay, which was received with the highest approbation by the Audience;" after this the Provost added,

Sir. As the reward of your great merit in this elegant Performance, I am in the name of the Trustees and Faculty of this College, as well as in behalf of the worthy donor, to beg your acceptance of this *Gold Medal*. Its intrinsic value may not be an object of much consideration to you, but the truly honorable circumstances by which it now becomes yours, must render it one of the most valuable jewels in your Possession. That the first literary Prize in this Institution should fall to the Share of one of its eldest sons, who to much Genius and Application, has joined much knowledge of the World, will not seem strange. Yet still for the honor of this Seminary, and what will not derogate from your Honor, it will appear that you have obtained this pre-eminence over no mean Competitors. Some of our younger Sons (among whom we ought not to omit the Name of the modest and candid Watts, with some others even of inferior standing) have exhibited such vigorous Efforts of Genius and tread so ardently on the Heels of you their Senior, that it will require the utmost Exertion of all your Faculties, the continual straining of every Nerve, if you would long wish to lead the way to them, in the great Career of Time.

This address of the Provost to Dr. Morgan, or Eulogium as entered in the Minutes, is in part there recorded. It was a happy circumstance that the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act had reached Philadelphia the day before the Commencement, and the publication of Dr. Morgan's Essay was most opportune. And we can picture to ourselves the warmth and earnestness of the following words of the zealous Provost in his address on delivering this Medal :

Truly delicate and difficult, we confess, was the Subject prescribed to you to treat of *the reciprocal advantages of a perpetual Union between Great Britain and her Colonies* at a Time when a fatal misunderstanding had untwisted all the Cords of that *Union*, and the minds of many were too much inflamed. This Difficulty was likewise increased to us by other considerations. Great Britain, who by her Liberality, had raised this

College from a helpless to a flourishing State had an undoubted Demand on us for all the returns of Gratitude. Yet we could not, we durst not, divert the streams of Learning from their Sacred Course. Our country, nay all America, had a Right to expect that they should be directed pure along to water the goodly TREE OF LIBERTY, nor ever be suffered to cherish any rank Weed that choaks its Growth. In this most difficult Conjunction, we rejoice to behold you in your early years, exercising all the Temper and Prudence of the most experienced *Patriots*. We rejoice that ever we had the least Share in forming Sentiments which have led you so powerfully to shew, that in the everlasting Basis of reciprocal Interest and a participation of constitutional privileges, our Union shall be perpetuated, and our bleeding Wounds healed up without so much as a Scar by Way of Remembrance. Here you have Shewn yourselves entitled to the Name of true SONS OF LIBERTY. SONS OF LIBERTY indeed! neither betraying her sacred Cause on the one Hand, nor degenerating into *Licentiousness* on the other.

Young William White, a few days after, writes to his nephew : as the Glorious News of the Repeal of the Stamp Act reach'd Philadelphia the Day before Commencement, Dr. Smith, the Provost congratulated the Audience on the joyful occasion. His Piece will soon be publish'd together with a few of the Performances for the Medal.⁴

A delay had occurred, it has been seen, in awarding the Sargent Medal for this political essay ; but how opportune and singular it was that its final award came contemporaneously with the tidings of the repeal of the Stamp Act, which allayed a crisis in the life of the colonies, and seemed to give renewed assurances of the perpetuation of their *Union* with the Mother Country ; and the donor of this significant prize was a Member of that Parliament against whose encroachments the people of the colonies through all their channels of utterance, their halls of learning as well as in other ways, were now in earnest protesting ; and this happy coincidence placed the young College in the forefront of and in sympathy with the great thought of the day.

Of Mr. Sargent we know but little beyond the record of his public services.⁵ He renewed his correspondence with Dr. Frank-

⁴ MS. Letter, Bp. White to his nephew Benedict Edward Hall of Baltimore County, 31 May, 1766.

⁵ Mr. John Sargent was appointed Store Keeper of the King's Yard at Deptford in 1746, afterwards was Merchant in London and a Director of the Bank of Eng-

lin after the peace, and the latter writes him from Passy, 27 January, 1783.⁶

I received and read the letter you were so kind as to write me on 3rd instant, with a great deal of pleasure, as it informed me of the welfare of a family, whom I have so long esteemed and loved, and to whom I am under so many obligations, which I shall ever remember. Our correspondence has been interrupted by that abominable war. I neither expected letters from you, nor would I hazard putting you in danger by writing any to you. * * * Mrs. Sargent and the good lady, her Mother, are very kind in wishing me more happy years. I ought to be satisfied with those Providence has already been pleased to afford me, being now in my seventy-eighth; a long life to pass without any uncommon misfortune, the greater part of it in health and vigor of mind and body, near fifty years of it in continued possession of the confidence of my country, in public employments, and enjoying the esteem and affectionate, friendly regard of many wise and good men and women, in every country where I have resided. For these mercies and blessings, I desire to be thankful to God, whose protection I have hitherto had, and I hope for its continuance to the end, which cannot be far distant.

This letter contains one of those quaint phrases which so often find their way into Franklin's correspondence:

The account you give me of your family is pleasing, except that your eldest son continues so long unmarried. I hope he does not intend to live and die in celibacy. The wheel of life, that has rolled down to him from Adam without interruption, should not stop with him. I would not have one dead, unbearing branch in the genealogical tree of the Sargents.⁷

land, and from 1754 to 1761, Member of Parliament for Midhurst, and 1765-8, M. P. for West Looe, Cornwall. He first possessed the mansion of May Place in Kent and afterwards purchased Halstead Place. He died at Tunbridge Wells, 20 September, 1791. His son John was the author of the *Mine and other Poems*; in 1790 he was M. P. for Seaford, in 1793 for Queensborough, and after parliamentary service he accepted the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds in 1806, and died in 1831. His eldest son, also John, born in 1781, was fellow of King's College, Cambridge, obtained orders and was presented by his father to the livings of Grafham in 1805 and Woollavington, 1813, where he died 3 May, 1833. One of the latter's daughters married Samuel Wilberforce, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, and another Henry Manning, who succeeded him in the living of Woollavington and afterwards became Cardinal Manning. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1833. Supplement, i. 636, also Hansard and Allibone for the last two Sargents.

⁶ Bigelow, viii. 256.

⁷ and he continues: "The married state is, after all our jokes, the happiest, being conformable to our natures. Man and woman have each of them qualities and tempers, in which the other is deficient, and which in union contribute to the common felicity. Single and separate, they are not the complete human being; they are like the odd halves of scissors: they cannot answer the end of their formation."

LXI.

Having thus anticipated some of the narrative of later years, which has been done in order to present unbroken the story of the Sargent Medal, we now return to the year 1763 to note one of the public corporate appearances of the College; we find in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 17 November, the narrative of the "Humble Address of the Vice Provost and Professors of the College and Academy of Philadelphia to the Honorable John Penn, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor," in which they are "happy in this Opportunity of presenting him with their Compliments of Felicitation on his safe arrival in this Province." To which his reply was couched in appropriate phrase:

Being very sensible that nothing can better advance the Interest and Welfare of this young Colony, than the Encouragement of Literature and useful Knowledge; you may be assured that the well established Seminary under your care shall at all times receive my Countenance and Protection.

John Penn, now thirty-four years of age, had arrived in Philadelphia on 30 October, 1763, on his second visit to the Province, and succeeded as Lieutenant Governor William Denny, whose unpopular administration was now almost forgotten in the coming of the grandson of the founder of the Province. The welcome accorded by the faculty of the College to Denny on his arrival in August, 1756, in common with other public bodies and the civic authorities, had suggested the most exalted promises for a happy administration; the local disappointment had been so extreme that it tended to make the welcome to John Penn seven years later not less loyal but much less extravagant. Governor Penn's interest in the institution was manifested by his acceptance of a Trusteeship; on the occurrence of the first vacancy after his arrival by the removal of Mr. Andrew Elliot from the Province, he was elected at the meeting of 11 September, 1764, to succeed him, and at the meeting of 9 October, the Secretary, Dr. Smith, enters the Minute:

The Hon'ble John Penn, Esqr took the oath, and subscribed the Declaration as required by the Charter, and also subscribed the Funda-

mental Article for perpetuating the Constitution of this Seminary, after which he took his seat at the Board of Trustees.

He soon was elevated to the Presidency, at the meeting of 16 November following :

The President [James Hamilton] having signified to the Board that his affairs required his embarking soon for England, he desired that the Trustees would proceed to the choice of a new President and the Hon'ble John Penn, Esq^r, Governor of this Province was unanimously chosen; and Mess. Inglis and Lardner were appointed to acquaint the Governor with this Choice and to request him to do them the Honor to accept of the same;

which he did, and took his seat accordingly at the meeting of 11 December, succeeding to the brief incumbency of James Hamilton, who had been elected when Dr. Peters went to England in June, 1764, on a visit. His uncle, Lynford Lardner, had been elected a Trustee on 8 June, 1762, but did not qualify and take his seat until 10 January, 1764. Mr. Lardner was elected to the place made vacant by the death of Mr. Leech in the previous March; and at the same meeting with him was elected Mr. Amos Stretell who succeeded his father who had died the previous year. In addition to these two vacancies by death among the Trustees, there had been those caused by the death of Mr. Maddox and Mr. Masters; to the former Thomas Willing was elected on 8 July, 1760; and Rev. Jacob Duché, the first alumnus to become a Trustee, was elected on 10 February, 1761. Mr. Willing, who thus became a Trustee at twenty-eight years of age, was the eldest son of Charles Willing, one of the original twenty-four Trustees, and became an eminent merchant, and served his city in many public capacities. But Duché was his junior, being but twenty-three years of age at the time of his election—a great testimony to his learning and intelligence and to his warm interest in his Alma Mater. These are evidences that our ancestors of a century ago did not always elect men of mature years to posts of dignity and responsibility, but equally with us availed themselves when occasion served of the services of young men, which we of this generation claim to be a peculiar departure of our own. Mr. Willing did not qualify until 10 February,

1761, "having been prevented by absence and indisposition from giving his Attendance till now." When Dr. Smith took his departure for England in 1762, eleven of the original Trustees had died, and also one of those later elected, John Mifflin.

LXII.

The finances of the institution did not keep pace with its growing influence. Circumstances forbad, it may be presumed, higher charges or fees for tuition than those already prescribed. There were now "near two hundred Students and Scholars, besides eighty Boys and forty Girls educated on Charity," as stated in the Address of the Trustees submitted at the meeting of 15 December, 1761, for Dr. Smith to submit "to all Charitable Persons, Patrons of Literature and Friends of Useful Knowledge." And the Faculty consisted of "a Provost, a Vice Provost, and three professors, assisted by six Tutors or Ushers, besides two Masters and a Mistress for the Charity Schools." These were Dr. Smith, Dr. Alison, Professors Kinnersley, Williamson and Beveridge, William Ayres, Thomas Pratt, Samuel Campbell, Richard Harrison, Patrick Alison, and Thomas Pollock, Tutors; John Davis and John Porter, Masters, and Mrs. Middleton, Mistress of the Charity School. The sum of the salaries of these amounted annually to £1321, to which were now to be added Dr. Ewing's compensation for supplying the Provost's place in his absence, amounting to £175. The collections from the tuition fees in 1761 amounted to £763.15.11. In 1760 they amounted to £629.7.6; in 1759 to £414.4.7; in 1758 to £746.10.1; in 1757 to £543.10; the greatest return was in 1753, when the sum amounted to £1102.12.6. The total from the beginning to the end of 1761, amounted to £6393.19.3½. The subscriptions from friends and the kindly disposed, for the same period,

amounted to £5442.3.4 ; of which sum £3376.12.4 had been realised before the close of the year 1753. To these may be added the contribution in 1753 of the City Council of £200, and their five years annuity of £100 ; the Proprietaries' gift of £500 on granting the charter ; the proceeds, namely £184.5.11½, of Rev. George Whitefield's Charity Sermon of September, 1754 ; and Henry Wright's principal of his annuity amounting to £300, granted in 1759.¹ But the Trustees soon realised that the ordinary channels of income could not meet their engagements, even with an occasional special effort. And Lotteries were resorted to as early as 1757, and this source of revenue through seven Lotteries in all for as many years was well cultivated. To the end of the year 1761, the sum of £6781.17.2 had thus been gathered. It was an age of Lotteries, when all needy institutions, churches included, sought this fictitious and abused system as a means of drawing money from their fellow citizens for needed wants under the deceit of offering them chances of gain. Their first scheme was advertised in the *Gazette* of 17 March, 1757, and introduced by a statement :

the necessary expenses of this Institution, the constant support of two Charity Schools in it ; the late enlargement of the design by opening schools for Philosophy and the Sciences ; the purchasing a compleat apparatus for experiments therein, and fitting up the publick Hall for accommodating the Inhabitants at Commencements and other publick occasions, [and they] were entirely sensible that no Institution of such extensive

¹ "Dr. Smith acquainted the Trustees that one Mr. Henry Wright, of this city, Whipmaker, to whom he was a stranger, had sent for him and acquainted him that finding himself out of order and having of a long time intended to give his little Estate to the Academy he desired some of the Trustees might be told of it and come to assist him to draw such Writings as should be thought necessary for that purpose, that thereupon Mr. Chew and Mr. Alexander Stedman waited on him and an Instrument was drawn at his special direction wherein he acknowledged to have given to the Trustees Three Hundred Pounds Currency for the use of the Academy and is to receive from them if demanded an Annuity of Thirty Pounds per Annum but for no longer time than until the several Yearly Payments shall amount to the said sum of Three Hundred Pounds." Minutes 14 December, 1759. At the meeting of 8 January, 1760, report was made of the proper exchange of papers at which Mr. Wright "was extremely pleased and told them as he found himself on the Recovery he would continue to keep shop and hoped to augment the sum already given for this useful Institution."

Usefulness was ever supported in any Country without some certain Revenue or Endowment, independent of what is paid by the Scholars. ²

But these schemes were not pursued without animadversion by many good citizens. Bradford's paper the *Pennsylvania Journal*, had admitted to its columns towards the close of the year 1758 some communications reflecting on the College for seeking this unwarranted and unseemly mode of raising funds, which however were accepted by its friends as displaying more unfriendliness to the institution than condemnation of Lotteries in themselves. These disturbed Dr. Alison and his associates of the Faculty, and he sought counsel and comfort from the Trustees. Had the valiant Provost at that time not been engrossed with his preparations to take a quiet departure for England to prosecute his appeal for redress against the Assembly, he would have taken up his pen and vigorously met these charges. Dr. Alison was inclined to this himself, but the comfort and counsel he obtained from the Trustees only enjoined silence and patience. At their meeting of 9 January, 1759,

Mr Alison, the Vice Provost, with the other Professors, as a Faculty, acquainted the Trustees, that some Papers were published in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, in which many false and scandalous Aspersions were thrown on the characters of the Trustees and Professors; and sundry false arguments brought against the Morality and Lawfulness of Lotteries, and desired Leave to make Answer to the said Papers, in order to undeceive the People, and vindicate their Characters. The Request was taken into consideration, and it was the unanimous Opinion of all present, that the Professors should be desired to forbear publishing any Answers, because it appeared to the Trustees and to many sensible and sober Citizens, with whom they had fallen into Conversation on this Subject, that the Persons, who were the Authors of these Papers were some low creatures, who wrote from Passion and Resentment, that neither their Calumnies nor their

² The receipts from the Lotteries were as follows:

No. 1.	881.	4.	3	1757.	3091.	0.11
2.	2983.	9.	3	1759.	1376.	19.11
3.	914.	1.	11	1760.	574.	1. 2
4.	990.	17.	8	1761.	739.	15. 2
5.	956.	7.	2½	1762.	877.	8. 7
6.	1079.	5.	9	1763.	2183.	16. 4
7.	1652.	1.	7	1764.	614.	5. 6½
<hr/>				<hr/>		
9457.				7.	7½	
				9457.	7.	7½

Arguments would hurt the Institution or the Characters of any concerned in the Trust or Schools.

The Lotteries were too popular to be scolded down, and were too fruitful in financial results for needy institutions to forego their service. In the space of a few years at this period of the city's history Lotteries were opened to erect Christ Church Steeple,³ to aid in building St. Peter's Church; to finish St. Paul's Church; for the Steeple of the Second Presbyterian Church; to enlarge Trinity Church, Oxford, Philadelphia County; for the use of St. James' Church, and for the Presbyterian Church, at Lancaster, Penna.; to rebuild St. John's Church, in Chester County; for the Presbyterian Church at Middletown, and for the new Presbyterian Church on the Brandywine; for the new Presbyterian Church in Baltimore; to build a Light House at Cape Henlopen and improve the navigation of the Delaware; for a bridge over Conestoga Creek; to pave Second Street from Race to Callowhill Street; for a company of rangers in Tulpehocken, Berks County; and one also to raise £6000 for the New Jersey College at Princeton, and one for £1125.1.1 ½ for the new Germantown Academy, the corner stone of which was laid 21 April, 1760, and which before the end of the year had gathered in sixty-one English and seventy German pupils, and where David James Dove was now employed as English teacher, and as English usher or tutor Thomas Pratt, whom by the beginning of the year 1762 we find again in the employ of the College and Academy. But a line was drawn on the object of a Lottery if it was not acceptable, for where one was proposed for the erection of public baths and pleasure grounds, the clergy and others of the community protested strenuously against them, as tending to further the growing inclination among the people for "pleasure, luxury, gaming, and dissipation," and among the protestants were Dr. Jenney, Dr. Smith, Dr. Alison, Mr. Ewing and Mr. Duché.

³ At their meeting of 30 October, 1752, the Vestry of Christ Church appointed twelve of their number, adding thereto Benjamin Franklin, to be the Managers of the Lottery; it is this conjunction which originated the statement that Franklin was a Vestryman of Christ Church, but he was never elected thereto, though a pew holder in the Church. Of the Vestry on this Committee, Mess. Taylor and Leech were Trustees of the College and Academy.

The evil influences of Lotteries were however recognised, and the Provincial Assembly finally passed a bill for their suppression, declaring all such schemes, public or private, to be common nuisances and against the good of the province. This action was due to the attitude and remonstrance of the Society of Friends, whose influence in the Legislature was great; but the authorities at home did not approve, doubtless because their enactment was due to this source, and Dr. Peters at the meeting of the Trustees on 13th January, 1761, hastened to inform them that the Governor had received from the Council office the Repeals of several Laws passed in this Province in the Time of the late Governor Denny and among them the Repeal of the Law for suppressing Lotteries and Plays, which were to be notified to the Publick in the next *Gazette*, and proposed it to the Consideration of the Trustees whether it might not be proper to have a Sixth Lottery; and they were unanimously of opinion that one should be offered for the raising of three Thousand Pieces of Eight, and a scheme being laid before them by Mr Charles Stedman, the same was approved of, and the Management thereof committed to Mr Peters, Mr Turner, Mr Stedman, Mr Willing, and Mr Thomas Gordon, who were to give Bond and to be under Oath for the faithful Discharge of their Duty, and they were desired to take care that the Tickets be printed by Mr Hall, and the scheme inserted in the next *Gazette*.

This last caution deprived Mr. Bradford of an advertisement in his *Journal*, as they had not forgotten his anonymous correspondent of two years before, who had maligned the College and its administrators for their resort to Lotteries.

LXIII.

Dr. Smith on his return from England in 1759 brought from Thomas Penn his gift to the College of his one-fourth part of the Manor of Perkasio in Bucks County, containing twenty-five hundred acres, through which the Perkiomen Creek coursed. This was thankfully acknowledged and Dr. Alison and Mr. Coxe were appointed a Committee to view the property, and they reported to the Trustees on 8 July, 1760, upon its condition, and recommended its sale :

The Land will now sell better than at any time hereafter, for many years to come, for the Tenants are pretty well able to purchase, having cleared a great Quantity of Land for Corn. * * * If we do not sell the Lands the present inhabitants will move off and purchase elsewhere, and sell their Leases to poor wretches for a Sum of Money, who will destroy the Lands to pay this Sum and to enrich themselves and probably leave our Rent unpaid. * * * On the whole we think that we can sell the whole Tract for three thousand pounds.¹

This gift of the Proprietary was in the nature of a permanent grant to the Institution in lieu of the annuity of £50 he had from the first granted to the Provost, and as the present rental of the quarter of the Manor amounted by the Committee's report to but £43.5, the present gift was of no advantage to the College unless a sale could be made for ready funds which in another investment would yield more income :

as Lands were now at a very high price owing to the Abundance of money thrown into the Country by the Army, * * * and Mr Peters was desired to send Mr Penn a copy of the Report and Opinion of the Trustees and a proper Letter on the Subject.

But many months elapsed before the President, Dr. Peters, acted in this request, and at the meeting of 10 February, 1761,

¹ Of this Tract 714 acres were valued at £1.15 per acre.

878	"	"	1.10	"
250	"	"	1.05	"
150	"	"	1.	"
175	"	"	.18	"
333	"	" about	.10	"
<hr/>				
2500				

he acquainted the Trustees that some Difficulties arising on the more mature Consideration of the Matter he had communicated to some of the Trustees who were of opinion that it ought to be postponed till it could be better considered, thereupon the Trustees went upon a serious Consideration of it and appointed Mr Peters, Mr Chew, & Mr Edward Shippen a Committee to draw up a letter to Mr Thomas Penn to desire leave to make sale thereof and to dispose of the Money arising therefrom in some other way more advantageous to the Academy and to preserve the same Reservations as were in the Deed.

The suggestion for an early realization by sale of this gift of realty may not have been welcomed by the Proprietary; but however that may be he completely dissembled it when he finally wrote them on 11 August, 1762:

As I have the establishment of the Institution very much at heart, and am truly sensible that the constant attention and care with which you have executed your Trust has under the Blessing of the Almighty raised the reputation of the College and Academy very high, and so as to answer all the good Purposes at first intended, it is a great Satisfaction to me to assist in promoting so good a Work, and I wish to do it in such a Manner as shall be most agreeable to yourselves, provided I can be convinced such Method will tend to the real advantage of it considering the future as well as the present Time. This consideration has induced me to defer for so long a time the sending an Answer to your very respectful and obliging Letter, and I have not only waited to consider the proposal you have made myself, but have desired the Sentiments of one or two of my most valuable Friends, and they do also fortify me in my own opinion that it will be most for the Interest of the College to keep the Lands I have granted, as in the common course of things they must, though they should not be taken the best care of, yield much more to those that are to come after us, than the Sum you propose to raise from the Sale of them; I am therefore under a Necessity of desiring you will not think I act an unkind part when I refuse to comply with your Request.

But that the Trustees

may not be greatly disappointed I have proposed that we should give Five Hundred Pounds Sterling to the present Collection [now making by Dr. Smith], and if that should not amount to a sum sufficient to answer your Expectations I shall be willing to add a subscription of £50 Currency a year, till such time as it is redeemed by a Benefaction of as great value.

Dr. Smith's presence in England was helpful to a solution of this matter; and besides this contribution to the Collection,

the promised annuity practically continued the sum formerly granted the Provost, for which Mr. Penn recognized that the Perkasié gift was not an equivalent. This was read at the meeting of 9 November, 1762, and the Trustees

in considering the handsome and kind Manner in which the Proprietary had expressed his favourable Sentiments of the Trustees and their Conduct, and the fresh Instances he had given of his Generosity, declared unanimously their Satisfaction with the Proprietary's Determination and good Pleasure, though he had not been pleased to favour their request.

LXIV.

But we must now return to Dr. Smith's visit to England, where we have seen that he arrived early in the month of March, 1762, bearing letters and instructions to aid him in his collections on behalf of the College, whose funds were proving inadequate to its proper maintenance and its further reputation. The representative of no other College would have been so well received in England as one from an institution which attracted to itself so powerful an influence at home, and no one better fitted for such representation than the young Scotch Provost whose native trait of loyalty, now that he was in the orders of the State Church, made him an Englishman of Englishmen. Harvard, and Yale, and Princeton, were perhaps more self reliant, being without those Home relations which were so promising to the Colleges in Philadelphia and New York when their Appeals were presented. King's College had turned its face at this time and with the same end to England, and Dr. Smith on his arrival found that the field was not his own; but with his ready adaptability to circumstances, he prepared himself to work in partnership as well as he could single handed.

The meeting of the Trustees held on 15 December, 1761, at which these Letters and Instructions were approved

was well attended, Messrs. Peters, Stedman, Chew, Willing, Duché, Thomas and Phineas Bond, White, Coleman, Coxe, Edward Shippen, Inglis and Plumsted, being present. They addressed "All Charitable Persons, Patrons of Literature, and Friends of Useful Knowledge" and

humbly represented, That about twelve years ago sundry Gentlemen of the City of Philadelphia, observing the rapid Growth of the said City and Province, through the vast accession of People from different parts of the World, became seriously impressed with a View of the Inconvenience that must necessarily arise in such a place if left destitute of the necessary means of Instruction. They saw with concern that after the Death of the first settlers (many of whom were well educated before they came into America) the generality of their Descendants were in danger of degenerating into the greatest ignorance, as few of them could afford the Expence of educating their Children in distant Places, and there was but little Prospect of seeing anything speedily done in a publick way for the Advancement of Knowledge. To prevent as much as possible these Inconveniences and to make some adequate Provision for training up a Succession of Good Men, for the Service of their Country in these remote parts the above mentioned Seminary was begun by private Subscriptions, and through the Blessing of Almighty God and the Liberality of Individuals though unassisted by any Publick Encouragement it has in after years arrived to a very great Degree of Perfection. Sundry excellent youths have already been raised in it as well for the sacred office of the Ministry, as for the civil Professions of Life. It consists at present of near two hundred Students and Scholars besides eighty Boys and forty Girls educated on charity. * * * Though the greatest Economy hath been used in every part of the Design and nothing attempted but what the Circumstances of so growing a place seemed absolutely to require, yet the necessary expence attending so large an undertaking hath greatly exceeded all the Resources in the power of the Trustees, and as the charge of the Seminary is now £700 annually more than its Income, they have the disagreeable Prospect of seeing its Funds in a few years wholly exhausted and an end put to its Usefulness after all their labours for its support unless they can procure the assistance of generous and well disposed persons abroad. * * * They cannot doubt but that a Seminary of Learning placed in one of the most important Cities and central Provinces of America, will meet with all due Encouragement from the Friends of Religion and Learning in Great Britain and Ireland. * * * And they hereby promise that whatever shall be contributed to that End shall be faithfully applied upon the same liberal and pious Plan whereon it was first founded and hath hitherto been so successfully carried on. And they further promise that due care shall be taken to preserve Lists of the Con-

tributors and to perpetuate their Names in the Institution with Gratitude to the latest generations.

The burden of this appeal would seem to ignore the existence of the now venerable college at Cambridge and the well grown institution at New Haven, were it not for thought of the stress laid upon the establishment of a like college on a sound financial basis in a chief city in the new country, for the College in Philadelphia was the first practical attempt made to plant an institution with like ambitious plans in a community whose business connections and influences exceeded all other centres in the colonies. A like attempt was being followed by King's College in New York, but it had not won for itself in the same term the like reputation of its elder sister of Philadelphia. It may well be assumed, however, that the advanced and thorough curriculum of the latter, which had now survived its experiment of a three years' trial and become an established system, justly inspired the Trustees with the pleasant thought that the aims of the Seminary whose care was in their Trust had attained a much higher plane than any of the other like institutions in the provinces; and who so fitting to represent its claims and needs abroad than the well trained scholar who had placed its reputation as a school so high?

An address was likewise prepared to the Proprietaries, Thomas and Richard Penn,

returning them most hearty Thanks for all the Instances of their Generosity and Protection which they had shown to this Institution, by means of which and the Liberality of many other good Friends of Learning they have been enabled to carry it on for the space of Twelve Years and have now the pleasure of seeing its Reputation extensive and its Usefulness generally acknowledged and felt. But amidst the Satisfaction arising from this we find that all Resources in our Power will be insufficient to support it for any Number of years its Annual Expence so far exceeding its Income as continually to diminish our Capital; [and commending Dr. Smith] to their kind advice and assistance in prosecuting this good Design, being well assured that benevolent spirit and Love of Learning, which induced them so freely to become the kind Patrons of this Seminary will be sufficient Motives with them to countenance and encourage this Design for its completion.

Another letter was addressed alone to Thomas Penn, mainly on the subject of the disposition of the Perkasio Manor property which the Trustees deemed best to sell and realize a sum of money which they could invest to better advantage; to this, however, as we have already seen, a negative answer was returned by Mr. Penn.

These were enough for one meeting. Two days later the same Trustees met, excepting Messrs. Chew, Willing, Duché and Coleman, and agreed upon certain instructions to Dr. Smith, and made provision for his expenses as well as for the supply of his post in the college, which Mr. Ewing had been desired to do "in his absence and he had kindly promised to do it upon a proper Compensation for Trouble," and "Mr. Peters and Mr. Stedman were desired to settle the sum that should be allowed him." He had so faithfully and well supplied Dr. Smith's place in his former absence, that Dr. Smith could leave his pupils with confidence under his care, a confidence he found not misplaced on his return to them in 1764.

Dr. Smith's instructions were placed in full on the Minutes. In the outset they assure him they have proceeded in this affair very much by his Advice, and in Expectation of the hearty concurrence of our Honorable Proprietaries, and

we trust and desire you will lose no time either in embarking for England or when there in setting about and carrying on this good work with your utmost Zeal, Prudence, and Assiduity, first waiting on the Proprietaries that by their Council and Recommendation you may be enabled to make a good beginning.

Here the urgent Perkasio matter comes in :

Do not neglect to let Mr. Thomas Penn know that as Lands are now at a high Price, owing to our present happy flow of Wealth, if he be inclined to favour our application for their sale, the sooner he sends his Orders the greater Benefit will be likely to accrue to the Academy.

And then the Instructions proceed :

If Mr. Franklin should be in England on your Arrival, we desire you will wait upon him, lay before him your several Papers, acquaint him with

our Necessities, consult with him and desire he will give you all the assistance in his Power and we doubt not but he will readily advise and assist you and that by his Means you may be recommended to many Persons of Wealth and Distinction. If any other of the Trustees should happen to be in England whilst you are engaged in this Business, you are to consult with them from time to time, as occasion may require.

The Treasurer was "ordered to pay him the sum of one hundred and fifty Pounds Currency which is advanced towards the charge that may attend the service" and they add "we trust you will lay it out with the utmost Frugality and be careful to Keep an exact Account of every Expence that you shall be put in the Prosecution of this Business." The dangers of a voyage in those times were provided for ;

Mr Peters on our behalf has given you a Credit on Mess Barclay & Co as far as an hundred Pounds Sterling. If you arrive safe there may be no use for it, but in case you shall fall into the hands of the Enemy it may be of use to obtain a decent support and a quick Exchange and conveyance to England.

The instructions continued with precision and thoroughness to the end.

If in six Months after your arrival in England you shall not meet with Encouragement nor see any Prospect of it, we would have you lose no Time but take the first opportunity that shall offer of returning home. But if you shall meet with good success, we think it too great a Risque for you to carry large sums of Money about you, and therefore order you whenever the sum collected becomes considerable to pay or order it to be paid into the Hands of Mess Barclay & Co. whom we have appointed our Agents for the receipt of all sums that shall be collected on this Occasion, sending them always along with the Money or Order an exact List of the Names of such as you shall have received it from which Lists we would have transmitted to us from Time to Time that we may know how you go on. * * * You will not fail to write full accounts of your proceedings to us by every opportunity ;

and adding "we most heartily pray for your Safe Arrival and good Success," this statesmanlike document was concluded. Dr. Peters' schooling in the Service of the Proprietaries had well qualified him to draft the proper instructions to a plenipotentiary.

Armed with these letters and guided by these instructions,

the Provost made his final arrangements for departure on a Mission which while it had some promise in it was at the same time the cause of anxiety to those interests which he was now so notably to serve ; we can read between the lines as it were of these proceedings of the Trustees and recognise the grave concern which prompted this serious movement to resuscitate the finances of the College and secure a further lease of life for its usefulness ; and Dr. Smith's cheerful alacrity in responding to the summons testified to his sense of the necessity of the case, and without hesitation he ventured on his winter voyage. On 10 January, 1762, he preached in Christ Church the funeral sermon over the Rev. Dr. Jenney, its Rector, and on the 25th he took his departure from Philadelphia for New York, where he remained until 13 February for a suitable opportunity and on which day he sailed for England. He could not have contemplated, when he left, that an interval of more than two years and a half would occur before his home would welcome his return. His time in New York afforded him a renewal of his intercourse with Dr. Johnson, who was now made acquainted with the objects of his visit to England, and as King's College had like needs with its fellow College in Pennsylvania for present support, the thoughts of Dr. Johnson and his co-laborers had already turned to the Mother Country hoping for aid, and it is not unlikely that Dr. Smith talked over his plans with them, and we shall not be surprised to see the two Colleges soliciting collections side by side, by their respective emissaries, for their treasuries, although Dr. Smith soon after his arrival in England found to his regret that instead of proceeding individually it was the better plan to proceed in partnership.

On reaching London early in March he prepared

an Humble Representation by William Smith D. D, Provost of the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia, in behalf of said Seminary, and by appointment of the Trustees thereof, To all Charitable Persons and Patrons of Useful Knowledge,¹

which is a recapitulation and extension of the petition prepared by the Trustees already noticed, and which he employed in

¹ Smith, i. 295.

preference to the briefer Address they had approved. To his Humble Representation he added this Postscript :

As many pious Persons and Friends of Literature, whom the Writer of this cannot possibly know of, nor wait upon at their respective Places of abode, may be desirous of contributing to this useful Seminary, they will be pleased to observe that Benefactions will be received for it by the following Gentlemen, Bankers, viz : Sir Charles Asgill and Company, Lombard Street, and Mess Drummond and Company, at Charing Cross.

He had not yet communicated with David Barclay & Co. He presented his letters to Mr. Thomas Penn who received him graciously and promised to forward his scheme all in his power. "It is impossible, indeed, for me" he writes "to express how hearty and zealous Mr. Penn is in this business." On 19 March he waited upon Dr. Secker the Archbishop of Canterbury, and from him he "obtained the hint that if a Brief should be sought for by him that there had been so many applications of that sort of late, that he feared it would produce but little." The Archbishop of York promised him also his countenance and aid. On his arrival Dr. Smith had discovered there were two prime ways for him to pursue in making his collections ; his Humble Representation was in print, but it must be employed with skill ; he could either communicate personally and upon influential introduction to the individual wealthy and well disposed, or seek the other plan, which was more formal but of the highest influence, that of attaining a Royal Brief ; and he soon decided to make application for this.

The Brief was the technical term given to letters patent written in the royal name to the incumbent of every parish in England, directing him to recommend to his congregation some charitable object which the King was particularly desirous of promoting, and authorising Collections to be made by specially appointed Commissioners 'from house to house'—these are the words of the Brief throughout the Kingdom in aid of the undertaking.²

The following clauses of the Brief describe its authority and scope.

And therefore in pursuance of the Tenor of an Act of Parliament,

² *Memoirs of the Rev. William Smith, D. D.* C. J. Stille, p 25.

made in the Fourth Year of the Reign of the late Queen Anne, entitled *An Act for the better collecting Charity Money on Briefs by Letters Patent, and preventing abuses in relation to such charities*, Our Will and Pleasure is, and we do hereby (for the better Advancement of these our Pious intentions) require and command all Ministers, Teachers, and Preachers, Church Wardens, Chapel Wardens, and the Collectors of this Brief, and all others concerned, that they and every of them observe the Directions in the said Act contained, and do in all Things conform themselves thereunto; and that when the printed copies of these Presents shall be tendered unto you the respective Ministers and Curates, Church Wardens and Chapel Wardens, and to the respective Teachers and Preachers of every separate Congregation, that you, and every of you, under the Penalties to be inflicted by the said Act, do receive the same.

And you the respective Ministers and Curates, Teachers and Preachers, are, by all persuasive Motives and Arguments, earnestly to exhort your respective Congregations and Assemblies to a liberal Contribution of their Charity for the Pious Intent and Purpose aforesaid And you the said Church Wardens and Chapel Wardens, together with the Minister, and some of the substantial Inhabitants of the several Parishes and Places accompanying them, are also hereby required to go from House to House, upon the Week Days next following the Publication of these Presents, to ask and receive from the Parishioners, as well Masters and Mistresses, as Servants and others in their Families, their charitable and Christian Contributions and to take the Names in Writing of all such as shall contribute hereunto, and the Sum and Sums by them respectively given, and indorse the whole Sums upon the said printed Briefs, in Words at Length, and subscribe the same with their proper Hands, together with the Name of the Parish or Place where, and the Time when collected, and to enter the same in the publick Books of Account kept for each Parish and Chapelry respectively; and the Sum and Sums collected, together with the said printed Briefs, so endorsed, you are to deliver to the said Deputies and Agents authorized to receive the same. * * *

And lastly, Our will and pleasure is, That no Person or Persons shall receive the said printed Briefs or Monies collected thereon, but such only as shall be deputed and made the Bearer and Bearers of these Presents, or Duplicates thereof.

In witness whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent and to continue in Force for One Whole Year from *Michaelmas Day* next, and no longer.

The "Trustees and Receivers of the charity to be collected by virtue of these Presents, with Power to any Five or more of them, to give Deputations to such Collectors as shall be chosen

by the said Petitioners, or their Agents here," were, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, Henley, the Archbishop of York, Earl Granville, President of the Council, the Earl of Egremont, one of the Secretaries of State, the Earl of Bute, the Earl of Halifax, the Bishops of London, of Durham, of Winchester, and of St. David's, Lord Sandys, Sir Charles Hardy, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, Proprietors of Pennsylvania, Joseph Hudson and George Clark, Esquires, Doctor Samuel Chandler, Doctor William Smith, Doctor James Jay, Daniel Moore, Robert Charles, and Lynford Lardner, Esquires, Barlow Trecothick and William Neate, Merchants, Thomas Stevenson and John Stevenson, Gentlemen.

Endorsed on the Brief was "the clause in the Act of Parliament made in the 4th and 5th of Queen Anne, against farming of Briefs," and reciting the Penalty "N. B. The penalty on Ministers, Church Wardens and others neglecting any Thing required in this Act, is *Twenty Pounds*."

But before this point was reached, he found that King's College was already in the field. His stay in New York early in February and conferences with Dr. Johnson on his plans had now borne fruit in the latter proposing to his Governors to solicit funds in England in like manner, and as Dr. James Jay, was about proceeding to England on private business he was commissioned to seek the contributions of those at Home for the College. He had sailed from New York 1 June, 1762, bearing letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury and "To all Patrons of Learning and Knowledge, and Friends of the British Empire in America, The Governors of the Province of New York in the City of New York in America, Greeting," bearing date 14 May, 1762, which were of the authorship of Dr. Johnson. His instructions were signed by J. T. Kempe, Henry Barclay, Samuel Auchmuty, Samuel Johnson and James Duane.

As it is impossible in a Transaction of this Nature to be very particular, and as the Corporation place great confidence in the Doctor's Prudence, we submit the general Conduct of this Affair to him; and we therefore only request he will correspond with the Committee as often as opportunity will admit and acquaint us with the Progress he has made and the further

Prospect he has had of advancing the Design he has been so good as to undertake, for the Interest of the College. * * * A Brief would be very beneficial, but whether there is a prospect to obtain this will be the best judged of by their Lordships, [i. e. the Archbishop of Canterbury and the First Lord of Trade, to whom he was to apply for Advice] as soon as he conveniently can after his Arrival.

Dr. Jay, "a gentleman of this city, of a liberal education and of Eminence in his Profession," was a native of Westchester County, New York, the fourth son of Peter Jay and an elder brother of Hon. John Jay. On arriving in England he at once communicated with Dr. Smith, and doubtless suggested a joint concern in their matters. He had already taken steps to securing a Brief, and the authorities entertaining this, the Archbishop of Canterbury advised Dr. Smith to make a similar application, and recommended them both that a joint application on behalf of both Colleges should be made to the King.

Dr. Smith appeared much disappointed at this turn of affairs, and he wrote home on 10 July :

Just now I am so disconcerted that, I know not what to do. * * * Dr. Jay has just called on me, and told me that, some business of his own calling him to England, the people of the College at New York had applied to and empowered him to solicit money for them. Here was a strange clashing of interests and applications, and the common friends of both Colleges were afraid that both schemes might be defeated by this method of doing business, and that the public would be disgusted with such frequent applications, and so close upon the heels of each other. A proposal was made to unite both designs, but I thought my own interest best, provided the good Archbishop shared his countenance equally, and we could agree to keep at a good distance from each other ; nor could I well stomach the thought of being concerned with people who had followed so close upon us as if on purpose to interfere with and prevent our success.³

To the Trustees he writes of the :

Great perplexity which the Headlong and ill-timed Application from the College of New York gave to the Archbishop and other great Personages who were equally disposed to serve both Designs. * * * After the Transactions and clashing of Interests, whereof my former letters will fully acquaint you, it was agreed, with the particular Advice of the Archbishop,

³ Smith i. 300.

Mr. Penn and Dr. Chandler, and also by his Majesty's express approbation, and Lord Bute's desire, that the two Designs should be united. * * * And that his Majesty himself would so far show his Countenance to this Plan, as to begin it with a Mark of his Bounty to both Institutions.

That same concurrence of thought had existed between Dr. Smith and Dr. Johnson on this subject in their February conferences, there can be little doubt. Dr. Johnson was unprepared to cross the ocean himself, and at that moment there was no one to send. But after Dr. Smith's departure from New York, the knowledge of Dr. Jay's proposed visit to England afforded Dr. Johnson the opportunity desired of a personal solicitation from friends in England. Dr. Jay says :

While I was in New York, and intending to come to England on some business of my own, the Rev Dr Johnson proposed it to me to make a Collection in this Kingdom, for the Benefit of that Seminary which I consented to do. The Doctor called a meeting of the Governors of the College and laid the matter before them and they appointed a Committee to confer with me on the subject.

Dr. Jay's immediate consultations with Dr. Smith on his reaching England testify to his knowledge of Dr. Smith's plans, and of his readiness to join the work of the two Colleges in one comprehensive scheme. But by previous correspondence, Dr. Jay may have prepared the way in a measure for his work, knowing that the Philadelphia ambassador had already been three months on the ground ; and while Dr. Smith had hesitated about resorting to a brief, hoping great things doubtless from the Penn influence, Jay had lost no time in complying with his special instructions and had applied for a Brief immediately on his arrival. Dr. Smith afterwards wrote of him : " Jay is an active and sensible young fellow."⁴

In the union of these two appeals, great gain was made for both, as the results proved and each College was materially bettered by the joint mission, for time was saved by each, and the minister of each traveling in different ways could present to

⁴ He was five years the junior of Smith. See Dr. Jay's *Letter to the Governor of the College of New York respecting the Collection for the Colleges of Philadelphia and New York*, London, 1771, by Sir James Jay, Knight, M. D. This pamphlet exhibited the unhappy controversy he fell into with the College authorities on the closing of his collections.

his auditors and his friends two noble schemes of education which the New England in distant Pennsylvania and New York were endeavoring to plant on sure foundations. The early disappointment of Dr. Smith was turned into a measure of success he had hardly hoped for. Eventually Dr. Smith admitted this in his letter of 11 February, 1764, when he says: "taking the cause of New York along with ours, rather than acting in opposition, by which each of us have got double of what we could in that case have hoped for singly." Jay's appeal had shown a great strength, inasmuch as he represented a "King's College," whose title alone appealed directly to royalty, and with success, and the royal bounty was testified to in the sum of £400 to the College he represented, while the Philadelphia College was remembered to the extent of but £200. When the tidings of the Prince's birth reached New York, the Governors of the College prepared an address of loyal congratulations to the King, which Dr. Jay presented in person on 23 April, 1763, at which time he was knighted by the King.⁵

Dr. Smith's description of the issue of the Brief is told to the Trustees in that loyal strain in which his enthusiasm showed the brightest, and concludes the letter already quoted.⁶

The glorious 12 August (the 1st o. s.) remarkable heretofore for so many good things, viz: the Battle of the Boyne⁷ and Minden, and the accession of the present Royal Family; became again remarkable for the Birth of a young Prince, the accession of the Riches of the Hermione, a larger prize than Anson's, and if small things may be mentioned after these, the ordering and passing our Brief, which three things happened before 9 o'clock on Thursday Morning. For the Prince [George IV.] was born half an hour past seven; the Treasure passed by the Palace a little after Eight, and the Council that met before Nine to Register the Birth did our Business. The circumstances attending this were as honorable to us as anything could be. For finding that we could get no Council to meet on our Account, and finding that the Chancellor and others thought not very favorably of the Design, as it might lead to too frequent Applications of the like Nature from the Colonies, we fixed before hand with the Archbishop

⁵ Sir James Jay died in New York, 12 October, 1815.

⁶ Minutes of November 1762.

⁷ Here he wrote hastily, for the Battle of Boyne was on 1 July, 1690, n. s. and that of Minden on 1 August, 1759, n. s.

that the Council of State Officers that should immediately meet on the joyous Occasion of the Queen's Delivery would not only be the most favourable Moment for us, but also the most honourable if any of such Business could be introduced. The good Archbishop engaged to try what could be done, and I got the Clerks of the Council to promise me early Notice to attend with the Petition. The Event, however, happened sudden and easy to the Queen, as every Briton had prayed it might and before I could hear of it, and had huddled on my Gown to run to St. James' with my Petition, the Council was convened in the King's Closet. I meditated whether it was proper to send in any Thing under cover to the Archbishop while in the Royal Presence, and as I was perplexing myself about this, the Council rose. I immediately saw his Grace, who wished me double Joy, on the Birth of a Prince and the Completion of our Business, of which he had not been unmindful. For before he went into Council, he desired Lord Egremont, who presides in Lord Granville's absence, to propose it. His Lordship doubted whether anything of Business had been ever introduced on such an occasion. Lord Bute, who was very willing to have our business through, observed that there was on the present occasion, one other Piece of Business to be done, viz : qualifying Lord Berkly as Constable of the Tower, and that ours might also be done. When the Council met, Lord Egremont did accordingly propose our affair (the Archbishop giving the Substance of the Petition, for I had got the original) and after some few Objections and Answers to them, our good and gracious King himself signified his Royal Pleasure that if there was nothing contrary to Right in what we desired, it might be granted, and Lord Bute further informed that his Majesty had so far approved the Thing already as to be a Contributor to it ; upon which it was unanimously and without more Difficulty agreed to, the Chancellor and other State Officers being present ; and I have this Moment received the Order of Council from Mr Sharpe who has been truly obliging in the Affair and made a present of his Fees to the Design, though the other Fees are still pretty high.

Would that the life of the young Prince who first saw light this day had been equally meritorious in its purposes and aims as were those of the Brief now granted at the Council called to register his birth.

LXV.

That portion of the Instructions to Dr. Smith relating to Dr. Franklin appears in effect to have failed in compliance with on his part, if absence of such reference to it in his letters can be accepted as evidence. The instruction to consult and advise with him could neither have been agreeable to Dr. Smith or welcome to the latter. Political controversies at home had been so embittered as to diminish any cordiality which in their first intercourse may have existed between them; and Franklin could not have forgotten the injurious reference in the *American Magazine* of October, 1758, to his reputed claims of certain discoveries in Electricity made by its Editor at a time and in a publication of general circulation when he was too far away from home to promptly acknowledge its unkindness; but it must have afforded Franklin a grim satisfaction to learn that the number which was so freighted with injustice was the last issue of a Magazine which had been published and edited in interests which were in no wise friendly to him. However, this may be, we may well suppose their intercourse, for the brief period they were at the same time in London, was strained; all we know is Dr. Smith's account of his earlier collections made before the issue of the Brief he sent by the hands of Dr. Franklin to the Treasurer,¹ and this implies some recognition of the instructions of the Trustees; but as Dr. Smith for personal and other reasons greatly counted upon the influence of the Penn family, he could not seek that of Franklin with any intent of abiding by it should it run counter to the paths pointed out by the Proprietaries. It has been claimed that Dr. Franklin opposed Dr. Smith's efforts by insinuating to his friends the narrowness of the institution which was sought to be benefited, and in effect thwarted his efforts in certain influential quarters.² But the circumstances of the case do not sustain the charge in the absence of any direct evidence to that effect. That Dr. Franklin felt less interest in

¹ Letter to Dr. Peters, 24 April, 1763. This appears to be his only reference to an intercourse with Dr. Franklin. Smith i. 317.

² Smith i. 326. Dr. Stille's *Memoir* p. 30.

the institution than formerly there can be but little doubt ; but his lukewarmness now was rather to the representative than the constituent. Dr. Smith's plans for Collections were not put at once into execution as he soon recognized, as we have seen, the value and importance of securing a Royal Brief, although he had obtained some of the first fruits of his visit ; his prime efforts being reserved until armed with the plenitude of the Brief. He did not receive a copy of the Fiat of the Brief until 18 August, which was formally issued on the 19th, while Dr. Franklin was on board ship on 17 August in the Downs waiting a favorable wind to carry him home.³ The latter had no influence at Court wherewith to impede Dr. Smith's steps, and he was on the sea when the Brief was issued. No intimation occurs in his letters to the Trustees implying he had met with any obstacles by Franklin, which had they existed would have been eminently proper for him to inform them of, if only to relieve himself from the imputation of neglecting their special instructions in the premises ; indeed, it has been seen, that he made Dr. Franklin the bearer of his first statement of receipts to the Trustees,⁴ which he would have been relieved from had any imputation arisen of Dr. Franklin's efforts to thwart his plans. The only allusion to an opposition of Dr. Franklin to his work occurs in a private letter of Dr. Smith, where he recites that

an eminent Dissenter called on me, and let me know that Dr Franklin took uncommon pains to misrepresent our Academy, before he went away, to sundry of their people, saying, that it was a narrow, bigoted institution, put into the hands of the Proprietary party as an engine of government ; that the Dissenters had no influence in it (though, God knows, all the Professors but myself are of that persuasion) with many things grievously reflecting upon the principal persons concerned in it ; that the country and Province would readily support it if were not for these things ; that we have no occasion to beg ; and that my zeal proceeds from a fear of its sinking, and my losing my livelihood. * * * The virulence of Dr Franklin on this

³ Bigelow iii. 210.

⁴ Smith i. 306, 319, " £300. of the cash I sent Mr. Coleman on account by Mr. Franklin. * * I wonder you should desire to know what I collected before Dr. Jay came over. I sent an exact list of it to Mr. Coleman by Mr. Franklin, and he received it." Letter 24 April, 1763.

subject betrayed itself, and disgusted the gentleman who had procured me forty guineas to the design.⁵

In referring in his diary to his collections at Oxford, he complains "that at St. John's and Baliol Dr Franklin's friends were very averse."⁶ But this lack of response doubtless was due to the man rather than to the Provost, as they were those friends of Dr. Franklin who now recalled the efforts made by Dr. Smith to prevent Oxford bestowing on him its Doctorate.⁷

"Assuming," as Dr. Smith's Biographer writes, "the eminent dissenter to have spoken the truth, and Dr. Smith to have correctly reported him," the charge is a serious one, but needs other support, in light of the surrounding circumstances.

At the first business meeting of the Trustees held after Dr. Franklin's return to Philadelphia in 1762, on 9 November, he attended, and must have been an interested hearer of Dr. Smith's letter describing the steps to and procurement of the Brief, which is above largely drawn upon for our information. At the meeting of 8 February following he attended and "presented the two Gold Medals the Gift of Mr Sargent of London," and submitted Mr. Sargent's letter written him on the subject a few days before he sailed from London, which would have been done before but for the desire of the donor that Dr. Franklin and Mr. Norris should elect the subject for the prizes and designate their recipients, which upon conference together they declined to do. It may be safely assumed, that it was Dr. Franklin's interest in the College that attracted to it these prizes of a Member of Parliament, who personally was a stranger to the institution or

⁵ Smith i. 336.

⁶ Ibid i. 335.

⁷ Provost Stille refers to "an imprudent letter which Dr. Smith had written to the authorities of the University of Oxford protesting against a proposal to confer the Degree of Doctor of Laws on Franklin." *Memoir* p. 29. His Biographer makes reference to this: "We are not enabled by an exhibition of Dr. Smith's objections, as assigned, to judge whether his action was blameworthy, excusable, or to be justified and commended." Smith, i. 340. On Dr. Smith's arrival in England he may early have learned of the action of the Heads of Houses at Oxford taken on 22 February, a few weeks before "Agreed, nem con., that Mr. Franklin, whenever he shall please to visit the University, shall be offered the compliment of the degree of D. C. L., *honoris causa*," and may then have pursued steps to prevent this consummation. The decree however was made on 30 April. In this controversy may be found the reason why Dr. Smith avoided communications with Franklin, though under instructions to seek him. Sparks i. 267.

any of its managers except Dr. Franklin. The latter's paternity, as it were, of these valuable prizes, the first offered to the students, may in part account for the tardiness in offering them to the students, as Dr. Alison and Dr. Ewing, to whom the design was committed at this February meeting, reported at the March meeting the present want of ability of the students to compete for them, and it was, as we have before seen, nearly two years after Dr. Smith's return to his post that finally steps were taken to secure competition for them. On 24 March, 1763, Dr. Franklin, with his fellow Trustees, Hamilton "his honor the Governor," Duché, Phineas Bond, Chew, Strettell, Peters, White, Thomas Bond, William Shippen, Coxe, and Redman attended "the publick Examination of the Students held in the public Hall before a large audience of People, and the Students acquitted themselves to the satisfaction of the Trustees."

In the middle of April Franklin set out for Virginia on post-office duties,⁸ but returned in time to attend, as we have also seen, the Commencement exercises of 17 May following, "the Trustees, Professors, Candidates for Degrees and Scholars walking in Procession to the Publick Hall, and as soon as seated a Mandate under the lesser seal authorizing the Faculty to hold a Commencement and confer the Degrees agreed to at the last meeting was delivered to the Vice Provost;" it being by a singular coincidence the only Commencement he could attend. And he attended the meeting of 27 May, and gave his approval to the 'draughts of the Addresses to his Majesty and Lord Bute,' prepared by a committee consisting of Dr. Peters, Mr. Stedman and Mr. Duché, conveying the thanks of the Trustees for their royal and noble aid and countenance; and also Dr. Peters' draught of his reply to Dr. Smith's letters of 8 January, 12 February, and 1 March. We find him early in June starting on a tour to the Eastern States, again on postoffice claims, his daughter accompanying him, from which he did not

⁸ "I am going in a few days to Virginia, but expect to be back in three or four weeks." Letter to Jonathan Williams, 13 April, 1763, Bigelow iii, 237.

return home until 5 November.⁹ These instances of Dr. Franklin's continued personal concern in the College warrant the belief that far from doing aught either at home or abroad to retard its prosperity, he was on the contrary prepared to serve it with his counsel and his influence, although doubtless withholding his confidence in a great measure from the Provost, whose political affiliations had placed him in such opposing influences, which in his opinion were detrimental to the best interests of the College. It may be that Dr. Smith refrained from incorporating in his letters to the Trustees any mention of his apprehensions of Dr. Franklin's unfriendliness, from the fact that the latter was now at home and in occasional attendance on the meetings of the Trustees. Had such suspicion on Dr. Smith's part reached Dr. Franklin's notice, some denial would have reached us to-day; there is certainly nothing on record leading us to suppose that his fellow Trustees ever doubted Dr. Franklin's fidelity to his Trust, however much Dr. Peters, Governor Hamilton and others of them might be less intimate with him than formerly, owing to the widening and separating influences of provincial politics. But rumors soon reached Dr. Franklin's ears that Dr. Smith was at this time saying unkind things of him in England. His friend Miss Mary Stevenson wrote from London on 11 November, 1762, within two days of the date he had attended the first meeting of the Trustees after his return, one of her letters in which she must have narrated to him some unfriendly conduct of Dr. Smith.¹⁰ He acknowledges this letter on 25 March, 1763, the day subsequent to his attendance upon the public examination of the students already noticed, and one paragraph refers to this unwelcome topic.¹¹

I do not wonder at the behaviour you mention of Dr Smith towards me, for I have long since known him thoroughly. I made that man my

⁹ Bigelow iii. 244. He writes on 15 April, 1764, to Mrs. Catharine Greene, "Public business and our public confusions have so taken up my attention that I suspect I did not answer [her letter of 24 December] when I received it." Ibid iii. 247.

¹⁰ Doubtless the attempt in the preceding Spring of Dr. Smith to prevent the Oxford degree.

¹¹ Bigelow iii, 232.

enemy by doing him too much kindness. It is the honestest way of acquiring an enemy. And, since it is convenient to have at least one enemy, who, by his readiness to revile one on all occasions, may make one careful of one's conduct, I shall keep him an enemy for that purpose ; and shall observe your good mother's advice, never to receive him again as a friend. She once admired the benevolent spirit breathed in his sermons. She will now see the justness of the lines your laureate Whitehead¹² addresses to his poets, and which I now address to her :

Full many a *peevish, envious, slandering Elf*
Is,—in his works,—benevolence itself,
For all mankind,—unknown,—his bosom heaves ;
He only injures those with whom he lives.
Read then the Man ; does *truth* his actions guide,
Exempt from *petulance*, exempt from *pride* ?
To social duties does his Heart attend,
As son, as father, husband, brother, *friend* ?
Do those who Know him love him ? if they do,
You've *my* permission, you may love him too.¹³

It was doubtless at this time that Dr. Franklin also wrote these lines in his copy of Dr. Smith's *Discourses* printed in 1759, on the fly-leaf opposite the title page where an asterisk at the name of the Author calls attention to them ; it was also doubtless in the sermons printed in this volume that good Mrs. Stevenson admired the benevolent spirit breathed in them. Dr. Franklin's handwriting cannot be questioned, and appearing without naming their source, many have given him the credit of their authorship, which, however, his letter to Miss Stevenson sets at rest.

One cannot part with this unfortunate difference between the Founder and the Provost (and here we can let it rest) without now reciting the charge made by Dr. Smith affecting the

¹² Poet Laureate in 1757, succeeding Colley Cibber.

¹³ These lines occur in William Whitehead's *A Charge to the Poets*, first printed in 1762, and found in the edition of his *Plays and Poems*. The italics here followed are Dr. Franklin's in his copy of the lines, in his letter to Miss Stevenson, in the possession of the descendants of Mrs. Hewson, and from which this present copy of his letter is rendered. These are quoted in *Smith* I, 341, but from the context the authorship of the epigram might be attributed to Franklin himself. Their reproduction here seems necessary after the prominence given them by Dr. Smith's Biographer, otherwise they might not have merited a place in a history of the Institution with which both were so intimately acquainted. See this letter in Bigelow, iii, 235, wherein, however, only the initial letter of Smith's name is given.

integrity of Dr. Franklin's electrical experiments, and which must have been accepted by the latter, when it came to his knowledge, as an unfriendly act, for it was recorded during his first absence abroad. In the *American Magazine*, already quoted from as under Dr. Smith's editorship, the latter in his Account of the College and Academy in its last number includes the names of the Professors and gives some statement of their respective abilities and reputation; and in speaking of Mr. Kinnersley he uses this language :

He is well qualified for his position ; and has moreover great merit with the learned world in being the chief inventor (as already mentioned) of the Electric apparatus, as well as author of a considerable part of those discoveries in Electricity published by Mr Franklin to whom he communicated them. Indeed Mr Franklin himself mentions his name with honor, tho' he has not been careful enough to distinguish between their particular discoveries. This, perhaps, he may have thought needless, as they were known to act in concert. But tho' that circumstance was known here, it was not so in the remote parts of the world to which the fame of these discoveries have extended.

Allusion has before this been made in these pages to charges of Franklin's plagiarism in electrical experiments, that some of his opponents maintained, which however were not supported by any statements of Kinnersley himself; but this is no place to discuss their merits; and the fact remains that when preferred in this public manner, and in Franklin's absence abroad by a well-known writer and one who had been intimately associated with him in the management of the College, they could not but be accepted by their object other than as an act of extreme unkindness and unfriendliness, and memory would retain their sting for a long time. Franklin could not but recall those earlier years of constant communion with him in the concerns of the young Academy, and of his own particular efforts to secure the young Scotch tutor to its aid at the outset. But Dr. Smith's, "our dear Franklin¹⁴," of 1754, was no more, and Franklin had now recorded in his quotation above given the withdrawal of his friendship and confidence from Dr. Smith.

¹⁴ Smith, i. 51.

However, the lives of both were spared long enough for them to overcome this unhappy estrangement, and the survivor did large justice to his early and older friend, "his earliest friend in Pennsylvania,"¹⁵ in his Eulogy on Franklin in 1791.

From West to East, by land and on the wide ocean, to the utmost extent of the civilized globe, the tale hath been told—that the venerable sage of Pennsylvania, the *patriot* and patriarch of America is no more. * * * * Yes, thou dear departed friend and fellow citizen! Thou, too, art gone before us—thy chair, thy celestial car, was first ready. We must soon follow, and we know where to find thee. May we seek to follow thee by lives of virtue and benevolence like thine—then shall we surely find thee, and part with thee no more forever.¹⁶

LXVI.

Returning to the more agreeable topic of Dr. Smith's journeyings and collections in England, we find in the Minute of the King's Council of 12 August directing the issue of the Brief, the following recital:

Whereas there was this day read to his Majesty at this Board the Joint Petition of William Smith, Doctor in Divinity, Agent for the Trustees of the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania, and Provost of that Seminary; and of James Jay, Doctor in Physic, Agent for the Governors of the College of the Province of New York, in the City of New York in America, Setting forth, That the great growth of these Provinces and the continued accession of People to them from the different parts of the World, being some years ago observed by sundry of his Majesty's good subjects there, they became seriously impressed with a view of the inconvenience like to arise among so mixt a multitude, if left destitute of the necessary means of instruction, differing in Language and Manners, unenlightened by Religion, uncemented by a common Education, Strangers to the human Arts, and to the just use of Rational Liberty. [And reciting the fears caused by the] amazing pains which Popish Emissaries were every day perceived to take for the propagation of their peculiar Tenets, and the many Establishments which they

¹⁵ Smith, ii. 345

¹⁶ Ibid, ii. 330, 343.

were making for this Purpose in all the parts of America belonging to them; * * * that from a deep sense of these growing Evils the two Seminaries aforesaid, distant about 100 miles from each other, were begun in two of the most important and populous trading Cities in his Majesty's American Dominion, nearly at the same time and with the same view—not so much to aim at any high Improvements in Knowledge, as to guard against total Ignorance; to instill into the Minds of Youth just principles of Religion, Loyalty and Love of our excellent Constitution, to instruct them in such branches of Knowledge and useful Arts as are necessary to Trade, Agriculture, and a due improvement of his Majesty's valuable Colonies; and to assist in raising up a succession of faithful Instructors and Teachers to be sent forth not only among his Majesty's subjects there but also among his Indian allies, in order to instruct both in the way of Truth, to save them from the Corruptions of the Enemy, and help to remove the Reproach of suffering the Emissaries of a false Religion to be more zealous in propagating their Slavish and Destructive Tenets in that part of the world than Britons and Protestants are in promoting the pure form of Godliness, and the glorious plan of public Liberty and Happiness committed to them. * * * But as Designs of so extensive a nature have seldom been completed (even in the most wealthy Kingdoms) unless by the united generosity of many private Benefactors and often by the particular Bounty of Sovereign Princes, the Petitioners are persuaded it will not be thought strange that all the Resources in the power of individuals in young Colonies should be found inadequate to such a work, and that the Governor and Trustees of the said Seminaries should have the just apprehension of seeing all that they have raised for their support speedily exhausted and an end put to their usefulness, unless they can procure assistance from distant places, as the expense of each of them is four hundred pounds sterling yearly above their Income, the defraying of which would require an additional Capital of about Six Thousand Pounds sterling a Piece. * * * That the Petitioners being accordingly appointed to solicit and receive such assistance, and being sensible that the highest satisfaction which his Majesty's known piety and humanity can derive from the Prosperity and Extension of his Dominions will be to see these advantages improved for enlarging the sphere of Protestantism, increasing the number of good Men, and bringing barbarous Nations within the Pale of Religion and Civil life, they are, therefore encouraged humbly to pray, That his Majesty will be pleased to direct that a ROYAL BRIEF may be passed under the Great Seal of Great Britain, authorizing them to make a Collection throughout the Kingdom from house to house, for the joint and equal benefit of the two Seminaries, and Bodies corporate aforesaid.

And the Brief was, with only the delay of official formalities, issued on 19 August.

The recounting to the Trustees of these important preliminary steps made them ready to respond to Dr. Smith's suggestions that suitable acknowledgments be made to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Penn, and Rev. Dr. Chandler, for their zealous aid and influence on behalf of his plans. At the meeting of 14 December, Messrs. Peters, Stedman, Chew, Edward Shippen and Duché, were appointed a committee to prepare suitable addresses, and at the meeting of 11 January "the President on behalf of the Committee brought in the Draughts of the Addresses and Letters which they were desired to prepare, and the same being read were settled." To the Archbishop they said :

It gave us singular Pleasure and Satisfaction to hear of the extraordinary Countenance and Encouragement which our worthy Provost met with from your Grace, that you not only contributed generously yourself, but that it is owing principally to your good offices that our pious Design hath attracted the regard of the best of Kings, who hath been graciously pleased to make the Charity more universal by granting to us his Royal Brief. * * * We are willing to flatter ourselves, that our Infant Institution will be the Means, under a wise and good Providence, of spreading the glorious light of Gospel Truth over a considerable part of this untutored Continent. These were our sincere and Christian motives at the first erection of this Seminary, and by these we are still most zealously actuated in our Endeavors to support and establish it Encouraged by your Grace's kind and condescending Regard, and ambitious of being patronized by a Prelate of such distinguished Piety, Learning and Knowledge, we will pursue with Industry unwearied these benevolent Purposes.

To the Rev. Samuel Chandler, D. D., the eminent non-conformist Divine, whose friendship with Dr. Smith had begun in his correspondence as Secretary of the Society founded in London in 1754 for the Education of Germans in Pennsylvania with him, they

manifest their Gratitude for your kind Zeal and Influence in obtaining a Royal Brief to render the Charity universal [and proceeding in a more catholic vein than to the Archbishop :] this Institution was founded upon the most generous and charitable principles. Our views were confined to no particular Party, Sect or Denomination. The advancement of Learning, a sincere and christian regard for the Souls of our Countrymen together with an inviolable attachment to that Religion and Liberty which we enjoy under the best of Governments were the Sole Motives by which we were influ-

enced in the Foundation of this Seminary. * * * Slavery and irreligion were too frequently the offspring of Ignorance, and that the best and surest preservative from both was the good and careful Education of our Youth. This was the Plan upon which we set out at first, and we trust that we have ever since invariably adhered to it. [To Thomas Penn, they wrote gracefully accepting his decision in regard to the Perkasie lands and conclude:] Dr Smith in all his Letters mentions the ready Assistance which you have been pleased from time to time most cheerfully to afford him. We have indeed experienced repeated Instances of your paternal regard for our Seminary, from its very Foundation. But your kind Patronage and Countenance of our present pious Design, your late exemplary Contributions, your warm and affectionate Recommendations of it to persons of the highest Rank and Fortune in the Kingdom by which you have prepared the way for the Success with which it has been and is like to be attended, together with the Zeal and Influence which you have exerted in obtaining a Royal Brief in order to render the Charity universal, call for the highest returns of Gratitude that we can possibly make.

But meanwhile the Provost was busy in preparations for his journeyings in England, heralded by the Brief. This was sent by the instrumentality of what were known as Brief Layers, men who were appointed attorneys for the purpose by Dr. Smith and Dr. Jay to send a duly stamped copy of the Brief to each clergyman in the Kingdom, and as there were eleven thousand five hundred of these in the Kingdom, even to furnish a majority of these with a certified copy of the Brief was a labor to the Brief Layers and so much revenue to the government.¹ John Byrd, John Hall and John Stevenson, in the Borough of Strafford, Gentlemen, were on 24 August appointed the Brief Layers, who from the "money thereon collected," were to

deduct out of the same the sum of Six Pence a Parish Chapel or meeting for every Brief duly certified and endorsed which shall by them be collected and received back from all Places (except within the city of London and weekly Bills of mortality and therein the sum of twelve Pence,) as the full salary and charge for Laying down, collecting and receiving back the said Briefs.

On 26 August Dr. Smith wrote to the Archbishop of York, asking his aid in the Northern Province :

these things are most honestly and dutifully submitted to your Grace,

¹ Smith, i. 306.

which I have taken the Liberty to do, after having just come from the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was pleased to say he would write to your Grace on this subject, and that there might be no Impropriety in my sending a few Lines at the same time.

On 9 September, Dr. Smith and Dr. Jay issued a letter "To all worthy and Reverend the Clergy and Ministers of the Gospel into whose hands his Majesty's Royal Brief, for the Colleges of Philadelphia and New York" may come, affording them

such further account of the Design and Usefulness of these Seminaries, as might enable them, upon due information, to give the People under their Ministry that Encouragement which we are persuaded your Christian Zeal will induce you to bestow upon every Scheme for the advancement of Religion and useful Knowledge. * * * You, Gentlemen, who are the Ministers of God's Word, and always foremost in every Design for the Instruction of Mankind, we can well depend that this so laudable an undertaking will meet with your particular Countenance and assistance. The kind Providence of God seems to have great things in view, by calling the British Nation to the Possession of the most important part of America; and the greatest of all the Glories that can accrue to this Kingdom from a Dominion so widely extended, will be to make use of the opportunities thereby given her for the advancement of divine Knowledge, and to be found a chosen instrument in these latter Days for calling New and heretofore unexplored Countries, to the enjoyment of everything that can exalt Humanity at a time when so many of the old have fallen again into their original Barbarity. * * * What we would in a more especial manner pray of you is, that, together with your good offices to make our Brief as effectual as possible, in regard to the pious purposes for which it is granted, you would likewise give it all the despatch your convenience will admit of. And we hope our particular circumstances will be our plea for this humble request, being at three thousand miles distance from the places of our abode, and obliged at great expense to our Constituents, to wait the issue of this business.

This letter, the authorship of Dr. Smith, is lengthy, but perspicuous. It recites the present work of the Colleges: "near four hundred Youths are continually educated in them; of whom about sixty are intended for the learned Professions, and," here is a reference to the prevailing motive of all like seminaries at the time "particularly to furnish a Supply of Ministers and Teachers for the Different Societies of Christians in these parts." And,

many excellent Youths, who would otherwise have been destitute of all opportunities of a sufficient Instruction, are continually rendered useful in both Provinces ; and, among those of more enlarged Circumstances, a far greater number than ever was known at any former period, for acquiring the first Rudiments of learning there have been induced and enabled to finish their Education in this Kingdom at the Universities and Inns of Court.

Upon the outer leaf of the copy of this letter which he sent Dr. Peters, he wrote these words " This Paper (which you have had a copy sent you before) has been worth a Thousand Pound or Two, to our Collection. Nothing was ever better received among all Ranks of the clergy." They also united in a letter of the same date, " To all Friends of Religion and Patrons of Useful Knowledge," which was with some requisite modifications the same Humble Representation that Dr. Smith had put forth shortly after his arrival and before his concern in a Brief was contemplated. The tempting suggestion was made that if their friends now gave to the two institutions, they would not be troubled with further solicitation.

The Subscribers were appointed to Solicit and receive the Benefactions of pious and well disposed Persons in *Great Britain* and *Ireland* for the Use of these Seminaries ; and have joined both Applications in One, in order that, from the Importance of the Objects Such persons may be induced to contribute more liberally, without Fear of future Solicitations for any Thing of the like Kind from that Part of the World.²

Thus armed and advertised the joint Commissioners set off from London on 29 September, 1762, Dr. Smith hastening Northward, as far as to Scotland his native land, and Dr. Jay going to the West and South. The Provost writing to the Trustees on 3 January, 1763 :³

On that day, which was as soon as we could get all the 11,500 Briefs signed and stamped, I set out for Edinburgh and from thence went one hundred miles farther North to see my aged and good Father. As my business urged, I was obliged to do so much violence to myself as to stay only a few Days with him. This act of Duty I hope the Trustees will not

² The printed endorsement includes: " N. B.—The Church Wardens are requested to deliver this *Representation* (together with the *Brief*) to the Clergy as soon as it comes to their Hand ; and it is hoped they will do everything else in their Power to forward this pious design."

³ Minutes, 12 April, 1763.

think was throwing away their time. If they should, it is the only fortnight, or indeed the only moment, I have lost to them. But it cannot well be called loss. One gentleman in that neighborhood, Sir Archibald Grant, gave ten pounds sterling to the Design, and will collect somewhat more for us. The University of Aberdeen also propose doing something. When at Edinburg I waited on Dr Robertson,⁴ Dr Wishart,⁵ Dr Cuming,⁶ Dr Jordain and others. They are well disposed to serve us, but think their joint interest, though at the Head of Church of Scotland, will not be able next Assembly at least to procure us a National Collection. * * * However, the Gentlemen are to write to me on this Head, and readily agreed to countenance a private Collection, which may produce almost as much as the public one. Provost Drummond, who is the most popular Magistrate they have ever had, will give his Countenance to the same. * * * Dr Alison will not lose a moment in procuring Letters for the Scots Clergy whether we apply publicly or privately, and let them be here in April with your Instructions. * * * At Glasgow I found the same Encouragement as at Edinburgh among the clergy, who professed themselves pleased with the Catholic plan of having Professors of different Persuasions and told me that the Party in the Church of Scotland to whom that would be an objection were not many. But I could not stay to make any particular Collection either here or at Edinburg—only prepared matters. My being detained so long at London before I could set out for the North and being obliged to be at Oxford in November hampered me much in time. * * * On my return, I visited all the principal clergy in the Towns on or near the Great Road, and wrote Letters to others. In places where it was thought my presence would assist the Collections, we agreed to delay it till March, when I promised to go down again, especially to Yorkshire. * * * Thus in about six weeks from my setting out I got back to London to meet Dr Jay, who had taken a like Tour Southward on the same Plan. * * After two or three days' stay in London, we set out again for Oxford, thinking it a compliment due to them to be both there. From Oxford we went to Gloucester, and to the Manufacturing Towns in that County, Dr Jay taking part of them and myself the other Part, so as to meet at Bath, which we did a day before Christmas, and then proceeded to London where the Briefs are now to be read in those full months January and February. Bristol we have delayed to the end of February and Bath afterwards. Dr Jay will go thither, while I go to the North in March. * * * We now find before us near forty Letters unanswered, and a continual attendance on the clergy of London neces-

⁴ The Historian, who in this year was elected Principal of the University of Edinburgh.

⁵ Rev. George Wishart.

⁶ Rev. Patrick Cuming.

sary ; every one of whom, being near two hundred we must see within this fortnight, and before they can read the Brief, which we are to give them with our own hand. Many principal People are also to be waited on before the Brief is read in their particular Parish because we hope they will give more to one of ourselves than to a Brief, which some Persons have resolved never to contribute to on account of Abuses which they conceive are committed by the Brief Layers. * * * From the above account you will see that neither our plan, nor our time would permit us to collect much Money, yet we have not been unsuccessful even in this respect.

And the Provost submits an account showing that Dr. Jay had collected from their parting to their meeting again on 20 November, £121.12.6 ; Dr. Smith, in the same period had collected £187.6.0. At the University of Oxford they had jointly collected £161.18.0, and in the same manner at Gloucester, £35.10.0. Dr. Smith collected "among the clothiers at Stroud, where he preached and had the Brief read" £49.11.6, and at "Uiey, Dursley, and Weston Underedge, other cloathing towns, independent of the Brief" £65.6.6. And Dr. Jay at Hamton, Tetbury and Painswick, collected £33.4.6.

The Brief was read at St. Paul's Cathedral on Sunday, 6 March, 1763, and a sermon preached by Dr. John Brown, Vicar of St. Nicholas', New Castle, on Religious Liberty, whose greatest and most extensive effect, joined with true *Christian Zeal*, would be a free and powerful Communication of the Glad Tidings of the Gospel to those many and distant Nations who as yet sit in Darkness and the Shadow of Death ; a duty which I should at all times be glad to Recommend, but particularly when we are entering on a Peace, which throws into our Hands immense savage Nations, as the greatest object of civilization ; and more especially at a Time when a laudable Brief is on Foot (and on this day read in many of the Churches of this great city) which calls on every Christian to contribute his share to the success of this important work.⁷

⁷ A copy of this Sermon, "published at the Request of the Managers of the Charity," is with the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Dr. Brown was a well-known writer of his day ; his *Essays on Shaftesbury's Characteristics*, London, 1751, which were suggested to him by Warburton, and to Warburton by Pope, reached a fifth edition in 1764. The work which earned him the greatest reputation was "An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times," London, 1757, and which reached seven editions in a little more than a twelvemonth.—*Altibone.*

In the letter of the Trustees to Dr. Smith of 27 May, 1763, "they think themselves particularly obliged to Dr. Brown for his most excellent Sermon."

Dr. Smith was favored with the company of one of his first graduates, Dr. Morgan, and one of the Trustees, Mr. Inglis. In his letter already quoted from, he says "Dr. Morgan is now collecting somewhat occasionally for us and Mr. Inglis will join him." In their letter of 27 May, 1763, the Trustees say to him :

Mr Inglis and Dr Morgan will be able to advise you whether it is best to proceed now to ask private charities, or to stay as you think it would be better, till some time hence. Whatever you do, Mr Elliot can be of great assistance, and will we doubt not cheerfully give it, and furnish all necessary Letters and Recommendations from his Relatives who are numerous and have great Interest.

A subsequent letter from the Provost asked the attention of the Trustees to the importance of offering their thanks to King George and to Lord Bute for their countenance and assistance. King's College had early in the matter made its loyal Address to the King, and later its loyal congratulations on the birth of the Prince, and Dr. Smith knowing the salutary effect of such procedure, took his Trustees to task for their thoughtlessness on this head; doubtless he took it amiss on his own part that provision had not already been made for this. The Knighting of Dr. Jay at this time because he was the bearer of the Address of King's College, was an acute reminder to him of the seeming neglect of the Trustees. "I know not how it is," he writes them,⁸

that *our* College, as a body, is so diffident and apt on the first motion to beat down any proposal that has anything great in it. It was thought once that we were too little an object for national notice here. Time and a fair trial have taught us better on this head. Had I at first desired an Address from the Trustees to the King, I think it would not have been granted. Yet a College of less note set out with such an Address. Public bodies should have no shame of this sort; I speak not this to blame what is past, but rather to persuade you to lift up your heads and rather fail in great attempts than be found too diffident.

⁸ Smith, i. 320.

This letter with others was read to them on 10 May, 1763, but a copy does not appear in the minutes, and a special Meeting was held on 27 May to consider the addresses framed on his suggestions. The warmth of loyalty expressed in the one to the King may have compensated for their tardiness.

Amid the joyous Acclamations of a grateful People, exulting in a Happiness derived from your Majesty's wise, just and gentle Administration, we, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects beg leave to lay our sincere and humble acknowledgments at Your Majesty's Feet and to express the deep sense we entertain of your Royal Condescending Regard to the Institution under our Government and Direction. * * * Situated as we are in the centre of a Territory, which has long been the Theatre of Desolation and Bloodshed, we cannot but feel a large share of that general joy which is now diffused through your Majesty's American Dominions, upon the conclusion of a Peace so honourable to our Nation, so peculiarly beneficial to us. By this illustrious Event, we are prompted not only to look with Astonishment upon your Majesty, as a Conqueror triumphing over your Enemies, and giving Strength and Increase to your Subjects and Dominions, but to revere you as a blessed instrument, in the hands of Providence, of planting at once the Christian and the British Banners, the Banners of Liberty and true Religion in these remotest corners of the Western World. * * * To conquer and to civilise has hitherto been deemed the highest Effort of human Heroism. But to compleat the Glory of your Majesty's Reign, Heaven seems to have reserved it for your Majesty not to conquer and civilize only, but, by spreading throughout your wide extended conquests the Knowledge of Christ's Kingdom, even to bless Millions of Mankind with the comforts of true Religion, and the Gospel means of Salvation.

Could the phraseology of the concluding paragraph have been one of the counts of the Indictment of 1779?

It shall be our earnest Endeavor, as far as our Influence extends, carefully to provide that the Principles of true Religion, good government, and useful learning, together with a love and Veneration for the British Constitution, and an unshaken Loyalty and Affection to your Majesty's Person and your illustrious House, be constantly inculcated in the Minds of the Youth placed under our Instruction.

To Lord Bute, they "beg leave to return your Lordship our most sincere Thanks and Acknowledgments for the Cheerfulness and Condescension with which you have been pleased

to promote the Interest of the Seminary under our Inspection and Government."

Dr. Smith, on 5 August, was taken by Mr. Penn to an audience with the King in order to present this Address. Mr. Inglis, as a Trustee, and Mr. Powel, an alumnus, accompanied them. The King was gracious and asked several questions about the College. In one of his letters he says :

He almost got Mr Powel knighted, but thought it would be idle, and be considered as a design to separate him from his old friends, the Quakers at home ; a thought which he would scorn in regard to any of his Pupils. He did not know whether it would be agreeable to Mr. Powel, and therefore gave it to be understood that he desired no honours, but only to testify gratitude. ⁹

As Dr. Jay had been Knighted in the previous April on presenting the Address of King's College, it was reasonable for Dr. Smith to hope the like honor for his lay companion at this scene.

In later letters Dr. Smith continues his narrative. On 24 April, 1763, he acknowledges from London the receipt of the "Addresses of the Trustees to the Archbishop, Mr. Penn, and Dr. Chandler," which "were delivered and kindly received," and he proceeds :

I shall leave this place by the 12th of May at farthest having kept back the Collection at York, Liverpool, and some other considerable towns. From thence I shall cross over to Ireland and try to get away for America by 1st September, for I will by no means take a winter passage. The Trustees may depend that I shall leave nothing undone that requires my presence and shall rather stay another winter, how irksome and inconvenient soever than desert the good cause which I have carried on so far with success. * * * At present our Collection goes on well in the several parishes of this city and I take the usual pains to get proper Preachers. In a most divided kingdom, by a happy Fate, the leaders of all sides have been induced to contribute. We have in our list the names of the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Bute, and Mr Pitt ; and both Universities have been liberal. From Lady Curzon, who happened to be one of my audience when I preached at Curzon Street Chapel (commonly called Mayfair Chapel), I received one Hundred pounds. My friend Mr Dawkins readily gave fifty pounds and

⁹ Smith, i. 322.

Col. Barré has been kind in introducing me to sundry persons. But you must not think that all this produces very great Sums.

And he then proceeds to portray a curious picture of the conditions under which his plans were pursued.

We are by the Brief entirely prevented from applying to the middling rank of people, for if we were to go to them (which indeed is hardly possible in any large Degree) none of the Parish Ministers would be at the pains to carry round the Brief, and then as to People of Fortune who can afford something extraordinary, it is almost impossible to get at them, or to get anything from them but by a particular interest, they are so harassed with an infinity of Charities; and then when they are disposed to give you must call twenty times perhaps before the matter is finished, so that you see the Brief must greatly interfere with all our private attempts to collect, not only as barring our applications to all that set of people who could be most readily got at, but likewise furnishing others with an excuse to put us off by saying they have given or will give to the Brief. * * * On summing up my Book I find that including Mr Penn's Benefaction I have £1700 to the credit of our College without the Brief Money our share of which will certainly amount to as much more. * * * On Wednesday next we are to have a Benefit oratorio at Drury Lane and Mr Beard leaves his own House to perform for us at the other, and will give a benefit himself next winter, but could not do it now on account of a Week lost to him by the late riots at his house, viz: Covent Garden. Mr Garrick has been exceedingly kind in the matter and gave his house at first asking and was sorry that the season was so far advanced and that he had no night disengaged sooner. The principal performers, vocal and instrumental, serve Gratis and we are favoured by the Boys from the Chapel Royal, and every other mark of Distinction. Mr Tyers even put off the opening of Vaux Hall, which was fixed on Wednesday next in order to favour us. But after all the season is so far advanced and so warm that we doubt it will turn out to no great advantage. If the house fill it may be £200. If not, the expense will be certainly cleared. And as Dr Brown kept his performance for this purpose agreeable to a promise given me at Newcastle we could not refuse it, at the time we could get it on. I enclose you a copy of this performance as also Dr Brown's Sermon, with one by Mr Watson on account of our Brief; so that you see we begin to be taken notice of. There has been many a good Sermon on this subject, which the Circular Letter sent with the Brief contributed much to produce. And indeed I rejoice more in having been the writer of that letter than anything I ever wrote, it has been so well received.

The postscript to this letter contains the germ of a future controversy.

You will observe that this Collection was solicited and given to raise a Capital and that the Bishops and commissioners in the Brief have desired Mr Penn's assurance as well as mine that it shall be properly laid out as such for the Payment of Salaries, a thing we had no difficulty to promise, knowing it to be the full intention of the Trustees, for should we spend this we could not beg a second time.

We cannot follow Dr. Smith's steps through his busy wanderings in pursuit of his collections; we would find in them a most interesting itinerary, and would be afforded a clear picture of the customs prevailing in such cases. Nothing was left undone by him in his zeal for the furtherance of his mission; untiring in journeyings, in visits, in solicitations, in correspondence, his energies did not seem to flag.

On 12 September he writes :

Jay and I are just setting out from the New York Coffee House and hope to be at Holyhead as soon as the Lord Lieutenant, and at Dublin by Saturday night. But I do not know that I shall stay more than three or four weeks in Ireland, for we are told that in the present situation of that Kingdom, we can hope for little but in Dublin, Cork, and Derry.

But shortly after his arrival in Dublin he was taken ill, and the anxieties of his friends were great lest he should not recover; here he was detained in enforced idleness for many weeks; but in convalescence he measurably resumed his activities, and sought the society of the learned in Dublin and those influential in the work of education. Trinity College bestowed a Doctorate upon him, his diploma bearing date 9 January, 1764. He was detained here until 28 January, when he returned to England, proceeding to Stoke, the seat of the Penns, where he remained under the kind care of Mr. Penn and his wife for a fortnight, and reached London in the first week of February.

He wrote to the Trustees on 11 February, 1764, a few days after his arrival there, an account of his

most dangerous situation in Dublin, having been ten weeks confined to Bed of Fever both Bilious and Nervous which from the beginning had very bad symptoms, and for some time brought me to a State in which no hopes were entertained of a possibility of recovery. Sir James Jay attended me at first, but soon declared the matter to be too serious for him to take the whole

on himself; and Dr. Dawson, our proprietor's Brother in law concurring in this, Dr. Barry a Man of the first note in Dublin, Physician general to the Army and Professor of Physick in the University, was called, who paid me near four score of visits with such care and tenderness as I shall never forget. * * * Happy was it that I was taken ill in a large city, and where I could have such help. * * * It was long hanging about me before I was taken down, and Dr. Barry said it had been brought on by too much anxiety and fatigue. It is not my Temper to boast of services or value myself thereby; I would rather be more humble on that Account, knowing that Posterity will always do justice if the present times were wanting. We have indeed had surprising success; but there have been so many happy turns in it, when to all appearances difficulties were insuperable, that a kind providence seems to have been with us, and I can claim no more than doing my duty and attentively striving to make the most of every Incident as it happened. * * * Except by my sickness, I can in truth say, I have never lost a day to our Business nor thought of anything else; but so much traveling on Horseback, different diet and cookery, different Beds, different drink, and being obliged to eat and drink often especially at night, when I had no want of either, contributed to bring that most inveterate and obstinate disorder on me; and yet it was not in my power, in justice to our cause, to refuse the invitations given me and the Hospitality of our Benefactors. * * * But God has been pleased to preserve me not only thro' that danger, but also the danger of a most tempestuous passage, being in the beginning of the same storm that has done so much damage in the channel and frightened the Nation on account of the Prince and Princess of Brunswick, who are at last got safe to Holland. I waited near ten days at Dublin on account of the weather at Dublin and embarked on a most flattering evening with a fair Gale, but the scene was soon changed. However, next day about ten in the morning and with much difficulty, we got in.

One of the last letters to the Trustees written by him prior to his illness, already quoted from, again enlarged upon the necessity of capitalising the collections made under the Brief, for a minute is made at their meeting of 8 November, namely :

Several letters received from Dr. Smith were read the substance of all which was contained in one of 12 September, and as it appeared by these Letters that the Commissioners under the Royal Brief required some Assurances from the Trustees of the Academy that the Money collected should be laid out on Land security and presented as a perpetual Fund for the College, the President was desired to write the necessary Letters and to consult with Mr Chew and Mr Shippen thereupon. [Dr Smith had said,] when you draw, it is expected that you will enable me to satisfy the

Commissioners how you are laying out the Money and on what securities and that it will be preserved as a Capital. I have often been interrogated on these Heads and if Mr Penn had not kindly promised for you in all these points, we should not have got our Money so fast into our hands. These questions you will not think impertinent from Men of high rank whose countenance has procured us this great collection and whom the King has made Trustees in the appropriation of the Money to the uses for which it was given, viz: as a Capital towards bringing us £400 per annum, as the Brief of my commission sets forth. This you will not think any hard request. Mr Penn, Mr Allen, and every body think we are bound to keep it as a Capital and ought to do it even if we had not asked for it as such. I have wrote you often on this head, and I wonder you have not enabled me to say what is proper on your behalf. I have a difficult part to act between you and those under whom I act here. They desire to intermeddle no further, than to be ascertained how the money here committed to them, is laid out with you, and that it will be made a lasting Capital. They would scorn, even if they could, to abridge us of one single right which we hold under our Charter, and after the Money is remitted, and they assured that it is laid out to its true uses, they will perhaps never inquire more after us. For my part, whatever silly Notions may enter jealous minds, I would sooner have come to you without a shilling than have been subjected to any terms inconsistent with our present liberal plan. You may see this by my anxiety to remit such large sums, without a single condition, but enabling us to shew the Commissioners of the Brief and the good people of England that their cash is faithfully remitted and on undoubted security (which I presume must be land security) to answer the purposes for which we are entrusted with it.

There were reasons, undoubtedly, for this urgency, which we cannot now fathom; whether the desires of the Trustees to realize on the Perkasio gift of Mr. Penn had led him to doubt their wisdom while at the same time he was wanting in confidence as to the stability of their purposes, we cannot say. Certain it is that the occasion of Dr. Smith's visit was the wish to complete their new buildings, though its cause lay deeper than that, namely, in the annually diminishing resources of the institution. An echo of this distrust may have found lodgment in Dr. Smith's mind as well, as Dr. Franklin was now at home, and his influence might be again felt among the Trustees and some scheme might be formulated foreign to his own views of the government of the College. Whatever may have been the

force of this urgency among the contributors generally, it will be found in the sequel that the only official request made of the Trustees by their friends the Commissioners was an assurance that the institution should forever be carried on in the same "liberal plan" as it had been framed in.

Dr. Peters, on behalf of the Trustees, responded to this warm appeal of Dr. Smith with a degree of spirit which testified to their sense of being misapprehended if not mistrusted, and wrote him 12 November, 1763 :

The Trustees conceived that the assurances they gave the publick in your commission under their Seal, 'that whatever should be contributed to the good end therein set forth should be faithfully applied upon the same liberal and pious plan wherein the College was first founded' would have satisfied the Commissioners appointed by the King, so that they might safely pay to you the Money collected to be remitted to us; otherwise we would have given you before this fresh assurances and as strong as could be made. But as you inform us that further assurances are expected, I am now requested and authorized by the Trustees to let you know that all the money drawn for which is £1500 sterling was forthwith let out upon an interest of 6 p ct on a double security, that is, on a Mortgage of Lands accompanied with a Bond and Judgment from the Mortgagor which is the very best security that can be devised, being the same that the Trustees of the General Loan Office of this province take for the monies lent by them to private Borrowers, and that the same method will be observed punctually and faithfully with respect to every sum that shall come into their hands out of the Monies collected and paid to you for the use of their College.
* * * Lest you should be absent or set out for America, I have said as much as this in my Letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to Mr Penn, and as the latter has a perfect knowledge of the Trustees, their characters and their whole Conduct in the Management of their Trust, we hope there will be no hesitation in ordering the payment of the monies collected to be made to you.¹⁰

¹⁰ When just prior to Dr. Smith's leaving England on his return home, five of the Commissioners under the Brief, namely the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Chandler, and Thomas Penn, gave Dr. Smith their power of attorney dated 13 April, 1764, "to see and take care in conjunction with the Trustees, that the share of the Collection that has arisen or may arise to the same be laid out upon sufficient security; and preserved as a Capital to produce an Annual Revenue for the Benefit of the said Seminary agreeable to the meaning of the said Letters Patent and our express Intention in this our Letter of Attorney declared"—And requiring him "to transmit them an account properly vouched and certified of the manner in which the whole monies * * * * is disposed or laid out * * with an account of the Securities taken and the amount of the annual Revenue which the monies so laid out may produce."

In his letter of 11 February, 1764, the Provost gave a brief summary of the results of the collection.

I can now assure you that our share (including the Proprietors £500) will amount to Six thousand pounds nearly and clear of all expenses. This tells well and will be a noble sum in your Currency. But you will not let your Draughts from the beginning exceed four thousand pounds, till I see you or send further advice, for I must return to Stratford before I embark and one of the last things I do. There are 9600^l Briefs come in and 1500 not come in, but the greatest part will be ready by the 1st March and then I go to make a settlement with them. * * * I begin next week to publish a List of the Whole Collection that every Contributor may see the exactness of the Account. * * * I find the Dissenters have not contributed so much as I hoped ; but many others have far exceeded all hopes. The Quakers have returned all their Briefs blank. But I do not find that they have tried much to dissuade others from giving, and so far we are obliged to them.

His last letter, dated 10 March, is submitted to the Trustees at their Meeting of 8 May.

Since I came to London from Ireland, I began to recover my usual strength, have preached on the Brief in three Capital Churches where it had been delayed for that purpose, viz : St. Mary, White Chapel, St. George the Martyr, and Lambeth Church ; I have made great Collections in the Parishes belonging to them, and do not doubt if I could stay a Month or two longer I might add at least a thousand Pounds more to the Collection, as I have raised near one hundred Pounds one Week with another since my return to London, part of which was on the Brief, and Part in private Collections. But I am determined to embark for Philadelphia the end of March, as I am thoroughly tired out, and long earnestly to be with my Family, and Mr Peters is urgent for my return that he himself might embark for Liverpool to see his Relatives. There are only about seven or eight parishes now in London, where the Brief has not been collected, and I have engaged some of my friends to preach in them, and to give all possible attention to the Collection.

That his work had been well done and his labors constant are testified to by the results already portrayed, and there needs not the confirmation of his English supporters. Thomas Penn writes him, 9 April, 1764, "the great zeal with which you have solicited the Contributions for the Benefit of the College of Philadelphia must entitle you to the Regard and Esteem of every Person that wishes well to the Province of Pennsylvania," and

assuring him of his friendship on all occasions, asks him to accept as a Token his Draft on his Banker for fifty pounds. In his prompt acknowledgment of the Proprietary's substantial remembrance, he covers also his allegiance to the Proprietary interests in his far-off home :

please to accept my assurances, that so far as my Judgment or Abilities can carry me, you shall ever find me, in all Prudence, earnest to promote the best interests of the Country with which you are so closely connected, and which I know you and your Family will always consider as inseparable from your own interests.

Archbishop Secker writes to Dr. Peters on 13 April :

I cannot let Dr Smith go without sending you a line by him. Providence has blessed our Endeavors here, for the Benefit of his College, much beyond my expectation. And indeed his Abilities and Diligence have been the chief Instruments of the Success. Dissenters have contributed laudably ; but the Members of the Church of England, and particularly the Clergy, have been proportionately more liberal. Doubtless they were induced to it by the Allegation in the Brief, that this Seminary, and that of New York, would be extremely useful in educating Missionaries to serve the Society for propagating the Gospel. And therefore I hope the Trustees of the College of Philadelphia will be careful to make Provision, that all such as are designed for Clergymen of our Church shall be instructed by a Professor of Divinity who is a Member of our Church ; which may surely be done without giving any offense to Persons of other Denominations ; a Fault that by all means should be studiously avoided ; as I doubt not, through your Prudence, it may and will. And with due Precaution, the Thing is necessary to be done.

And Dr. Chandler writes to Dr. Peters :

The Doctor has been indefatigable in his Endeavours to serve the Philadelphia College and greatly successful. He well deserves the sincerest thanks of all the Trustees, of the several Professors and Masters, and all who wish well to the College, and indeed, in general, of all the Friends of Knowledge and Learning.¹¹

Sir James Jay had been left in Ireland by Dr. Smith, and the latter had given settlement of their joint accounts in the hands of Mr. Penn ; but it was not until August of that year that Mr. Penn, as representative of Dr. Smith, Sir James Jay for King's

¹¹ Smith, i. 351, 52, 54.

College, and Mr. Barlow Trecothick, as a Friend to both Colleges, met for the purpose of settling the accounts, which being passed upon by each one, Mr. Trecothick was entrusted with preparing the final account. Sir James Jay's unhappy controversy with his College which grew out of the accounting of his affairs, led to the publication of his *Letter to the Governors of the College of New York*, 1771, before referred to. This grew, apparently, from anticipating his collections, and drawing for too great an amount. A reference to this draft by Dr. Smith in his letter of 11 February, 1764, properly finds record here :

I thought it best the moment I was able to come to look after our Business in England, and to leave Jay in Ireland, who does not propose so speedy a return to America as is necessary for me. And indeed I got to England just Time enough to save for New York the damages on £2500 protested bills ; for they had drawn for £4000 at once, and Mr Drummond had but £1500, and could not get more as the power of settling with the Brief gatherers was in Jay and me. They were too rash in their Draught at New York ; but, however, out of their own share the whole £4000 is paid and £500 left over with Mr Drummond, with whom I have just been.

LXVII.

Finally, Provost Smith bade Adieu to his friends in England, and embarking from Falmouth on 23 April in the *Earl of Halifax* packet, reached New York,¹ on 5 June, and immediately set out for Philadelphia which after a rapid journey for those days he reached the next evening. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 16 June, chronicled his arrival and reception on 14 June.

Late on Wednesday Evening the 6th Inst. the Rev'd Doctor Smith, Provost of the College of this city, arrived in perfect health, having come in the Halifax packet, in about six weeks from Falmouth. The Day following, the Professors of the Colleges in their proper Habits, and many of the principal gentlemen of the city, gave him a most cordial welcome at his

¹ *New York Mercury*, 11 June, 1764.

House; and on Tuesday last the Trustees of the College received him at the College, and, after perusing the Papers and Accounts which he laid before them, they did by the Mouth of their President return him their unanimous Thanks, for the great Zeal, Ability, and Address, which he hath shown in the Management of the Collection, carried on in conjunction with Sir James Jay, for this College, and that of New York; by Means of which, about Thirteen Thousand Pounds Sterling will come clearly to be divided between the two Seminaries.²

But the Trustees' Minutes of 12 June give a more stately account of their reception of him. Messrs. Peters, Hamilton, Coxe, Duché, Redman, Edward Shippen, Coleman, Turner, Phineas and Thomas Bond, Lardner, Strettell, Stedman, White, Willing, and Cadwalader, met according to notice and Dr. Smith

being introduced by the President, he was most affectionately received by all the members of the Board, who expressed great satisfaction on seeing him safely returned and perfectly recovered from the dangerous Sickness into which he had fallen in the City of Dublin. After which kind salutations he produced the State of the Collection as it stood at the time of his Departure from England, properly vouched by the Hon'ble Thomas Penn, Esqr and Mr. Alderman Trecothicke who have kindly accepted a Power of Attorney from the Commissioners named in the Royal Brief, to examine, settle and close the whole Collection as soon as the remainder of the Briefs can be returned into the proper office, there being about thirteen hundred outstanding when Dr. Smith came away, and about nine thousand seven hundred returned. Dr. Smith then delivered a joint Letter from the Proprietors to the Trustees, and a separate Letter to them from the Hon'ble Thomas Penn, Esq, after which he withdrew. Being soon afterwards called in, the President in the Name and by the order of the Trustees voted him their unanimous Thanks in the warmest and most affectionate Manner for the great Zeal, Diligence, Ability and Address which he had shown in the Management of this Collection, for which all the Friends of this Institution as well as of Learning in General were under the greatest obligations to him.

² The total results as recited in the account entered in the Minutes of 3 May, 1765, are namely:

One half of the Brief Money,	£4800.
One half private Collections preceding 22 June, 1762,	1136.10.6
Royal Bounty,	200.
Proprietary Bounty,	500.
Collected before the Scheme for New York was united,	284.17.

6921. 7.6

which at current rate of exchange $72\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. would bring in Pennsylvania Currency, £11.939.6.5.

To this the Provost made a feeling and appropriate reply, closing with the statement

that the Success had far exceeded anything that could be reasonably expected, and would no doubt lead all concerned to be truly thankful to our Benefactors, and earnestly desirous to manage their Bounty so as most effectually to answer their pious Intentions.

Dr. Peters then read the letter of Dr. Chandler to him of 12 April, already quoted from, and as it

referred to another drawn up by the Archbishop of Canterbury and himself, Dr. Smith produced the same, and Mr. Stedman, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Duché and Dr. Redman were appointed a Committee together with the Provost, to consider the said two letters together, with those from the Proprietors, and to draw up proper addresses and answers to them against Thursday next.

Thanks were ordered to be conveyed to Mr. Trecothick for his great kindness during the whole Collection and also to Messrs. David Barclay and Sons for their kindness; and before closing

it was recommended to the Trustees to consider against next Meeting in what Manner they might best shew their Regard to Dr. Smith, increase his support, and put him on as respectable a Footing as possible in the Institution.

And at the following meeting this regard was testified by allowing him

One Hundred Pounds per annum as a Consideration for those Services, which sum is not to be considered as an addition to the Salary of Provost, but solely as a Reward for Dr. Smith's personal services in England.

LXVIII.

The meeting of 14 June, 1764, became a historic one, and marks an era in the life of the College of standing importance, although fifteen years later that life was for a while stricken down by its enemies, who turned to the record of this meeting for false testimony whereon to formulate their charges which brought about the abrogation of the existing charter. Let us first recite the significant letter jointly signed by Archbishop Secker, the brothers Penn, and Dr. Chandler, of which Dr. Smith was the bearer. The causes which led to this historic document are detailed by Dr. Chandler in his letter to Dr. Peters of 12 April, and display the kindly and worthy motives which prompted it. He writes :

As there have been some Suspicions entertained on both sides that the present Constitution of it may be altered, and the Professors and Masters, now of different Denominations, in Time may all be of one prevailing Denomination to the exclusion of those of the other, by the Art and Power of the prevailing party ; and as the Doctor [Smith] justly apprehended this would be contrary to the intention of those who have contributed towards the Support of the College (who have been of all parties amongst us) and inconsistent with the Prosperity of the Institution itself, by his Desire, I waited, Monday last, on the good Archbishop of Canterbury, where, with the Doctor, we freely debated this affair for an Hour together. His Grace, a friend to Liberty, and highly approving the present Plan on which the College is established, gave his Opinion that this Plan should be preserved without alteration. I had the Honor entirely to agree with the Archbp, and, on Dr. Smith's proposing to him that a Letter to the Trustees representing our Judgment in this affair, and signed by both of us, might be of some Weight to keep Things on their present Footing and prevent all future Jealousies on either side, he readily assented to it. * * * As my Judgment is supported by that of so worthy a Prelate, and as I apprehend by the Reason of the Thing itself, I hope it will, as his Judgment, have the good effect of preventing all future jealousies, and of establishing Peace and Harmony amongst all the worthy Professors, and of promoting Religion, Learning and Liberty, which I pray God may long continue to flourish in that Seminary.

The following letter, it will be seen, was joined in by the Proprietaries, and approved by one of the most influential Trustees, then in London, Chief Justice Allen.

To the Trustees of the College and Academy of Philadelphia
Gentlemen

We cannot omit the opportunity which Doctr Smith's return to Philadelphia gives us of congratulating you on the great success of the Collection which he came to pursue and of acknowledging your obliging Addresses of Thanks to us for the Share we had in recommending and encouraging this Design. Such a mark of your Attention to us will, we doubt not, excuse our hinting to you what we think may be further necessary to a due Improvement of this Collection, and the future Prosperity of the Institution under your care.

This Institution you have professed to have been originally founded and hitherto carried on for the general Benefit of a mixed Body of People. In his Majesty's Royal Brief, it is represented as a Seminary that would be of great use "for raising up able Instructors and Teachers, as well for the Service of the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts, as for other Protestant Denominations in the Colonies."

At the time of granting this Collection, which was solicited by the Provost, who is a Clergyman of the Church of the England, it was known that there were united with him a Vice Provost who is a Presbyterian, and a principal Professor of the Baptist Persuasion, with sundry inferior Professors and Tutors, all carrying on the Education of Youth with great Harmony; and People of various Denominations have hereupon contributed liberally and freely.

But jealousies now arising lest this Foundation should afterwards be narrowed, and some Party endeavor to exclude the Rest, or put them on a worse Footing than they have been from the Beginning, or were at the Time of this Collection, which might not only be deemed unjust in itself, but might likewise be productive of Contentions unfriendly to Learning and hurtful to Religion; we would therefore recommend it to you, to make some fundamental Rule or Declaration to prevent Inconveniences of this Kind; in doing of which, the more closely you keep in View the Plan on which the Seminary was at the Time of obtaining the Royal Brief, and on which it has been carried on from the Beginning, so much the less Cause we think you will give for any Party to be dissatisfied.

Wishing continual Prosperity and Peace to the Institution, We are,
with great Regard,

Gentlemen

Your faithful
Friends and Servants
Tho. Cant.
Tho. & Rich^d Penn
Sam. Chandler.

London
9 April, 1764
I as a Trustee approve
of this Letter. Wit-
ness my Hand,
Will. Allen

Wherein lay this distrust that the Trustees would possibly narrow the scheme of the College cannot now well be traced. King's College was admittedly a Church of England Institution, and was the recipient of the noble bounty of Trinity Church, which to secure to the College the President of its choice elected Dr. Johnson an assistant Minister of the Parish in order to assure him a living. It appealed under the Royal Brief to the English people with force equal to that exerted by the Philadelphia College, though making no pretensions to that "liberal plan" claimed by the latter at its origin. But the latter having now renewed this claim, to meet possibly the desires of Dr. Chandler and his friends, urgency was now exerted on the Trustees to officially renew the assurance of it. The President of the Board was now Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, the Provost the most eminent preacher and orator in the Province, and the more influential Trustees were members of the Church of England. These latter from the outset had in fact the same prevailing church membership, but under Franklin's leading impulse this was not felt, they having been united by him to aid the new academy from their mercantile and personal influence, and in no wise because of their church membership. But the gradual withdrawal of Franklin's concerns in the Seminary, and the prevailing influence of Peters, Smith and Duché,¹ three Church of England clergymen, especially as the second of these was politically the champion of that church's interest in the Province, would suffice to give color to any accusations of the kind which might be raised against it. From Franklin's present standpoint, it must have appeared to be narrowing, and his fears would be confirmed when he saw his college uniting with a Church of England college in a general collection. If this view was accepted by him before his leaving England, he might reasonably give some expression to it, for he was without the confidence of Dr. Smith, whose estrangement might only serve

¹"Mr. Stedman and Mr. Duché are both extremely kind and give me all the Assistance in their power with the utmost assiduity and readiness in conducting the Academy Business." Dr. Peters to Dr. Smith. 28 May, 1763. *Penna. Magazine*, x. 352.

to strengthen this view. That some of the Professors and Tutors were other religionists than Churchmen, was rather the result perhaps of circumstances than of intention, and this may have been known to Franklin. Dr. Peters in writing to Dr. Smith his letter of 28 May, 1763, bewails this :

I blush to tell you that we have not one church Tutor in all our Academy. There is not a Churchman upon the Continent as I can hear of that is fit to make a Tutor ; and it is from downright necessity that we are obliged to take such as offer.²

This fear or mistrust of the Trustees would have but little weight as a matter of mere record in the life of the College, but as grave issues a few years subsequently were evolved from this disputed point, this seems the place to look for the seeds which were claimed to bear the bitter fruit of those later years. The wise and capable Dr. Chandler could not have succeeded in winning Archbishop Secker's cooperation in the present appeal to the Trustees, had he not satisfied him that good reasons prevailed to seek an official utterance from the Trustees which would allay this doubt. Whatever may have been at that time the prevailing circumstances which fostered this doubt as to the integrity of the appeal of the Trustees on their original "liberal plan," we cannot now well define them, but we must admit their credible existence, and the readiness of the Trustees to appreciate the point and their promptness to give a responsive assurance of their integrity in this regard, is evidenced by their immediate action upon the joint letter to them from their friends. And before adjournment at this important meeting of 14 June, they adopted the following Declaration :

The Trustees being ever desirous to promote the Peace and Prosperity of this Seminary, and to give Satisfaction to all its worthy Benefactors, have taken the above Letter into their serious Consideration, and perfectly approving the Sentiments therein contained, do order the same to be inserted in their Books, that it may remain perpetually declaratory of the present wide and excellent Plan of this Institution, which hath not only met with the approbation of the great and worthy Personages above mentioned, but even the Royal Sanction of his Majesty himself. They further

² *Penna. Magazine* x. 352.

declare that they will keep this Plan closely in their View, and use their utmost Endeavours that the same be not narrowed nor the Members of the Church of England or those dissenting from them (in any future Election to the principal offices mentioned in the aforesaid letter) be put on any worse Footing in this Seminary than they were at the Time of obtaining the Royal Brief. They subscribe this with their names and ordain that the same be read and subscribed by every new Trustee that shall hereafter be elected before he takes his Seat at the Board.

Of the Twenty-four Trustees now serving, twenty promptly signed the same on the Minute Book, including Franklin, though he and Dr. Shippen and Mr. Chew did not attend this meeting or that of 12 June called to receive the Provost.³ Of the other four, Mr. Inglis who was yet abroad in June, signed on 11 September; Chief Justice Allen was also abroad; Mr. Elliot had removed to New York, and his place was shortly declared vacant; and Mr. Syng's name also does not appear.

This weighty matter thus duly recorded, letters to their kind friends were read, approved, and ordered to be entered on the minutes. To the Archbishop they say:

Whatever comes recommended to us by the names of Personages to whom we are under so many obligations, cannot fail of having its due Weight with us, more especially as it is conformable to that generous plan which we have always pursued in this Seminary; and therefore we found

³ Dr. Shippen's attendance at the meetings about this time were infrequent. But the absence of Mr. Chew may not have been without design, if we accept a statement regarding him in Dr. Peter's letter to Dr. Smith of 28 May, 1763: "It gives your Friends here a great deal of concern that you have had so much trouble in defending yourself against what was said to your prejudice about Mr. Beatty's Collection. The noise as I wrote you, was very strong at first, but it has subsided for some time. From your first Letters we all saw the thing in its true light. * * * I gave Dr. Alison the printed Letter with your Defence certified by Mr. Penn and Dr. Chandler and desired him to shew it to his Brethren. This I did as soon as the first of them arrived. * * * I showed it likewise to Mr. Allen and left it with him at his own request, and I hope at meeting you will be able to remove any unfavorable Impressions that may still remain with him towards you. I could find by his discourse that he had a great sense of the very great services you was doing for us, and make no doubt, but as both he and you are very open on all occasions, everything will be discussed and settled between you to mutual satisfaction. * * * I have had much discourse [with] Mr. Chew and at times with the Governor [Hamilton] and from both I learn that the same unfavorable Impressions conceived of you were not worn off yet your extraordinary merit and success were amply acknowledged and I am sure they will on your arrival make you quite sensible that they are real friends of the Institution, and therefore cannot but give you a mighty hearty welcome and act towards you a just and kind Part. God restore you to us in good health, and then I think you will find things much better than you can imagine, and we shall be able to put all things on a good footing." *Pennsylvania Magazine*, x 351.

no Difficulty in making and entering on our Books a fundamental Declaration of this Plan as proposed to us, a Copy of which is hereunto annexed under our Seal.

But the next paragraph appears to show their fear that the Archbishop might misconstrue their expression, "that the members of the Church of England or those dissenting from them be not put on any worse footing" than before :

After the great Countenance shewn to this Seminary by our gracious Sovereign and by our National Church over which your Grace presides, we should hold ourselves inexcusable if, by any Act of ours, we should endeavor to put the Interest of that Church on any worse Footing in the said Seminary than it was at the Time of obtaining so great Favors. On the contrary we think it our Duty to shew every mark of our Regard to that Church, so far as is consistent with our Faith pledged to other Religious Denominations and that Plan of Christian Liberty to which we know your Grace is a warm Friend.

To Dr. Chandler they write :

You may be well assured that we shall be ever Zealous to preserve that Plan of Christian Liberty on which it is the Glory of this Institution to be founded ; and at the same time that we shew all due Regard to our national Church, we shall never violate our Faith pledged to other religious Denominations.

To the Proprietaries they also write their acknowledgments, and say :

What comes recommended to us by Personages to whom we owe so many obligations, could not fail to have its due Weight with us, more especially as it is conformable to that generous Plan which we have always pursued in this Seminary ; and therefore we found no Difficulty in making and entering into our Books a fundamental Declaration of this Plan, as proposed to us.

The carefulness with which the Trustees reiterated their constant maintenance of the original plan of the Institution, and the grace with which they now acceded to a request from high quarters to renew assurances to that effect, would seem to imply they had knowledge that there was some ground for the mistrust held by their friends, otherwise they would have coupled to their reiteration some denial of, perhaps resentment at, the serious implications involved in the request. The Trustees had

replied through Dr. Peters with becoming spirit to the equally serious intimations that the funds arising from the collections might not meet with proper investments, but there is a lack of this spirit under the present implications. But it is only surmise, and not evidence, that their good friends in England had some grounds for their kind suggestions and inquiries.

The Trustees did not adjourn this important meeting of 14 June until they had appointed "Dr. Smith their Secretary, to take charge of their Minutes and Proceedings and to give his assistance to the Treasurer whenever it may be required; which services he is to perform without any further consideration than the said additional sum of One Hundred Pounds per annum" already noted. From this time greater care is preserved, and more detail observed in the Minutes of the Trustees, for the excellent workmanship and industry of Dr. Smith were observed in this minor office as in all his engagements.

LXIX.

The worthy and faithful President, who had been elected Rector of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's on 6 December, 1762, to succeed Dr. Jenney, whose funeral sermon Dr. Smith had preached on the eve of his sailing a twelve-month before, had been himself desirous of going abroad, and indeed it was subsequently found requisite that he should visit England to receive a license in due form from the Bishop of London in person. He had assisted the Rector of the Church, the Rev. Archibald Cummings for a few months in 1736, but the present election was his first cure and he entered on his duties at once, but he felt indisposed to go abroad and leave the young College, for there was no one among the Trustees—unless it were young Duchè—who would give it that lively management in the absence of the Provost that he could. He writes to Dr. Smith on 28 May, 1763 :

As I have reason to think you will have been at Liverpool, you will have satisfied my sister that it is not possible for me to come over this year. * * * You wrote in so affecting a manner on this subject that I am forced tho' with reluctance to postpone my voyage till your return.¹ [He now immediately upon the Provost's return] informs the Board that he was to embark for England in a few Days to visit his Relations, and in Hopes to benefit his Health. * * * The Trustees, by one of their Members returned him their unanimous Thanks for his long and faithful Services to the Institution, and on his Resignation of the office of President, the Hon'ble James Hamilton was unanimously elected President, which he was pleased to accept.

Dr. Peters "took an affectionate leave of his congregations at Christ Church on Sunday [17th June] and on Monday morning set out for New Castle, in order to embark for England ;"² he remained abroad eighteen months, returning home in the Christmas holidays of 1765 ;³ and his attendance at the meeting of 14 January, 1766, testified to the prompt resumption of his share in the College trust.

¹ *Penna. Magazine*, x, 352.

² *Penna. Gazette*, 20 June, 1764.

³ *Ibid*, 2 January, 1766.

A commencement for the year 1764 was in preparation, but at the meeting of 13 March, Dr. Peters

acquaints the Trustees that he had received a letter from Dr Smith wherein he desired that the time of the ensuing Commencement might be left open till his arrival, as it would then be necessary to make a publick mention of the generous donations made to the Academy and other distinguishing marks of respect shewed the Institution in the course of his present applications; and agreeable to his request it was Resolved that no time should be fixed for the Commencement, but that the Candidates should be examined by such of the Trustees as would attend on the 28th of this month, and if they should be found well qualified that they then should be examined in publick on the 6th of April, of which last examination, notice is to be inserted in the *Gazette* as usual.⁴

But the Provost's departure from England was delayed, with the result that no order was taken for the annual commencement; and we have no means of knowing who were the successful candidates in 1764 who took their degrees at the commencement of 1765.

⁴ The *Penna. Gazette*, 5 April, 1764.

LXX.

The Rev. George Whitefield favored Philadelphia with another of his visits in 1764,¹ and on 9 October the Trustees appointed "Dr. Redman, Mr. Duché, and the Provost to wait on him and to request in Behalf of the Trustees that before his Departure from this City he would oblige the Institution with a sermon for the Benefit of the Charity Children educated in it," which he did on the 17th in the College Hall, "an excellent sermon from St. Matthew vi. 10, Thy Kingdom come. He concluded with a most fervent and Christian exhortation to the Youth of the Institution; and the Collection at the doors amounted to one Hundred and Five pounds."² Whitefield speaks of this as "one of the best regulated institutions in the world;" and in describing this service writes:

Dr. Smith read prayers for me; both the present and the late Governor, with the head gentlemen of the city were present; and cordial thanks were sent to me from all the trustees, for speaking for the children, and countenancing the institution.³

Mr. Whitefield had attended and preached at the Commencement of the College of New Jersey at Princeton on 26 September.⁴

But the Kingdom of Peace, which Whitefield preached in October, did not spare the Province a strife of politics which was the severest experienced by its citizens for many years. Dr. Smith's return home was in the midst of this ferment, and as the two foremost men in the College annals became prominent on opposite sides, we must pause in the recital of these to take a view of the civil situation surrounding its academic halls. But we must go back a twelvemonth to obtain the key to the situation. The return of peace, that of 1763,

¹ Dr. Franklin writes him 19 June, 1764, "We hope you will not be deterred from writing your friends here, by the bugbear Boston account of the unhealthiness of Philadelphia." Bigelow iii. 251.

² *Penna. Gazette*, 18 October, 1764.

³ Tyerman's *Life* ii. 477.

⁴ *Penna. Gazette*, 11 October, 1764.

brought to a close the active military work of the colonies, and the frontiersmen were now more exposed to marauding Indians, who, having tasted war under the influence of the French intrigues, nourished memories of hatred against the English settlers and sought in some cases to avenge themselves for past injuries. The whites dreamed of a war of extermination of the Indians, and awoke to the reality of a murder of a band of peaceful Indians who had for two generations dwelt in Lancaster county in amity with all their neighbors, the oldest of them being Shehaes, who had assisted at Penn's second treaty in 1701 and had ever since continued a faithful and affectionate friend to the English. In the middle of December, 1763, a body of less than sixty men from Paxtang Township, in that county, marched one night and surrounded their settlement in Conestoga Manor, and massacred without note of warning the few they there found, for the most happened to be away from home at the moment. These latter, hearing of this cruel work, sought refuge in Lancaster and were by their friends secured in the jail to spare them from attack of the same party, who became known as the Paxton Boys. News of the massacre of the 14 December was speedily carried to Philadelphia, and produced intense indignation; the Governor issued his proclamation calling upon all officers to make diligent search for the murderers. But unheeding this, and undaunted by the shame and cruelty of their proceeding, they came to Lancaster where they heard the remaining villagers were in hiding, and on the second day after Christmas, appeared in force, and broke into the jail, and murdered all the Indians they there found. Governor Penn issued a second proclamation on 2 January, 1764. Franklin wrote his well-known *Narrative of the late Massacres in Lancaster County of a number of Indians, friends of this province*, appealing to the people by every instinct of mercy and justice to stand by the honor of the government and protect peaceable citizens, even though they might be Indians whom they were asked to shield from unprovoked slaughter. He says:

Let us rouse ourselves, for shame, and redeem the honor of our province from the contempt of its neighbors; let all good men join heartily

and unanimously in support of the laws, and in strengthening the hands of government, that justice may be done, the wicked punished, and the innocent protected; otherwise we can, as a people, expect no blessing from Heaven; there will be no security for our persons or properties; anarchy and confusion will prevail over all; and violence without judgment dispose of everything. * * * I shall conclude with observing, that cowards can handle arms, can strike where they are sure to meet with no return, can wound, mangle and murder; but it belongs to brave men to spare and protect; for, as the poet says,

‘ Mercy still sways the brave. ’

But neither the fulminations of the authorities, nor the eloquence of the foremost citizen of the province had weight with these savages of a whiter hue. Their thirst for Indian blood led them to search for wider streams wherein to quench it. Many friendly Indians in the province, to the number of one hundred and forty, some of them Christians under Moravian teachings, at once sought protection among their Philadelphia friends, where they found a place of refuge on Providence Island in the Delaware. The Paxton Boys marched towards Philadelphia in swelling numbers. The Indians were now brought into the city and secured in the barracks. Franklin, at the request of the Governor, organized a military association as he had done before under the fears of foreign invasion, and nine companies were formed. The Paxton boys had marched as far as Germantown, where they paused, hearing of the Indians’ protection and the preparations for their armed defence : happily, a fatal pause to their schemes. Governor Penn deputed Franklin with other citizens to go out and meet them, among these being his fellow Trustees Dr. Peters, Thomas Willing and Benjamin Chew. But an influential element in the province exhibited some sympathy with the cry of “ Down with the Indians,” and beyond the quiet dispersion of these marauders, unharmed by the law, nothing was accomplished; and the month of February witnessed the cessation of the excitement and the assured safety of the Indians. Their enemies alleged that the friendship of these Indians was deceitful, that they gave encouragement to traitors, even if they did not harbor them; that retaliation was justifiable; and their war was against them as a nation, of which every tribe and indi-

vidual formed a part. Indeed, religious enthusiasm suggested, as they were heathen, there was a divine command to exterminate them. Even the mild John Ewing, the divine who was filling Provost Smith's chair in his absence wrote to his young friend Joseph Reed then in London,

Our public money is lavishly squandered away in supporting a number of savages, who have been murdering and scalping us for many years past. This has so enraged some desperate young men, who had lost their nearest relations, by these very Indians, to cut off about twenty Indians that lived near Lancaster, who had, during the war, carried on a constant intercourse with our other enemies ; and they came down to Germantown to inquire why Indians, known to be enemies, were to be supported, even in luxury, with the best that our markets afforded, at the public expense, while they were left in the utmost distress on the Frontiers, in want of the necessaries of life. Ample promises were made to them that their grievances should be redressed, upon which they immediately dispersed and went home. * * * Few, but Quakers, think that the Lancaster Indians have suffered anything but their just deserts. 'Tis not a little surprising to us here, that orders should be sent from the Crown, to apprehend and bring to justice those persons who have cut off that nest of enemies that lived near Lancaster. * * * What surprises us more than all, the accounts we have from England, is, that our Assembly, in a petition they have drawn up, to the King, for a change of Government, should represent this Province in a state of uproar and riot, and when not a man in it has once resisted a single officer of the Government, nor a single act of violence committed, unless you call the Lancaster affair such, although it was no more than going to war with that tribe, as they had done before with others, without a formal proclamation of war by the Government.⁵

We cannot wonder at Franklin's indictment of the Government, two months later, in his *Cool Thoughts on the Present Situation of Our Public Affairs* :

At present we are in a wretched situation. The Government, that ought to Keep all in order, is itself weak, and has scarce authority enough to keep the common peace. Mobs assemble and Kill (we scarce dare say murder) numbers of innocent people in cold blood, who were under the protection of the Government. Proclamations are issued to bring the rioters to justice. Those proclamations are treated with the utmost indignity and contempt. Not a magistrate dares wag a finger towards discover-

⁵ *Life and Correspondence of President Reed*, William B. Reed, i. 35.

ing or apprehending the delinquents (we must not call them *murderers*). They assemble again, and with arms in their hands approach the capital. The Government truckles, condescends to cajole them, and drops all prosecution of their crimes ; while honest citizens, threatened in their lives and fortunes, flee the province, as having no confidence in the people's protection. We are daily threatened with more of these tumults ; and the Government, which in its distress called aloud on the sober inhabitants to come with arms to its assistance, now sees those who afforded that assistance daily libelled, abused, and menaced by its partisans for so doing ; whence it has little reason to expect such assistance on another occasion.

This border episode, sanguinary as it was, would have had less significance but for the heat of local politics then existing. The disputes between the people through their Assemblymen with the Proprietaries, were reaching a culmination. The advent in the province in the previous autumn of a Governor of Penn's name and blood had produced great hopes of a harmonious government ; but it was soon found he came with family instructions as rigid as his predecessors ; and the popular disappointment was greater in proportion to the height upon which favorable hopes had been built. The outbreak of the Paxton Boys showed the weakness of government, and afforded fresh material for the advocates of a change to employ in their arguments, and Franklin's *Narrative* made a lively picture of the situation as they apprehended it. Governor Penn proposed a Militia Bill, seeing the weakness of the province in self-defence, and the Assembly framed one in which due regard was had to the nomination of officers by the companies, but the Governor returned the bill, as it did not clothe him with the sole power of their appointment, and the bill was accordingly lost.⁶ Renewed dissensions on the supply bill arose upon the clause which subjected the Proprietary lands to a modified taxation, which the Governor contended should be the maximum for all their lands, whether improved or unimproved ; and the financial necessities of the province were such that the Assembly finally yielded the point, but in great wrath. Convinced that

⁶ In September, 1764, under the name of *Veritas* Franklin wrote his *Remarks on a particular militia bill rejected by the Proprietor's Deputy, or Governor*. Bigelow iii. 304.

nothing now was left but to seek a change of government, from Proprietary to Royal administration, the majority,⁷ on 24 March, 1764, passed a resolution of adjournment,

in order to consult their Constituents, whether an humble address should be drawn up, and transmitted to his Majesty, praying, that he would be graciously pleased to take the People of this Province under his immediate Protection and Government, by compleating the Agreement heretofore made with the first Proprietary for the Sale of the Government to the Crown, or otherwise as to his Wisdom and Goodness shall seem meet,

and took a recess until 14 May. On 12 April Franklin issued his *Cool Thoughts*.

The response from their constituency confirmed the majority in their attitude; and reassembling on 14 May, they proceeded to put in form a "Petition to the King for changing the Proprietary Government of Pennsylvania into a Royal Government,"⁸ and on 24 May John Dickinson made his celebrated speech in opposition to the measure, the publication of which shortly afterwards brought Provost Smith into participation in the controversy, and Joseph Galloway at once responded to it in a speech which was also published. On the next day the Petition was ordered to be transcribed,⁹ in order to be signed by the Speaker on the day following; Isaac Norris, the Speaker, waived his signature to the Petition by resigning, when Franklin was elected in his place, and gave his official signature to it.¹⁰ Both Norris and Dickinson had been with Franklin opponents to the exactions and demands of the Proprietaries and hoped for some other government, but could not advance with him so far as to seek as a substitute a royal government. On 6 June, the day Provost Smith arrived in Philadelphia from his collecting tour, some of the Proprietary friends applied to Mr. Dickinson for a

⁷ The vote was twenty-seven to three.

⁸ Drawn by Franklin. Bigelow iii. 303.

⁹ Joseph Richardson, Isaac Saunders and John Montgomery, were the only members to vote with Dickinson affirmatively on his resolution to adjourn the subject another day.

¹⁰ "Benjamin Franklin, Esq., was accordingly chosen speaker, and in the afternoon of the same day, signed the petition, as one of his first acts; an act which—but posterity will best be able to give it a name!" Smith's *Preface*, vii., to Dickinson's speech printed by William Bradford, 1764.

copy of his speech, "persuaded that the publication thereof would be of great utility and give general satisfaction." But the speech needed the aid of another pen, and Dr. Smith was at once asked to write a preface to it. No man in the colonies was deemed so apt and able to take the other side in any controversy in which Franklin was engaged as was the Provost of the College; even the influential and capable legislator, Dickinson, now sought his fluent pen, and he was ready to respond. Fresh from successes "at home," and with grateful memories of his treatment by the Penns, he would naturally warm to this work and apply his ready skill to the attack of any attempt which sought to destroy the proprietary interest and rule. It is one of his best political papers, but evidently written in haste. Its publication at once brought to the press Galloway's speech, which was in turn preceded by a Preface, the author being Franklin himself. Dr. Smith's Preface to Dickinson's speech was sufficiently open to his corrections and criticisms, and we have one of the clearest and most pungent of his political articles; knowing who Dickinson's sponsor was, he sought occasion under cover of Galloway's speech to answer him and meet his statements and insinuations, and to present to the reader a historic account of the more recent controversies between the Governors and the Assembly,¹¹ in which no Pennsylvanian was better informed than he.

¹¹ "It has long been observed, that Men are, with that Party, Angels or Demons, just as they happen to concur with or oppose their Measures, and I mention it for the comfort of old Sinners, that in Politics, as well as in Religion, Repentance and Amendment, though late, shall obtain Forgiveness and procure Favor. * * * Then might all your political offences be done away, and your scarlet Sins become as Snow and Wool; then might you end your Course with (Proprietary) Honor. P[eters] should preach your Funeral Sermon, and S[mith] the Poisoner of other characters, embalm your Memory." *Preface*, xxiv. to Galloway's speech printed by W. Dunlap, 1764.

LXXI.

Nothing was now left but to await the results of the autumn elections, by which either of the great parties hoped to attain the ascendancy. A crisis had been reached in provincial affairs, and the issues must be decided. In the city the Proprietary party had gained some allies, from varying causes. All those who sympathized with the principles (or want of principles) of the Paxton Boys were now antagonistic to Franklin and others who had cried aloud for the suppression of their crimes.¹ The influential Presbyterians were now united in sentiment against a change of government, rather willing to bear with present ills than open the door for a change to a Royal government which might involve even the greater influence of Episcopacy than was now represented by the Penns. Both the Vice-Provost, Alison, and Professor Ewing, had joined with Gilbert Tennent in a Circular Letter on 30 March to their friends :

The Presbyterians here, upon mature deliberation, are of opinion, that it is not safe to do things of such importance rashly. Our privileges by those means may be greatly *abridged*, but will never be *enlarged*. We are under the King's protection now, as much as we can be, for he will never govern us in person; and it is of no great consequence whether his deputy be recommended by the Proprietaries, or by some other great man by his Majesty's approbation. Our charter is in danger by such a change, and let no man persuade you to the contrary.²

The reference to "some other great man" conveyed an intimation of the fear many cultivated that Franklin was seeking under cover of a change of charter his own personal advancement; certain it may be that had the change been consummated and had the new Master, the King, sought to make the most prominent citizen the Governor of the Province, that officer would have been Franklin. A man whose rare power of influ-

¹ "My very zeal in opposing the murderers, and supporting the authority of Government, and even my humanity with regard to the innocent Indians under our protection, were mustered among my offences, to stir up against me those religious bigots, who are of all savages the most brutish." *Remarks*. Bigelow iii. 361.

² Sparks vii. 282.

encing people was without its equal in the Province, and whose pen was feared if not respected by all, could only have arisen to this prominence from unworthy motives, many said; and for them to impute to him now sinister designs for his aggrandizement was to be expected. In the heats of party strife, suspicions as to another's motives may be fused in one's imagination only.

The elections took place, and Franklin, after having received fourteen consecutive elections to the Assembly, being honored with them during his six years residence abroad,³ was now defeated, but only by a minority of twenty-five out of a total vote of four thousand. However, the elections generally assured a continued majority in the Assembly opposed to Proprietary rule, and so soon as it convened in October, he was appointed to "embark immediately for Great Britain to join with and assist the present agent in transacting the affairs of this Province for the ensuing year,"⁴ and to bear their petition for a change of government. This turn of affairs, so unlooked for, gave much chagrin to the Proprietary party. Instead of committing him to private life at the public election as they hoped, he was now raised to a position of imminent danger to them. Great excitement prevailed. The elation of the popular party at this happy stroke of policy intensified the disappointment of the other side; but these latter were powerless to thwart the appointment and could only vent their thoughts in a Protest "against the appointment of the person proposed as an agent of the Province,"⁵ which paper bears the marks of Dr. Smith's authorship; but only ten members of the Assembly signed it, including Thomas Willing and George Bryan who had just been elected in the place of Franklin and his associate Samuel Rhoads. The appointment was made on 26 October; Franklin at once prepared to fulfill his mission. There being no funds in the treasury to assure him of the payment of his expenses, the deficiency was to be "pro-

³ "In none of the fourteen elections you mention did I ever appear as a candidate. I never did, directly or indirectly, solicit any man's votes. For six of the years in which I was annually chosen, I was absent, residing in England." *Remarks*. Bigelow iii. 361.

⁴ *Penna. Gazette*, 1 November, 1764.

⁵ Smith i. 344, 587.

vided for in the next bill prepared by the House for raising money to defray the public debt." But Franklin writes his nephew, Jonathan Williams, "The merchants here in two hours subscribed eleven hundred pounds to be lent the public for the charges of my voyage. I shall take with me but a part of it, five hundred pounds sterling."⁶

The Protest was not received by the House, and found no entry in the Minutes, and its signers proceeded to publish it.⁷

This called out, two days before his sailing, his *Remarks on a late Protest against the appointment of Mr. Franklin as agent for the Province of Pennsylvania*, one of his ablest and most caustic papers, as the structure of the Protest and its charges afforded him some strong points for his criticism and invective. One of the opening paragraphs has a personal reference in it which should bear quotation in this connection.

Another of your reasons is that I am, as you are informed, very unfavorably thought of by several of his Majesty's ministers. I apprehend, Gentlemen that your informer is mistaken. He indeed has taken great pains to give unfavorable impressions of me, and perhaps may flatter himself that it is impossible so much true industry should be totally without effect. His long success in maiming or murdering all the reputations that stand in his way (which has been the dear delight and constant employment of his life) may likewise have given him some just ground for confidence, that he has, as they call it, *done* for me, among the rest. But, as I said before, I believe he is mistaken.⁸

He evidently had no doubt as to the authorship of the Protest.

His concluding paragraph has a hidden prophecy of his long absence, and is pathetic in its expression, as more than ten years were passed in the pursuance of this vexatious mission, and his return was coincident with the new birth of his country, for

⁶ 3 November, 1764. Bigelow iii. 256.

⁷ "I would observe that this mode of protesting by the minority, with a string of reasons against the proceedings of the majority of the House of Assembly, is quite new among us; the present is the second we have had of the kind, and both within a few months. It is unknown to the practice of the House of Commons, or of any House of Representatives in America that I ever heard of, and seems an affected imitation of the Lords in Parliament, which can by no means become Assembly-men of America." Franklin in his *Remarks*. Bigelow iii. 357.

⁸ Bigelow iii. 358.

he was homeward bound on the ocean when the first blood of the Revolution was shed in April, 1775.

I am now to take leave (perhaps last leave) of the country I love, and in which I have spent the greatest part of my life. *Esto perpetua*. I wish every kind of prosperity to my friends; and I forgive my enemies.⁹

More than a quarter of a century later Dr. Smith delivered his Eulogium on Dr. Franklin; time had brought him to different conclusions on the struggles of 1764, for speaking of this second mission of Franklin, he said :

But under whatsoever circumstances this second embassy was undertaken, it appears to have been a measure pre-ordained in the councils of Heaven; and it will be forever remembered, to the honor of Pennsylvania, that the agent selected to assert and defend the rights of a single province, at the Court of Great Britain, became the bold asserter of the rights of America in general; and beholding the fetters that were forged for her, conceived the magnanimous thought of rending them asunder before they could be riveted.¹⁰

But two years ere this oration Dr. Smith had meted out to Dr. Franklin in the records of the College his due honor for its creation, when he as Secretary of the Trustees recorded in the Minutes of their meeting which was held at Dr. Franklin's house 9 March, 1789, for reorganization, the unanimous election of "the venerable Dr. Benjamin Franklin, the Father and one of the first Founders of the Institution" as President of the Board.

Franklin left Philadelphia on 7 November, and took ship at Chester, whither he was attended by a cavalcade of three hundred citizens.¹¹

It was kind to favor me with their good company as far as they could. The affectionate leave taken of me by so many dear friends at Chester, was very endearing; God bless them and all Pennsylvania.

He writes to his daughter from Reed Island the next night. He

⁹ Bigelow iii. 370.

¹⁰ Works, 1803, i. 61. He here quotes the Abbe Fauchet. Smith ii. 334.

¹¹ Yesterday B. Franklin, Esq., appointed an agent for this Province at the Court of Great Britain set out for Chester, in order to embark on board the King of Prussia, Captain Robinson, for London, when he was accompanied by a great number of the reputable inhabitants from both City and Country. *Penna. Gazette*, 8 March, 1764.

had a favorable passage of thirty days, and was in London on 10 December.¹² Here we leave him in the furtherance of those measures of hopeful conciliation, which, however, eventually shaped themselves to the separation of the colonies, though when he entered on this present mission even his foresight could not apprehend such a political change which was of greater magnitude and promise than had been witnessed in the political world for many ages. And in the meanwhile we must seek a portrayal of the continued life and work of the College of his foundation, which under other hands was to supply the community with well trained men who would thus be better fitted to become citizens of the young Nation with whose birth and infancy the name of Franklin will ever be inseparably coupled.

LXXII.

The new buildings, the want of means for the completion of which had been the moving cause for Dr. Smith's tour of solicitation in England and Ireland, had been completed and were in part occupied. But the institution was yet unable to make the lodgings therein entirely free. At the meeting of 14 June, 1764, immediately upon Dr. Smith's return, he was joined with Messrs. Coxe, Willing and Strettell in a "Committee to consider what could be done with the new Buildings, so that they may bring in an annual Revenue, agreeable to the Institution." Their report, a lengthy one, is entered on the Minutes of 11 September. Some extracts from this may afford us a view

¹² News of his arrival in England did not reach Philadelphia for three months. *Penna. Gazette*, 14 March, 1765. Dr. Cadwalader Evans writes him 15 March, "the most agreeable news of your arrival in London occasioned a great and general joy in Pennsylvania among those whose esteem an honest man would value most. The bells rang on that account till near midnight, and libations were poured out for your health, success, and every other happiness. Even your old friend Hugh Roberts stayed with us till eleven o'clock, which you know was a little out of his common road, and gave us many curious anecdotes within the compass of your forty years' acquaintance." Sparks vii. 283.

of the designs of the Trustees for the accommodation of their pupils and of their endeavors to measure them by the limits of their financial ability, as also some knowledge of the arrangements of the Buildings.

With Respect to the Buildings, there are Sixteen lodging Rooms in the two upper Stories, which we think may contain about fifty Boys, without being more crowded than in the Jersey College, which Dr Alison and Mr Kinnersley have visited on purpose to gain the necessary information.

That we think the eight rooms in the second story may be charged at six pounds each room, and the eight rooms in the third story at five pounds each, so that these two upper stories will produce a clear Rent of eighty eight Pounds per Annum, exclusive of a double room on the first floor for the Charity Boys, which at the same Rate is worth twelve Pounds per annum. Of the three other Rooms on the first floor one is a Kitchen, the other is a Dining Room and the third (where the Charity Girls are) should be left as a Store Room and as a Sitting Room for the use of the Steward, as the Girls cannot either in Decency or Prudence be kept there after the Youth are collected into a Collegiate Way of Life; nor do we find that the Charity Girls are any way included in the original Plan of the Institution, nor were admitted into it, till the Month of December, 1753.

That with Respect to the rest of the Economy of the House, it is to be kept entirely on a separate Footing, and will be no expence to the Trustees after the first Outset, nor any way mixt with their Accounts or Funds. The Plan is as follows:

There must be a Steward, a Cook and an Assistant, who is also to be Bedmaker and to sweep the rooms. [After enumerating the various wages, from the Steward down who was to have forty shillings per annum for each Boy till they exceed the number of fifty, the report proceeds.]

In Jersey's, the Commons, one year with another are from £17 to £18. In Philadelphia from the great Advantages of our Markets and buying in the Gross, we think our Commons will come as cheap, and then the whole annual Expence will be as follows to the Boys who live four in a room, viz:

To Commons	£18.0.0	
Steward	2.0.0	
Room Rent the highest	1.10.0	
Washing and Mending	2.12.0	
Servants' Wages	0.10.0	
Firewood separate from the schools	0.15.0	
Wear of Kitchen Furniture and other Con-		
tingencies	8.0	£25.15.0

But the economies had to be carried further. The funds of the institution had so narrowed, partly by the lessening value of money, that closer calculations had now to be made than had ever before been entered upon.

Fourth. As to savings, we think the following may be made in the general plan, viz :

We commonly lay in eighty Cords of Wood, which with Hauling,
Sawing &c. is £80
Of which the Scholars pay 6s. per annum at 150 boys 45

Loss by Firewood £35
Seventy Cords may serve us ; let every Boy pay for half a Cord, as is done
in every School in Town for Winter Firewood, and here we may
save £35

We have had two writing Masters, one at sixty and one at seventy pounds
per annum ; whereas we well know that one has sufficiently done the
business ; allow £10 for extraordinary services, his salary will
be £70

Here we may save £60
Let the Master of the Mathematical School be for some years (as now) an
unmarried Man, and an hundred pounds will be an honorable support
to him ; whereas £150 can hardly maintain a Family. Here we may
save £50. or at least we may save £25

Let the Scholars, as is usual in all Schools and Colleges, pay for their
Quills, Ink, broken glass, and for a servant to ring the Bell and make
their Fires, we will save £22

The Rent of the new College may be 88

Savings £230

This sum may be saved without any Debate or ground of uneasiness.

A School for Girls was never a part of our original Plan, it is unbecoming and indecent to have Girls among our Students ; it is a Reproach to our Institution, and were our Friends able to support them, as they are not, they should be removed to another part of the City.

This school removed you will save by the House for the Mistress and the
School £15

By Firewood for her and them 10

By her Wages 45

By Wages to her Assistant when she has one 10

£ 80

Add £230

Sum Total may be saved £310

Equal to £5180 added to our present Stock.

Sixth. As to the Boys' Charity School, we think many of them are taken in too young, and many of them kept too long, and also that their Number has exceeded the original Intention, and many Persons, who are not entitled to charity, send their children to that School ; all of which we are of opinion should be regulated.

The beginnings were now made to sever the College from the Charity Schools, which latter had been so popular a feature of the institution at its inception. But at the next meeting, on 9 October, Messrs. Coxe and Strettell reported :

they had perused the Minutes and consulted some of the Members concerned in the original plan of this Institution and are of opinion that it was part of the said plan to educate thirty poor girls besides having a school for poor boys, [and the Trustees agreed] that the Girls' school should be continued & limited to that Number and that no girls be admitted into it for the future otherwise than by a special order of the Trustees at their usual meetings. But it is judged convenient to remove the Girls' School as soon as possible to a proper Distance from the College.

But the Charity Schools could only be maintained by the public generosity ; Mr. Whitefield's sermon in the previous October, which drew a handsome sum, was supplemented on 10 April following by the performance in the College Hall of a solemn Entertainment of Music, under the Direction of Mr Bremner, interspersed with Orations by some of the young Students. The whole was conducted with great Order and Decorum, to the satisfaction of a polite and numerous audience ; by which near one Hundred and Thirty Pounds was raised for the Benefit of the Charity Schools belonging to the said College.¹

The Trustees agreed to the committee's recommendations relative to the Economy and Management of the New Buildings, subject to such Amendments and Regulations as future Circumstances might render necessary, and they appointed Mr. Ebenezer Kinnersley, Steward.

A public announcement of the readiness of the Buildings for occupants, for the waiting scholars were not at once attracted to them, was made in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 31 January, following :

College of Philadelphia January 31, 1765

It having been represented some years ago, to the Trustees of the College, Academy and Charitable School of *Philadelphia*, that many persons, at a Distance from the City, would more willingly send their Children

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 18 April, 1765.

to this Seminary, if they could be lodged and boarded in a Collegiate Way, under the immediate Care and Inspection of the Professors and Masters ; by which it was hoped the Youth would make greater Proficiency in their Studies, and the Expence be considerably less.

The Trustees do, therefore, now give Notice, that a *New Building* is completely finished as a Wing to the *College*, capable of accomodating about *Sixty* Students, and that the Rev Mr EBENEZER KINNERSLEY, one of the Professors, a Gentleman of regular and exemplary Life, hath undertaken the particular Management and *Stewardship* of the same. A Number of the Senior Students and Scholars are now entered into this Building ; and Parents residing at a Distance are hereby acquainted that their Children, being *ten or eleven* Years of Age, or upwards will be admitted into it, and the Greatest Care taken of their *Health, Morals* and *Education*. For, besides the general Inspection committed to *Mr Kinnersley*, the *Trustees visit* every Month ; the Provost, Vice Provost, and Professors will also take their weekly Turns in Visiting ; and the Ushers of the several Schools lodge and board with the Youth in the said Building, to preserve the greater Decorum and Order. The plentiful and commodious Market, with which this City is blest, will give an opportunity of providing every Thing good in its Kind ; and as a regular Account of the whole will be kept by *Mr Kinnersley* and (after Examination by the *Trustees* or Masters) proportioned Quarterly among the Youth, without any other Charge than the prime Cost of Provisions and Firewood, with the stated Fees to the Steward and Servants, it is hoped that the Youth will be accomodated in the most easy and reasonable Terms. But if there should be, nevertheless, any Parents at a Distance, who may have any Person in Town, with whom they would particularly chuse to entrust their Children as private Lodgers, it is not intended, by this public Plan, to prevent such Persons from following their own inclination in this Respect ; the Trustees being ever desirous so to manage the Institution, as that the greatest Good may be done thereby.

Some questions arising upon the powers and duties of Mr Kinnersley in this government of the collegiate family he solicited from the Trustees an explanation and definition of these, and at their meeting of 19 November, 1765, they think it necessary in general to declare, that as they cannot, without further Trial, frame Rules that may provide against all possible cases, it was their Intention to give Mr Kinnersley all the Powers necessary for preserving good Order among the Youth in the said Buildings ; and that he may and ought in ordinary Cases to exercise such Discretionary Authority as a Father would in the government of his own Family ; and in difficult cases to take the Advice and Assistance of the Faculty of Masters, or to consult the Trustees when the case may require it.

To get some light on the mode of life in the New Buildings and the needful Regulations governing the students, we have to await the proceedings of the Trustees for more than four years, and it is not until the meeting of 17 October, 1767, that we find any reference to the "Collegiate way of living" of the undergraduates. The minute recites "the œconomy and management of the New Buildings to be taken into Consideration at next meeting, complaint having been made that sufficient care was not taken to keep the younger part of the Lodgers clean;" and "Dr. Shippen and Mr. Inglis are appointed to inquire into the Complaints," but these gentlemen's "report thereon" was not ready before the meeting of 15 December, 1767, when it was submitted as follows, presenting a curious picture of the personal habits of the lads:

They have visited the Lodgers and Apartments in the new Buildings, and had read the original Regulations made for their Management and Government, from which it appears, that the care of the Boys with respect to their Linnen, Combing their Heads and other matters, in which the younger part of them could not be trusted to themselves, had always been considered as part of the Steward's Duty, for the Allowance made to Him. And that Mr Kinnersley had assured them that he had always taken care to see that their Chambers were kept clean, and that Mrs Kinnersley sends for the smaller Boys twice every Week to have their Heads combed, and that every Monday they are ordered to bring their dirty Linnen to her, with a List of them, to be given out to be washed, and that she receives them back according to the list. They report further that on visiting the Rooms, they found them clean, and the Provisions good that were intended for that Day's Dinner. And as Mr Kinnersley engages to continue his utmost care in these matters, they think there can be no just ground for Complaint.

The readiness of Mr. Kinnersley, and his willingness, to serve the College in all practical matters as well as professional, led the Trustees often to make use of his abilities in this way. And for the "attendance and service of a Negro" of his in the affairs of the Buildings, he had been compensated to the extent of £12 per annum, which arrangement had begun as early as April, 1767; he was thus probably the only slave-holding member of the Faculty; certainly the only one whose chattel was for a consideration in the employ of the College.

LXXIII.

On Dr. Smith's return in June, 1764, he found that the places of four of the original Trustees had been filled. Messrs. Leech, Strettell, and M'Call had died, and Mr. Taylor had "departed out of this Province." In their places were elected Mr. Lynford Lardner, a councillor, Mr. Amos Strettell,¹ Dr. John Redman and Mr. Andrew Elliot.²

MR. LARDNER was a native of England; his sister Hannah was the wife of Richard Penn, and coming to America in 1740, he was made Councillor in 1755; and died in 1774 aged 59 years.

MR. STRETTELL, the son of Robert Strettell, was born in Dublin in 1720, and came to America a lad; he died in 1780 aged 59 years.

DR. JOHN REDMAN was born in Philadelphia, 37 February, 1722, a "descendant of one of the first settlers of the State." After completing his classical education in the Rev. William Tennent's Academy, otherwise known as the Log College, which was opened in 1735 by Tennent, pastor of the Neshaminy Church in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, "where for some twenty years he continued to gather about him a body of choice young men and to train them for the service of the church and of society;"³ young Redman began the study of physic with Mr. John Kearsley, a physician of high standing in Philadelphia. After beginning the practice of his profession he went to Bermuda where he passed many years, and thence went to Europe, passing a year at Edinburgh at the medical school, and another year at Guy's Hospital, London, and also some time in Paris. He took his degree at the University of Leyden in 1748. On his return soon after to his native city, he in a short time earned a high reputation as a skilful physician and secured a profitable practice; the delicacy of his health prevented him practicing surgery for which he had prepared himself.

¹ 8 June, 1762.

² 12 Dec., 1762.

³ Wickersham, 453.

He was elected one of the physicians of the Pennsylvania Hospital soon after its establishment, and became the first President of the College of Physicians. He was elected 14 December, 1762, a Trustee of the Academy and College in the vacancy made by the death of Samuel M'Call jr. and was retired in 1791. He was an active member of the Second Presbyterian Church of which he was elected an elder in 1784. Having obtained a competency from his profession, he gave up its active practice in mid-life. His private life it is said was a picture of beauty, for he had a warm heart for all those connected with him by blood or affinity, possessed with much humility, and faithful in all his religious duties, was of good sense and learning, and much respected by all. In his older years he clung to the habits and the customs of former years, and a picture of him in the Ridgway Library portrays him in his wig with more humor than truth; and his quaintness was equalled by his sincerity.

Of his marriage, his two sons died in infancy; of his two daughters one married in 1770, Daniel Coxe, of New Jersey, a member of the Council of that Province, and who continuing an adherent of the Crown soon went to England, whither his wife and children followed him in 1785, and Dr. Redman did not see her again until her return to America in 1807 with her children. He did not long survive to enjoy this restored companionship of his sole surviving child, and died on 19 March, 1808. He had the satisfaction of seeing his grandson Dr. John Redman Coxe a Trustee of the University to which he was elected in 1806.

ANDREW ELLIOT was the son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland, and the son-in-law of William Plumsted, a Trustee, but did not serve long, as he was commissioned, in January, 1764, Collector of Customs of New York, whither he removed; and on 11 September following his trust was declared vacant, and Governor Penn was elected to succeed him. After the Revolution he left New York, and died at his place near Edinburgh, in 1787.

It was in this month of September that Dr. Smith

attended "a convention of the clergy of New Jersey, and some of their Brethren from New York and Pennsylvania, held at Perth Amboy" and presided at it, as he had at the Conventions of the clergy held in Philadelphia in 1760 and 1761.⁴ His activities could not find their limits; and these diversions—as they may be termed—from his duties in a "collegiate way," while bringing him in close association with his cotemporaries may have consumed time which the College might have claimed, especially after his long absence from it. The Convention at Perth Amboy, of 1764, took some notice of charges preferred against a missionary, the Rev. Andrew Morton, who had been a Tutor in the College from March, 1753, to October, 1759.⁵ It was at the close of the year 1764 that Dr. Smith met Colonel Bouquet on his return from his successful expedition against the Ohio Indians, and undertook to write for him an Historical Account of it from the Journals and other papers which Bouquet furnished him for that purpose. This came from the press of William Bradford in 1765, and the title page bore on it, *Published from Authentic Documents, by a Lover of his Country*. Many years elapsed before the Author was known. The book was eagerly sold, and in the year following a handsome quarto edition was published in London, and later it met with editions at Paris and Amsterdam. Dr. Smith's Introduction added to the value of the work, as it made a very entertaining narrative of the Indian wars immediately preceding the time of Bouquet's expedition, and contributed to our Colonial history a chapter as interesting as it was reliable. No one in the province, it was recognized, was so capable of editing Bouquet's materials as Dr. Smith, whose constant interest in local politics had kept him well informed on all subjects which affected the welfare of the community, whether from within or from without.

⁴ At this Convention "Dr. Smith produced a plan of a corresponding society in America agreed to by the Venerable Society in England, but as he said sent over to the clergy here for their opinion," which was also urged by the Rev. Mr. Auchmuty of Trinity Church, New York, but proved unacceptable to the other clergy. Letter of Rev. Hugh Neill. Perry's *Historical Collections* ii. 304.

⁵ Smith, i. 384.

LXXIV.

It has been seen that no Commencement was held in 1764; but that of 1765 was made attractive and interesting. On 30 May some of the Trustees and Faculty met for the purpose and the Trustees then proceeded to the public Hall and several more of their Body at different Times attended during the Day. The Provost, Vice Provost and Professors, followed by the Candidates and Students entered next in their proper Habits and at 10 o'clock the Solemnity was begun by the Provost, with part of the Church Prayers, and an occasional Prayer for the King, the Royal Family, the Benefactors of the College, for the whole Church of Christ and the Propagation of the Gospel and useful Science.

There were seven graduates in course: Alexander Alexander, who had been a Tutor since January, 1764; Benjamin Alison, son of the Vice-Provost; John Andrews, of Maryland, who became Professor of Moral Philosophy in 1789 and died as Provost in 1813; Thomas Dungan, appointed a Tutor in January, 1764, who became Professor of Mathematics in 1766; John Patterson, who became Tutor at the same time; James Sayres, a Scotchman by birth, who took orders in the Church of England, received the degree of M. A. of Kings College in 1774, became Chaplain in De Lancey's Brigade, and died at Fairfield, Connecticut in 1798; and William White, the only son of a Trustee, himself elected a Trustee in 1774, Treasurer for three years from October 1775, President of the Board of Trustees in 1790 and 1791, and well known as the first Bishop of Pennsylvania, and the great organizer of the American Church upon its severance from the Church of England,¹ whose episcopacy he brought hither in conjunction with Samuel Provost of New York in 1787, and whose Liturgy in its adaptation to the new circumstances in which the Church now found itself, William Smith, the Provost of the College, had more influence in shaping than any other of its ministry. The Provost and his young pupil formed at College an acquaintance which ripened

¹ "The venerable father of our Church," so termed by Bishop Hobart in his Address to the New York Convention of 1826.

into a long friendship, and in the ecclesiastical claims of the times which were now dawning upon them, William Smith found in William White a diligent and judicious colaborer, and in personal matters a patient and considerate friend, one to whose hands he finally committed his selected works for publication when he found the end of his busy life approaching.

The Degree of Master of Arts was conferred in course upon the Rev. Samuel Keene of the class of 1759, on Messrs. Grimes, Kinnersley, McHenry, Peters, and Yeates of 1761, Cooke, Jones, Porter, and Watts of 1762, and Anderson, Davis, Johnston, Lang, and Porter of 1763. Messrs. Huston, Ogden and Waddell of 1761 and Hunt of 1763, applied too late for their Degrees. "But," as the Minute has it, "the Mandate being filled up, the Company waiting in the Hall, and no Time to get a new Mandate written or signed by thirteen Trustees according to Charter, it was resolved that these gentlemen could not be admitted at this Time, and ought to have applied sooner." The honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon the Rev. Nathaniel Evans,

although he had not received the previous degree of Bachelor, on account of the interruption in his studies during the season which was spent in the counting house² as a mark of their Attention and Regard to his promising Genius and great merit;

and on Robert Strettell Jones, the son of Isaac Jones who became a Trustee in 1771, and the grandson of Robert Strettell a Trustee.

Dr. Smith records the events of the day in the Minutes, and his narration of them is so interesting as to bear their reproduction.

The Forenoon's Exercises were: 1. Salutatory oration, by Mr Alexander. 2. Forensic Dispute, "Whether the Planets be inhabited." 3. Verses on *Science*, written and spoken by Mr Evans. 4. A Syllogistic Dispute, "Utrum, Sublato Statu futuro, maneat satis firma ad Virtutem obligatio?" 5. The first part of Dr Morgan's inaugural Oration.— The weather being very warm, the remainder was adjourned to Friday Forenoon, May

² Smith, i. 480. Minutes 3 May, 1765.

31st. After Prayer, this Day's Business proceeded as follows: 1. A Forensic Dispute, "Whether the present Situation of the Earth, or the inclination of its axis to the Plane of the Ecliptic, could be changed for the better?" The Bachelors' Degrees were conferred, as in the above List. 2. A Speech on the Beauty and Order of the Creation, by Mr William White. The Masters' Degrees conferred as in the above List and Mr Sayre spoke the Salutatory Oration. 3. The Provost then delivered a speech, in which he gave an interesting but brief account of the present state of the Institution and with becoming Gratitude, mentioned the Kind Patronage of his sacred Majesty, the hon'ble Proprietors, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the noble Benefactions he had received in England, by which the College is now placed on a more secure and lasting Foundation; concluding the whole with an affectionate address to the young Gentlemen who had taken the Bachelors' Degree. Dr Morgan then finished the Remainder of his learned and elaborate Oration; and the whole Business was concluded with a Dialogue, Air, and Chorus suitable to the Occasion, the Dialogue spoken by Mr R. Peters and Mr W. Kinnersley with great Propriety, and the air by Mr Bankson in the sweetest and most delicate manner. The Vice Provost dismissed the Audience with Prayers, and the young Gentlemen in their several parts of the Exercises did Honor to the Institution, the whole being conducted with the Utmost regularity and Ease, without the least confusion or Mistake.³

Dr. Smith had desired the presence of the Rev. Mr. Whitfield at this Commencement and invited him to preach a sermon on the occasion, but his farewell sermon he had preached in St. Paul's Church on 22 May and on the 24th he left Philadelphia.⁴ He had however, in writing on the 8th of this month to the Secretary of the Propagation Society, used the following language: "Mr. Whitfield is here, but will receive no invitation from us to preach in our Churches, being determined to observe the same conduct as when he was here in October last, which our superiors in England have approved."⁵ But the Provost could rightly pursue a line of action with this great preacher in the building whose deed contained a proviso that he should preach there at will, different from that of a Church of England divine in admitting

³ The Solo air on Peace was sung by Master Bankson of the junior Philosophy Class with such an exquisite sweetness and Delicacy of Voice that the whole audience was charmed with the Performance. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 6 June, 1765.

⁴ *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Smith, i. 363.

⁵ Smith, i. 384.

him within the bounds of his parish. The staunch Hugh Neill from his rectory at Oxford wrote to the Society in October, 1764, of

the powerful efforts that Mr Whitfield is now making in Philadelphia and places adjacent. St. Paul's, the College, and Presbyterian Meeting houses were open to him; but the Salutary admonitions of His Grace of Canterbury to the Rector &c of Christ Church and St Peter's has prevented his preaching at this time in either of them.⁶

It is a curious coincidence that this good missionary was succeeded in this Oxford cure sixteen months later by William Smith, the Provost.⁷

⁶ Letter 18 October, 1764, in Perry's *Historical Collection*, ii. 363. Yet we find it in the year before Whitfield had preached in the Churches, and this perhaps had brought the admonition which led to the present inhibition. Dr. Peters wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 17 October, 1763, of the request his Church Wardens and others made of him to allow the great preacher in Christ Church, and said, "therefore after Mr. Whitfield has shown his regard to the Government by waiting on the Governor, and had paid me likewise a very kind and polite visit, I invited him to preach in the Old Church the first Sunday his health would permit, and he has preached four times in one or other of the Churches without any of his usual censures of the clergy and with a greater moderation of sentiment * * * and I am in hopes his stay will be attended rather with good than harm to the Churches." ii. 393.

⁷ "I have in several late letters informed you that since Mr. Neill's departure in October last, I have twice in three weeks supplied the Mission at Oxford in order to prevent that old and respectable Mission from dwindling away, and as the act of our Assembly which was made for selling the old and purchasing the new Glebe, required that there should be a Minister to constitute a Vestry and do any legal act, I was obliged last February to let the people nominate me their Minister in order that we might proceed to get possession of the Glebe for the use of the church, and I accordingly consented to supply them for one year, or till you appoint another, unless so far as Mr. Peters' indisposition might require my assistance in Town, which has been but seldom till within these few weeks past." Letter 1 September, 1767. In Dr. Buchanan's *Early History of Trinity Church, Oxford*, 1885. Dr. Buchanan says, "he continued to officiate here, certainly till 1770, and, most probably, for several years longer." p. 32.

LXXV.

The commencement of 1766 was a notable one as it was the occasion of the presentation of the Sargent Medal, already noted, and as the news of the Repeal of the Stamp Act on 18 March had reached the city but the day before. The deep interest taken by all classes of the community in this unfortunate Act, which for the time seemed to unite all the better classes against an unjust and unmerited tax, had stirred up the feelings of the people to a pitch of excitement and indeed anxiety which was without parallel in the history of Pennsylvania and its sister provinces.¹ Even those who afterwards held back from joining in the legitimate consequences of this malicious proceeding which necessarily had led to a surrender by the government to colonial clamor, thus opening the eyes of the colonists to their strength if united, were all now of one mind with the most active and restless of those who foresaw that the connection with the home country was being strained almost to rupture. Dr. Smith had written on 18 December, 1765, to Dr. Tucker, the Dean of Gloucester, in the following decided language :

With regard to the Stamp Act, or any act of Parliament to take money out of our pockets, otherwise than by our own representatives in our Colony legislatures, it will ever be looked upon so contrary to the faith of charters and the inherent rights of Englishmen, that amongst a people planted, and nursed, and educated in the high principles of liberty, it must be considered as a badge of disgrace, impeaching their loyalty, nay, their very brotherhood and affinity to Englishmen, and although a superior force may, and perhaps can, execute this among us, yet it will be with such an alienation of the affections of a loyal people, and such a stagnation of English consumption among them, that the experiment can never be worth the risque.²

¹ The citizens of Philadelphia united in the resolve to import no British goods, and to resort to more frugal ways suitable to the self denying times, and it was in the midst of this that the aged Trustee of the College, William Plumsted, was buried at St. Peter's Church in August, 1765, by his directions "without pall or mourning dresses." *Watson Annals*, ii, 269.

² Smith i. 385. Dr. Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, had publicly charged Dr. Franklin with soliciting for himself or for a friend the post of Stamp Agent, and this led to a demand from the latter for a retraction which was ungraciously given. *Bigelow v.* 285-292. *Sparks i.* 297 and iv. 516-525.

The seeds of "an alienation of the affections of a loyal people" were however planted, and had germinated ere the Repeal had been effected. But no one could foresee at this juncture the extent of the growth of this alienation, which could have but one legitimate political outcome, and this was reached in a short decade. The excitement in the colonies was not sufficiently weighed at home. Evil as the Stamp Act was in principle and unjustifiable from every point of view, even Franklin, who was in London and laboring for its repeal, had but little hopes of this latter for a long time, and fully expected the British Government to adhere to its position. After the passage³ of the Act he wrote on 11 July, 1765, to his friend Charles Thomson, his early colaborer in the Academy and College: ⁴

The tide was too strong against us. * * * We might as well have hindered the sun's setting. That we could not do. But since it is down, my friend, and it may be long before it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can. We may still light candles. Frugality and industry will go a great way towards indemnifying us. Idleness and pride tax with a heavier hand than kings and parliaments. If we can get rid of the former, we may easily bear the latter.

Absent from his friends, he could not realize the force of the storm arising among them and their neighbors, which could only feebly be portrayed in correspondence; but he was face to face with the authorities in whom he saw no relenting, and prudent man as he was he for a while accepted the inevitable, and not only made the nomination of his friend John Hughes as the Stamp distributor in Philadelphia, but prepared to supply his partner in Philadelphia with stamped paper at a considerable outlay.

Ere, however, the 1st November came, on which date the Act was to go in force, the popular storm came and reached across the Atlantic, and Franklin used its elements with effect. He wrote to Charles Thomson on 27 February, 1766:

I have reprinted everything from America, that I thought might help

³ On 22 March, 1765.

⁴ Bigelow iii. 400. See Mr. Bigelow's footnote on this interesting passage, p. 401; also Bancroft, *History* v. 306.

our common cause. We at length, after a long and hard struggle, have gained so much ground, that there is now little doubt the Stamp Act will be repealed.⁵

He gathered this not only from the debates in Parliament ; he could recognize in the course of his famous examination a few days before this in the House of Commons that his replies to their queries were having their effect on his auditors :

The promptness and pertinency with which he replied to every question, the perfect knowledge of the subject manifested in his answers, his enlarged and sound views of political and commercial affairs, and the boldness and candor with which he expressed his sentiments, excited the surprise of his auditors, and were received with admiration by the public, when the results of the examination appeared in print.⁶

Happy indeed was the coincidence that the tidings of the repeal, in which he had so effectual a part, reached his adopted city in time for his partner to issue a supplement (though we of to-day would call it an extra), copies of which were in the hands of many of the auditors who attended the glad Commencement of his College in 1766.

The young graduates, whose Commencement Day had thus a historic significance, were Robert Andrews, Phineas Bond, son of Dr. Phineas Bond, and afterwards British Consul in Philadelphia from 1791 to 1811, Samuel Boyd, Thomas Coombe, afterwards taking orders in the Church of England,⁷ and for a brief period an assistant minister at Christ Church, Hans Hamilton, Thomas Hopkinson, also taking orders,⁸ John King, Richard Lee, John Montgomery, also in orders,⁹ Thomas Read, David

⁵ Bigelow iii. 457.

⁶ Sparks iv. 161-198. Mr. Vaughan's Notes fix the date : " 13 February, Benjamin Franklin having passed through his examination, was excepted from farther attendance."

⁷ 17 October, 1771.

⁸ 24 September, 1774.

⁹ 23 July, 1770. He settled in Maryland, and while Rector of Shrewsbury Parish, married Margaret the daughter of Hon. Walter Dulany and niece of Hon. Daniel Dulany. Not sympathizing with the Revolution, he went to England with his family in 1778 and obtained a living in the Diocese of Hereford, subsequently becoming Vicar of Ledbury where he died in September, 1802, aged 55 years. From his daughter who married Rev. James Watts, M. A., who succeeded her father at Ledbury, descended her grandson, Rev. Robert Eyton, M. A., late Canon of Westminster.

Sample, and James Tilghman, twelve in all. Montgomery and Read accepted tutorships in the College. The Master's Degree was conferred on Ogden and Waddell of the class of 1761; and the honorary Master's Degree on "Joseph Reed, Esq., of Trenton, and Mr. James Wilson, one of the Tutors in this College, in regard to their particular Learning and merit." It was at a previous meeting that Wilson had petitioned for this honor, and the "Trustees had agreed to grant him the same in consideration of his Merit and his having had a regular Education in the universities of Scotland." As Professor of English Literature in 1773, and the first Professor of Law in 1790, and thus establishing for the University another claim for its larger title, as Dr. Morgan had in 1768 in opening the Medical School first developed the University idea, we shall learn more in the progress of our narrative of this eminent jurist and statesman.¹⁰ Of Joseph Reed, as President Reed, we shall with interest learn more of the man upon whom, in 1779, seemed to alight the onus of breaking the College charter of 1775; yet when we reach that period ample reason will be found to have at the time appeared to many that some change was needed in its conduct, and Reed from the executive chair was but the exponent of a class rather than a party in having to deal with a matter, the only cure for which they thought to lie in the substitution of a new charter for the old.

¹⁰ See *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution* by Mr. McMaster and Dr. Stone, Philadelphia, 1888, p. 757 for a brief sketch of his life.

LXXVI.

One of the Bachelors of 1763, Isaac Hunt, the son of the Rector of St. Michael's Church, Bridgetown, Barbadoes, unsuccessfully applied for his Master's Degree, but his complicity in

several scurrilous and scandalous Pieces, unworthy of a good man or Person of Education; some of them highly reflecting on the Government of this Province, as well as on this College itself where he had received his Education and his former Benefactors in it; in proof of which the original copies of two Numbers of an infamous Publication, entitled "Exercises in Scurrility Hall," were produced, with some of his own Handwriting in one of them; and it was also asserted that he had been concerned in the publication of several other Pieces of the like nature, as well as the "Letter from Transylvania," all which, the Printer of these Pieces, Mr Armbruster was ready to prove,

were sufficient condemnation of his hopes. He was in waiting in another room to hear the judgment of the Trustees, who deemed "him at present unworthy of any further Honors in this Seminary," which Dr. Smith communicated to him, when he "did not deny his having written the Letter from Transylvania, nor his having made some corrections in some of the Exercises in Scurrility Hall, but that he was not the author of any of them." Thus the father of Leigh Hunt lost his Master's Degree in course in the Philadelphia College. Isaac Hunt and Benjamin West married sisters, and both found their homes in England. He took orders in the Church of England and was ordained 4 March, 1777.¹

¹ Hunt aspired to contest for the Sargent Medal and wrote to Dr. Franklin, "would be glad to be *honored* with your sentiments when you have read both Performances, which I propose sending you by the Packet. This much I would beg leave to observe that I could not expect to receive Honors from Men to whom I am so obnoxious. This is evident from the ill usage I have very lately received. According to custom I made application for my Master's Degree, an Honor which I had not forfeited, and was therefore entitled to. The Trustees after sending for my Printer, and strictly examining the poor ignorant Man with respect to the Political Pamphlets I had wrote, without hearing what I had to say, rejected my Application and refused to give me my Master's Degree. There are no Honors for me, this Side the Water unless your patriotic Endeavors for a change are crowned with success. Had I not so great and sincere a Friend as you are, good Sir, I candidly confess that my Ambition would have been greatly checked by this cruel Behavior—*cruel* because it

But it may be worth while to note how the exercises of this interesting Commencement were carried on. "The Sol-emnity was opened" by the customary religious and loyal service. The local chronicler, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, of 22 May, recorded:

it was rendered very splendid by the great Number of Persons present, and many of the public exercises being happily adapted to the joyful Event, of which we had received the News the preceding Day.

Mr. John King opened with "an elegant salutatory oration in Latin." Mr. Hans Hamilton followed with "An English Oration." Then came "A Syllogistic Disputation, *Utrum Præscientia divina tollit Libertatem agendi.*" Then Mr. Montgomery and Mr. Hopkinson followed each with "An English Oration." The afternoon session began with "A Forensic Disputation, Whether Ease be the chief Good; the question was opened and stated by Mr. Thomas Read, who denied Ease to be the chief Good. Mr. Richard Lee and Mr. Samuel Boyd, entertained the Audience with many ingenious and specious Arguments on the affirmative side; which were ably answered by Mr. Robert Andrews and Mr. Phineas Bond." And the "Valedictory Oration was spoken by Mr. Thomas Coombe, who obtained much applause by the Spirit of his Performance, Propriety of Action and Grace of Elocution."² Then came the delivery of

flows from the poisoning Fountain of Faction and Revenge. * * * I am, worthy sir, with great Faithfulness your affec. and obliged Hble Servt, Isaac Hunt." MS letter with American Philosophical Society. The title of his publication would but invite condemnation to the author by the Trustees, as follows: "A Humble Attempt at Scurrility. In Imitation of Those Great Masters of the Art the Rev. Dr. S—th; the Rev. Dr. Al—n; the Rev. Mr. Ew—n—; the Irreverend D. J. D—ve; and the Heroic J—n D—n, Esq.; Being a Full Answer to the Observations on Mr. H—s's Advertisement. By Jack Retort, Student in Scurrility, Quilsylvania Printed, 1765." John Hughes had offered five pounds to the Pennsylvania Hospital if certain charges against Franklin could be proven. His advertisement called out a severe attack on Franklin, to which Hunt's pamphlet was a reply. He thus, on the other side from Hugh Williamson, had entered the lists of controversy, and met that punishment which the other escaped.—*Bibliography of Franklin*. Ford. 351.

²A few years later Dr. Franklin wrote to young Coombe: "That reputation which you are acquiring as an Orator, gives me Pleasure as your Friend, and it will give you yourself the most solid Satisfaction, if you find this by your Eloquence you can turn many to Righteousness. Without that Effect, the preacher or the priest in my opinion, is not merely sounding Brass or a tinkling Cymbal, which are innocent things; he is rather like the Cunning Man in the Old Baily, who conjures and tells Fools their Fortunes, to cheat them of their Money." To Rev. Mr. Coombe, London, 22 July, 1774; draft with the American Philosophical Society.

the Prize Medal, already narrated. "The last Exercise was a Dialogue in Honor of the Friends of America, and two Odes on Liberty and Patriotism. The Dialogue was spoken by Mr. Richard Lee and Mr. Phineas Bond, and the Odes³ sung by the two Master Banksons, accompanied by the Organ, and the whole was received with the utmost marks of Approbation from a candid audience. The Vice Provost concluded with Prayer," and with a graceful reminder for the Charity Schools.

The Provost having given notice that some of the Trustees would attend at the Gates, to receive the free will offerings of pious and well disposed Persons, for the use of the Charity Schools, about Forty Pounds were collected—a great proof of the Generosity of the Public and their readiness to encourage this useful institution on all occasions.

The sun was already declining in the western sky when the participants in this day's doings in the College Hall wended their homeward ways with the most pleasing reflections upon their country and upon the College. The young men who this day "commenced" their Life had upon them the brightest harbinger of their country's welfare and happiness, yet the shadows soon gathered and in a few years the classmates found themselves scattered and about equally placed on the opposing sides in the great controversy. One of the odes composed by young Hopkinson had an allusion to Col. Barré's visit on a former occasion to the College :

Nor let our Barré's worth be lost to Fame
Barré, who deigned to grace these humble Walls,
And listen partial to our Infant Strains;
Who joy'd to see the Seeds of Sacred Truth
And Freedom, planted in a distant land;
Nor yet forgets our Cause.⁴

The fervor of the descriptions of the College Commencements in these early years as prepared by the Provost, and often

³ "Two odes written chiefly by one of the Candidates, Thomas Hopkinson, B. A." *Penna. Gazette*, 5 June, 1766.

⁴ "Col. Barré while in America was pleased to be present at several of the Exercises in this College, when some of the gentlemen who received their Degrees on the present occasion, were very young, and making their first appearance as speakers." *Penna. Gazette*, 5 June, 1766.

penned with his own hand in the Minutes, portray to us the spirit of their performance, and as he was able to put on paper such a picture of the present scene, we can realize what they must have been in influence and interest to those who participated in them. His power of description was that of the pencil of the painter, and though the Minutes record year by year the like story, yet each has its variety and its significance. One would like to record all of them here, but in print they would not convey that living interest which the Minutes written in his own clear and decided hand do, touched up as they may be with some interlineation which adds force to the tale. But none of the later Commencements can equal that of 1766, just described, in interest; and we cannot suffer ourselves to linger over them, with however the single exception of that of 1768, which Dr. Smith records "may be considered as the Birth Day of Medical Honors in America." Even he could not with his eyes of a Seer predict what a great day this Commencement of 1768 was to the College, and how fruitful this Birth Day of Medical honors was of reputation and dignity to the College in those long after years for which he was doing his share in erecting the edifice.

LXXVII.

The year 1766 closed with the purchase by the Trustees of Mr. Dove's houses on Fourth Street and the adjoining Arch Street Lot, which now made their frontage on Fourth Street two hundred and eighty-four feet, and one hundred and ninety-eight feet on Arch Street. These had been purchased by him in 1753, at the time the Trustees added materially to their premises, and negotiations to secure them were opened in 1765, but the uncertainty of public affairs and indeed of all private concerns due to the excitement caused by the Stamp Act broke these off; the delay was fortunate for the Trustees in that they were finally enabled to secure the properties at their own price. Having at the close of 1765 rented out their vacant Arch Street and Fourth Street lots "for any Term not exceeding Seven Years on the best Yearly rents they can obtain," they were thus enabled to meet their interest charges on this new purchase.

Dr. Smith continued to respond to requests for his sermons, for no one in this or the adjoining Provinces excelled him in pulpit reputation. On 10 April of this year he preached "a suitable sermon" in Burlington, New Jersey, at the funeral of the Rev. Colin Campbell, many years a Missionary there.¹ And on 2 September we find him² preaching in Trinity Church, New York, "an excellent sermon on the occasion" of the induction of his friend Rev. Samuel Auchmuty to the Rectorship of the parish, and again in the afternoon at St. George's Church.³

It was in this year, as we have seen, he assumed the Rectorship of Trinity Church, Oxford.⁴ He appears to have remained the incumbent of this parish for at least five years, for on 3 May, 1771, he writes to the Propagation Society :

¹ *Penna. Gazette*, 14 April, 1766.

² *New York Mercury*, 3 September, 1766.

³ In the following year we find him taking Dr. Peters' duties at Christ Church. He writes to Thomas Penn 23 August, 1767: "Mr. Peters is in a very low state and I have been obliged to preach for him for some time past," and on 26th, "Mr. Peters is got a little better since my last, but not yet able to do any duty."

⁴ Smith i. 406, 407.

I have great pleasure in going to preach among them and in Summer particularly. * * * The people seem more desirous than ever of my continuance to officiate among them, and as it is at present a pleasure to me independent of some benefit it is to my large family, I must rely on your goodness that there be no alteration made without the concurrence of the people and myself, a request which, from my long services to the Church in America, I hope the Society will think me entitled to make.⁵

Early in this year "we see the first evidences of that desire for the acquisition of lands, which, by degrees, made a feature in his character and history."⁶ His biographer tells us that in September he purchased a tract of land on the Juniata River, at the mouth of the Standing Stone Creek, which he laid out in lots and called Huntingdon, and this soon became one of the most flourishing Boroughs in Pennsylvania. This was no uncommon attraction to the active men of the day, and Dr. Smith was not singular in making such hopeful investments. The allayment of the Stamp Act controversy by the repeal of the Bill produced the most sanguine thoughts in the minds of those more adventurous as to the future of the country, and to become possessors of tracts of lands which would surely rise in value ere many years was both a reasonable and natural attraction to many. However, in many cases, loss was the result more than gain, and the years of Revolution when there was no market for idle acres brought many holders of such to penury and want.

⁵ Smith i. 462.

⁶ Ibid, 391. He wrote 13 January, 1766, to Sir William Johnson: "Mr. Barton who is a very valuable man, informed me that you had recommended him for a grant of some Lands from your Government, and he generously offered me to share with him. If, by your goodness, anything would be done this way, or any Tract worth recommending, I believe I have interest enough in England, and perhaps also in New York, to make it effectual." We find Dr. Smith writing to the Secretary of the Propagation Society, 10 August, 1769, "I do not expect to be in Town as our College vacation begins next Monday and I cannot deny myself my annual ramble towards the frontiers of this Province." Perry's *Historical Collections* ii. 443.

LXXVIII.

The Commencement of 1767 was not held until 17 November; the reason for the delay, however, is not stated in the record. 10 November had been appointed "and eight days more being judged necessary to prepare the students, it is put off till next Tuesday." The six graduates were Jacob Bankson, who spoke the Salutatory Oration; James Cannon, a native of Edinburgh, who became professor of Mathematics in 1773; Francis Johnston, afterwards Colonel of a Pennsylvania Regiment in the Revolution, and Receiver General of the Pennsylvania Land Office from 1781-1800; John White Swift, the Valedictorian; Edward Tilghman, a native of Maryland, afterwards a leading lawyer at the Philadelphia Bar; and Joshua Maddox Wallace, a grandson of Joshua Maddox the Trustee who had died eight years before: young Wallace shortly became a tutor in the College.¹ Alison, Andrews, Dungan, Patterson and White of the class of 1765, were made Masters in course. "The honorary degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on Joseph Hutchins, of Barbadoes, formerly a student in this College." But the great achievement of the occasion was conferring the honorary Master's Degree on "Mr. David Rittenhouse, of Norriton, in this County,"² on account of his great Knowledge in Mechanics, Mathematics, Astronomy and other liberal arts." The Provost's remarks when admitting him to the Degree, he enters on the minutes:

The Trustees of this College (the Faculty of Professors cheerfully concurring) being ever desirous to distinguish real merit, especially in the

¹ "An elegant Dialogue written in verse by Thomas Coombe, B. A., was also spoken on this occasion and an ode set to Music was sung by Master John Bankson, with great sweetness and propriety, accompanied by the Organ, under the conduct of a worthy son of the College (viz: Mr. Hopkinson) who has often shown his Regard to the Place of his Education, by honoring it on public occasions with his ready service. The Band belonging to the 18th or Royal Irish Regiment, was kindly permitted by Col. Wilkins to perform the Instrumental Part of the Music." *Minutes*. Francis Hopkinson, Samuel Powel, and Hon. James Hamilton had arrived home on 23 October in the Pennsylvania Packet. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 29 October, 1767. Mr. Coombe's Dialogue in Verse was published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 26 November.

² *Norristown*: This portion of Philadelphia County was afterwards set off as Montgomery County.

natives of this Province, and well assured of the extraordinary Progress and Improvement which you have made by a Felicity of natural Genius, in Mechanics, Mathematics, Astronomy and other liberal Arts and Sciences; all which you have adorned by singular Modesty and irreproachable Morals, have authorised and required me to admit you to the honorary Degree of Master of Arts in this Seminary.

Of this justly distinguished man, whose talent for the investigation of the mysteries of creation was developed with such industry and skill, we shall learn more in the progress of our present journey, as the institution was honored in his various connections with it; he was made Professor of Astronomy in 1779, and was a Trustee from 1784 to 1796. The mortality among the college men this year was remarkable: Dr. Smith's pupil and young friend, the Rev. Nathaniel Evans, had died on 29 October, having borne the honors of the College but two years; Paul Jackson, an early Tutor and one of the first Professors, died at Chester on 22 October; and on 30 June, Professor Beveridge, the eccentric but faithful preceptor, had died.³ The death of Evans must have cast a shadow over this Commencement, for his early genius and his winning manners had drawn to him the affection of many and the esteem of all.

The learning of Beveridge was undoubted, but in discipline he was very lax; and it is doubtful whether the pupils of the Latin School made that progress which was expected. However this may be, the regard held for him by the Provost was often shown by his aid in upholding his proper influence with his classes. In January, 1761, he had appealed to the Trustees "that he was under great Difficulties in the Discharge of his Duty, for want of a proper Sett of Rules for the Government of the Latin School, and likewise for want of a proper Grammar," which led the Trustees to an entire review of the Rules of the College. But the cure promised in these did not reach the case; the Minutes record "it had been observed about that Time that the Discipline and good order which had been kept up in the Latin School, before Dr. Alison leaving it, were somewhat relaxed," and in September the Vice-Provost was asked to

³ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 November, 1 October, 2 July, 1767.

resume its care and oversight "in the hope that justice might now be done to the great number of Scholars which had of late entered that School," at which Mr. Beveridge expressed great Satisfaction with the care the Trustees had taken to engage Dr. Alison's assistance.⁴ As to the Latin Grammar, "Mr. Peters and Mr. Stedman were appointed a Committee to confer with the Members of Faculty, and with them to settle a good Latin Grammar⁵ in order to be forthwith printed for the use of the Latin School." This resulted in the Grammar printed by Steuart, whose typographical errors afforded Hopkinson so much merriment as to lead him to publish his key to it, and thus give unconscious offence to both Alison and Beveridge, which harmless humor shut him out from any share in the Commencement exercises of 1763, as narrated by Dr. Peters in his letter to the Provost already quoted. Beveridge's want of care was the cause of this: had Dr. Alison been as careful in details as Dr. Smith, the book would have had his own careful supervision and would not have appeared from Steuart's press in the form which invited Hopkinson's ridicule.⁶ At this time there were reported eighty-four boys in the Latin School. Upon Mr. Beveridge's death some difficulty existed in finding a successor to him; the Trustees met the same day, showed their regard for him by bearing his funeral charges, and proposed to advertise for a successor. Young Wallace, soon after his graduation in the following November, offered himself, and in December "entered upon three Months trial in the Latin School * * * and if not then appointed Chief Master, to have the common Salary of an Usher if he should chuse to continue longer."⁷ But search was continued for another, and "it was recommended to Mr. Peters and such other Trustees as should meet the Maryland Commissioners at Christiana Bridge, to take that opportunity of

⁴ Minutes 13 January, 8 September, 1761, 24 March, 1763.

⁵ Ibid 13 January, 1761.

⁶ "Dr. Alison and Mr. Beveridge * * now acquainted the Trustees that it was printed by Mr. Steuart under their Inspection and Correction of the Press and he had delivered to them five hundred copies for which they had agreed to give him according to his Bill." Minutes, 9 November, 1762.

⁷ Minutes, 9 December, 1767.

enquiring of Mr. James Davidson, Master of the School at New-ark." At the February meeting following these gentlemen reported their engagement of Mr. Davidson at a Salary of Two Hundred Pounds, "he taking the house," one of the Dove purchases, "Mrs. Child lived in at the rate of Thirty Pounds per annum to be accounted as part of the said Yearly salary." Mr. Davidson continued in his Professorship until the abrogation of the Charter in 1779, and in the revived institution he held the chair from 1782 to 1806.

LXXIX.

The Latin School appeared to attract the greater solicitude of the Trustees, and the best assistance was sought for its Master. Late in 1761, it is recorded that "Mr. Pollock a young man lately came from Ireland had been employed for some time upon Trial as a Latin Usher and appeared to be well qualified and diligent."¹ He continued in service only to June, 1762, as he "intends going to keep a school in New England."² In his place, young Watts, then in his Senior year "was chosen Usher in his room." Patrick Alison had been Usher since the summer of 1760; more than once he applied for increase of salary, and finally in the spring of 1763 gave "Notice that his affairs would not permit him to continue longer in their service than the ensuing Commencement;" when on Dr. Alison's recommendation, young Lang, a Senior, was chosen in his place. Mr. Watts did not remain longer than July, 1763, and Lang not later than January, 1764; the latter repented and applied in February to be admitted again as Tutor "but all were of opinion that as he left the Trustees' service abruptly he should not be employed again."³ John Davis, a tutor in the English school, was on 12

¹ Minutes 10 November, 1761.

² Ibid, 11 May, 1762.

³ Ibid, 14 February, 1764.

July, 1763, two months after his graduation, admitted a Tutor in the Latin School. But the following May found him acquainting the Trustees that "his affairs require him to leave their service." He was succeeded by John Andrews, of the Senior Class, who in later years became the head of the institution; he, in turn, applied to the Trustees in July, 1765, "and obtained leave to remove to take charge of a school at Lancaster." Dungan, his classmate, a tutor in the English school, succeeded him in the Latin School. Robert Eaton, recommended by "Mr. Powell the Master of the School at Burlington whom he had served as a Latin assistant," was chosen in February, 1764, in the place made vacant by Lang. Mr. Peters had examined this young man and reported that "he had but in part examined him as to his Learning and Ability to teach which were not extraordinary, yet it appeared to him that he had the fundamentals of the Languages and a good improveable Capacity." But in the following August he was relieved, "they having no farther occasion for his services."⁴ We find a Mr. Anderson Tutor in the Latin School, but his place was filled in June, 1766, by Thomas Read of the class of that year. John Montgomery, of the class of 1766, became the following year Tutor in the Latin School.

The Mathematical School since the death of Mr. Grew in 1759 had been but inefficiently mastered. In March, 1760, Dr. Peters

acquainted the Trustees that he had examined the Mathematical School in which there are twenty Boys who belong to that school and no other; and besides these he found Numbers of Boys from the Latin and English Schools who came there to be taught to write, that he thinks the Business being too much for Mr Pratt to go thro', the Boys cannot be sufficiently instructed, and desires the Trustees will think of giving him some assistant.

On the endorsement of the Provost, Samuel Campbell, an Usher in the Charity School since August, 1759, "who wrote a very good hand," was appointed, "he teaching the Boys to write one hour and an half in the Latin School and the same

⁴ Minutes 13 March, 21 August, 1764.

in the English School," and he was then also appointed Clerk to the Trustees. It was not until January following that a head for this important school was found in Mr. Hugh Williamson who had been an Usher in the Latin School up to June, 1757; indeed Mr. Pratt, in temporary charge, had left in May, 1760, and Mr. Campbell had in fact been the only incumbent. Mr. Williamson resumed his connection with the College and became the Professor of Mathematics. Here he faithfully continued until, in June, 1763, he expressed a desire to be relieved, which was allayed by the Trustees acceding at their next meeting to some proposed regulations he presented which arose from "some sentiments he offered concerning the present state of the school." But as his views were not endorsed fully he in November following renewed his request, and the school was again put under the

care of Mr Pratt the writing Master. * * * the rather as some of the Trustees were told by Mr Pratt that he had improved himself in the several parts of Learning taught there, and would be willing to undertake it till they could be supplied with a Master to their Minds.

This continued for two years; in November, 1765, "the Trustees for several weighty considerations have agreed to provide an able Mathematical Master (for the school in which Mr. Pratt is now employed) as soon as possible;" and in January following Thomas Dungan "who had his education in this College and was well qualified in these Respects," and who had been tutor in the English and Latin Schools respectively, was appointed Professor of Mathematics. As the writing lessons came under this department, we learn the idea of the Trustees of a proper standard recorded in their Minutes of 17 October, 1767,

that strict orders be given to the Masters of the Latin School to receive no exercises from the Boys that are blotted, interlined, or not written in as fair and good a Hand, as the Boy can be supposed capable to write.⁵

⁵ In the Minutes of 21 August, 1764, we find Tutor Johnston's salary augmented to the sum of ten pounds "in consideration of doing the whole duty of Writing Master in both schools and making Pens between 6 and 8 in the Morning in Summer, and between the School Hours in Winter."

The English School, under Mr. Kinnersley's care, seemed to attract less and less interest with the Trustees, and Franklin on his return had good cause for faulting this important branch; the Professor was given the Stewardship of the new Buildings, and anxious and careful man as he was, he could not successfully carry on jointly these two charges. In November, 1761, John Davis "one of the Junior Students in the Philosophy Classes offered his services to assist Mr. Kinnersley two or three hours every day." In May, 1763, a few days before his graduation, he was formally appointed "an usher in the English School." In the ensuing July he was appointed Tutor in the Latin School, and Isaac Hunt, his classmate, became Tutor in the English School. In April, 1764, Mr. Alexander Alexander was "admitted full Tutor in the English School." In the following October, he was appointed Tutor in the Latin School, Edward Jones succeeding him here, but the latter resigned in April, 1765, being in turn succeeded by Thomas Dungan. In June, 1766, John Montgomery, who had just graduated, was appointed to "assist Mr. Kinnersley until further Orders." We find him later Tutor in the Latin School.⁶ At the meeting of January, 1768, it was "remarked that the Schools suffer in the public esteem by the Discontinuance of public speaking," and at a special meeting called a week later, Jonathan Easton and Thomas Hall, then in their Senior Year, were selected to assist Mr. Kinnersley in the English School and taking care of the same when he shall be employed in teaching the Students in the Philosophy Classes and Grammar School, the Art of Public Speaking.

⁶ Minutes 10 November, 1767,

LXXX.

Thus far have we some illustrations of the different Schools of the Academy. The College, in its higher aims, was under the care of the Provost and Vice Provost, Dr. Ewing, who was now made Professor of Natural Philosophy, supplying the former's place in his absence. The Trustees gave their interest to both, though reasonably their concern was greater for the Lower Schools, as probably less immediately under the Provost's Eyes. We find them in April, 1762, just after Dr. Smith sailed for England, assiduous in their duties as Examiners of the pupils: "The Senior Students were examined by Dr. Alison and Mr. Peters in the Greek and Latin Languages; by Mr. Ewing and Mr. Williamson in Mathematicks; and by Mr. Peters and Dr. Alison in Logic which took up the Forenoon." In the afternoon

Mr Stedman and Mr Ewing examined the Students in Natural Philosophy, and Dr Alison and Mr Peters in Moral Philosophy. The examination in all the Branches of Science was Strict and full, and the Students gave very clear and sensible answers, much to the satisfaction of the Trustees, and the audience was pleased to express, at going away, very favorable Sentiments of the great Improvement made by Students.

The public examination of the students on 24 March, 1763, "Mr. Peters, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Stedman, Mr. Coleman, and Mr. Duché" having been appointed at a previous meeting "to examine them strictly in the Classicks and in all the Branches of Science that they had been instructed in, * * was held in the Publick Hall before a large audience of People, and the Students acquitted themselves to the Satisfaction of the Trustees."

Of tuition in modern languages not much could have been expected. Since the short professorship of Mr. Creamer in the French and German Languages in 1754, there had been tuition for a short while by Mr. Fontaine who died in 1760,¹ and he was succeeded by another—whose name is not recorded—who

¹ Minutes 14 October, 1760.

"was well recommended for a good French Master." Later, we find in the Minutes of 8 January, 1763,

The Rev Mr Rothenbulla, Minister of the Calvinist Church in this city having been desired by some of the scholars to teach them the French Language, applied for Liberty to make use of one of the Rooms of the Academy for that Purpose, which was granted him, so as he did not interfere with any of the School hours.

And on 20 May, 1766, Dr Smith records :

Mr Paul Fook was chosen Professor of the French and Spanish Tongues in this College, by the vote of fourteen Trustees, immediately after the Commencement.

The Provost's division of the studies in the Academy and the College he defines for us in his curriculum of 1754. The former embraced the professorship "of English and Oratory with one Assistant and a Writing Master," and the professorship of Mathematics. The College embraced the three Philosophy Schools under the Provost and Vice Provost, and the Latin and Greek School under the "Professor of Languages, three Tutors, a Writing Master, &c." In the course of the twelve years following this, these proper divisions may not have been fully conformed to, the Provost being twice absent in England. Dr. Ewing taking the Provost's lectures in his second absence as he did in the first, brought him to a larger acquaintance with the pupils and the institution, and in the Professorship of Natural Philosophy, which he was given in February, 1762, he continued fifteen years, as his assistance to the College classes had been made necessary by his merits of learning and teaching. The maintenance of the schools in the Academy was essential to a supply of proper material for the classes in the College; the former were more closely under the concern of the Trustees, the latter were under the supervision of Smith, Alison and Ewing. To sustain the College life, that of the Academy must be nurtured in order to supply a trained constituency for the former. There were no schools in the city or neighborhood who contributed any boy to the College lectures; those schools who furnished such were in the adjoining counties or in Maryland; hence the importance, indeed the necessity, of furnishing

the Academy classes with efficient and experienced teachers, in order to attract from the community the lads of the rising generations. But the results as shown by the number in the graduating classes does not evidence any growing influence of the College on the townsfolk; though the stimulus of the Commencement of 1766, with its Sargent Medal, for which even a Princetonian had competed, may have influenced the material which made up the large classes of 1770 and 1771, each of which however graduated but fourteen.

In addition to his regular lectures, the Provost had at the close of 1766 opened a course of Lectures on Natural and Experimental Philosophy for the benefit of the Medical Students, and this he proposed in the following season

to continue on an extensive plan, at the request of the Medical Trustees and Professors.² * * * As these lectures are instituted and given gratis with the view to encourage the medical schools lately opened, and to extend the usefulness and reputation of the College, any gentlemen who have formerly been educated in this Seminary, and are desirous of renewing their acquaintance with the above mentioned branches of Knowledge, will be welcome to attend the course.

But this notice was anticipated by the announcement a week before by Mr. Ewing and Dr. Williamson of their introductory Lecture to a course of Natural and Experimental Philosophy to be given on 11 December "at the Lodge." This had been the subject of some correspondence by these gentlemen with the Trustees. They had written to the latter on 26 October :

Many young gentlemen in this Place being desirous of making some progress in the Study of Natural Philosophy, but from their want of Mathematics and the necessary avocations of Business, not being able to attend the Lectures given in the College by your Provost, have repeatedly solicited us to institute a private Lecture this Season, on such a Plan, and at such hours, as might be most convenient and best suited to them.

² *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 17, 31, December, 1767. The advertisement has a "N. B. An evening Lecture in some branches of Mathematics, preparatory to the Philosophical course is opened at the College." The notice included the following inducement : "To the standing use of the large apparatus belonging to the College, Mr. Kinnersley has engaged to add the use of his electrical apparatus which is fixed there, and to deliver the lectures on electricity himself, as well as to give his occasional assistance in other branches."

And they craved permission for the "Use of your Philosophical Apparatus, which is in the College"; and gave the promise "to fix the time of Lecturing so as by no means to interfere with the College Hours, or with the Provost when he may have occasion to use the Apparatus"; and asked whether the Trustees could "conveniently spare the Use of any Room in the College to give our Lectures"; concluding with the assurance, "so to conduct our Lecture as not to injure the Apparatus, incommode the Professors, nor hurt the Institution." The share of Dr. Williamson in this request ruled it out, for the Trustees

unanimously resolved that it would be improper to allow any Persons except the Professors, to read Lectures in the College, but it was agreed to give Mr. Ewing and Dr. Williamson the use of the apparatus, for this season, out of the College, agreeable to their Request at such times as shall not interfere with Dr Smith's Lectures to the College Pupils, in his Class, or with the Course he has engaged to give at the Request of the Medical Professors to the Medical Students.

While there thus seemed to be a conflict of service, the Provost maintained his jurisdiction; though it is difficult now to assign a reason for Professor Ewing adding his influence to the plan of Dr. Williamson, who since his retirement from the professorship of Mathematics four years prior to this had not been solicited to renew his connection with the College.

LXXXI.

The Commencement of 1767 had been attended by Col. Wilkins, a schoolmate of the Provost's at Aberdeen, whose Regiment, the 18th or Royal Irish Regiment was then quartered in Philadelphia, and its Band had given accompaniment to the music on the occasion, and supported Hopkinson's performance on the organ. Dr. Smith was made Chaplain *pro tempore* of the regiment; and in the following spring he preached a series of sermons before the Regiment on The Christian Soldier's Duty "in the Great Hall of the College of Philadelphia."¹ In the following June he preached twice again to them, "being the last or farewell to the said Regiment, then under marching orders." These offer good specimens of his effective style in presenting a subject, made more impressive by his remarkable oratorical powers which tradition assures us were unequalled by any of the preachers or speakers of the time in the province, and the fame of which opened to him the pulpits of all the churches in the other provinces. It was in the autumn of this year that we find him acting as Rector of Christ Church in the absence of Dr. Peters at Fort Stanwix, New York, where a treaty was being concluded with the Indians. Dr. Peters had been desired by the Governor and Council, he told his Vestry, to attend the treaty,

from a belief that his long experience in Indian affairs would enable him to be of great service there; * * * he had consented to go, and Dr Smith was so good as to promise to do his duty in his absence.²

Dr. Peters, on this visit, did some Missionary work among the Indians, and baptised many, whose names on his return home he entered on the records of his Church. His zeal must have communicated itself to some of his friends in Philadelphia. Dr. Smith writes to Sir William Johnson, 17 December, 1768:

I should be glad to know whether any lands be reserved for the church and Indian Missions upon the plan formerly mentioned. * * *

¹ These are Nos. ix., x., xi., and xiii in his *Works* of 1803.

² Minutes Vestry of Christ Church, 5 September, 1768.

Mr Peters and I have talked seriously about supplying you with proper persons for the Indian Mission, and on the whole submit to you whether it were not best to have one or two pious young men of sound principles and good education, not exceeding twenty-two years of age, to be sent immediately to spend two years under your direction as Catechists and school-masters, till they acquire the language ; others, if found fit, to be sent for orders. We have two such men, who can speak both German and English, educated in our College, of exemplary good behaviour ; one of them on account of his grandfather Conrad Weiser, perhaps might be particularly acceptable to the Indians. He is also the son of a most worthy man, the Revd Mr Muhlenberg, who married Weiser's daughter, and is at the head of the Lutheran Churches in this Province, and is willing his son should go on this business and take orders in the Church. The other is equally well qualified.³

Young Muhlenberg was Henry Ernst, the youngest son of the Patriarch Muhlenberg ; he received in 1780 the honorary degree of Master of Arts in the University of the State of Pennsylvania ; and became a member of the American Philosophical Society in 1785. "He passed his days as a pious and devoted Lutheran pastor, adding to his spiritual cure a close study of the natural sciences, in which he obtained eminence, particularly that of botany."⁴ Who the other one recommended by the Provost was we know not ; it suffices only to know that the project was not consummated, though it held large promise in offering a grandson of Conrad Weiser to give his life work among the Indians. Just seventy years after this the University graduated James Lloyd Breck, whose life work among the Indians of the Northwest has shown what might have been that of Henry Ernst Muhlenberg among the Indians of the North in provincial days.

³ Smith, i. 418.

⁴ *Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg*, D. D., Ayres, p. 3.

LXXXII.

The year 1768 bore in its calendar "The birthday of medical honors in America," as it was happily termed by the Provost. The inception of the Medical Department has been narrated in connection with the biographical sketch of Dr. Morgan, to whom credit is due as its founder, though if the distinction can be made, the father of it was Thomas Penn, in whose letter of 15 February, 1765, to the Trustees commending to them young Morgan's plans, must be found the influential germ from which it grew. But an equal share in the honor of this paternity must be granted to the ever faithful friend of the College Dr. Fothergill, who in a letter of April 1762 to his friend James Pemberton, advising him of sending by Dr. Shippen a gift of anatomical subjects and drawings to the Philadelphia Hospital, says he recommends to

Dr. Shippen to give a course of anatomical Lectures to such as may attend. He is very well qualified for the subject, and will soon be followed by an able assistant, Dr Morgan, both of whom, I apprehend will not only be useful to the Province in their employments, but if suitably countenanced by the Legislature, will be able to erect a School of Physic amongst you, that may draw students from various parts of America and the West Indies, and at least furnish them with a better idea of the rudiments of their Profession, than they have at present the means of acquiring on your side of the water.¹

The medical lectures of William Shippen the younger had preceded this action of the Trustees by the space of more than two years, but his pupils completed their course under his instructions without any specific honors in view. Dr. Morgan must have perceived the inutility of this, though he had at one time projected an alliance with Dr. Shippen in a course of lectures. With lively ingenuity he recognized that the path for such honors was through the Philadelphia College, and submitting his plans to the Proprietary he found them warmly

¹ See Minutes of the Hospital Managers, 8 November, 1762. Dr. Fothergill's expectations proved to be prophecies.

seconded, and the result was Thomas Penn's commendatory letter. Dr. Morgan accordingly submitted a proposal "setting forth his plan of opening Medical Schools under the Patronage and Government of the College and intimating his Desire to be appointed Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physick." Whereupon the Trustees

duly weighing the above Letters and Proposal, and entertaining a high sense of Dr Morgan's abilities and the Honors paid to him by different Learned Bodies and Societies in Europe, they unanimously appointed him Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physick in this College.

Thus an honored alumnus of the first class of the College became the founder of a new Faculty in the Institution, which gave "Reputation and Strength" to it, and which made the first step in that University life, which in later years was to be enlarged by the Faculty of Law and was publicly claimed for the institution by the Provost at the commencement of 1771. It was now in fact the budding University, which was only legally recognized as such when the political subversion of 1779 created a new institution in which the title University was fittingly substituted for that of College.

Dr. Morgan soon had a coadjutor in his friend Shippen, who in the following September sent a communication to the Trustees reciting his earlier labors and asking to be joined in this new effort. A son of Princeton as he was, he had not before thought of asking to form a new Faculty for the Philadelphia College; but Dr. Morgan as its alumnus and with the powerful endorsement of the Penns had succeeded. Dr. Shippen wrote:

It is three years since I proposed the Expediency and Practicability of teaching Medicine in all its branches in this City in a public oration read at the State House introductory to my first course of anatomy. I should long since have sought the patronage of the Trustees of the College, but waited to be joined by Dr Morgan, to whom I first communicated my Plan in England, and who promised to unite with me in every scheme we might think necessary for the Execution of so important a Point. I am pleased however to hear that you, Gentlemen, on being applied to by Dr Morgan, have taken the Plan under your Protection and have appointed that gentleman Professor of Medicine. A Professorship of Anatomy and

Surgery will be greatly accepted by, Gentlemen, your most obedient and very humble servant, W. Shippen, jr. :

and on this being read at a Special Meeting on 23 September, 1765, "the Trustees by an Unanimous Vote appointed him Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in this Seminary."

Morgan and Shippen well bore the honors of this Faculty and trained up a worthy band of young men who earned their honors in 1768. But their number was added to in January² of this year by the appointment of Dr. ADAM KUHN, on his request, to the Professorship of Botany and Materia Medica "the Trustees having ample assurance of his abilities to fill that Professorship, for which he is likewise particularly recommended by the Medical Trustees and Professors belonging to the College itself." Dr. Kuhn was born in Germantown in 1741, the son of a physician who was a native of Suabia. He was entered a pupil in the Academy in 1751, and in 1752 the father moving to Lancaster was there instrumental in establishing a school in which the Greek and Latin Languages were taught by eminent masters, and there young Kuhn continued his elementary education and commenced his medical studies under his father. In 1761 he went to Europe, and first resorting to Sweden for instruction in botany and materia medica at the hands of Linnaeus, he subsequently went to Edinburgh and received his degree from that university in 1767. He returned from Europe in January, 1768, and at once received his Professorship. His first course was on Botany in May following. He held the Chair of Materia Medica for twenty-one years until he assumed the Chair of Practice.

Before any of the medical students could be prepared for their honors, both Morgan and Shippen realised the value of framing rules for the guidance of the new Faculty in examining them. At the meeting of 12 May, 1767,

Dr. Smith laid before the Board the following Plan for conducting the Medical Education and conferring Medical Degrees which he said had been prepared at several private meetings in which he had been present with the

Minutes, 26 January, 1768.

Medical Trustees, viz. Dr Shippen, Dr Thomas Bond, Dr Cadwalader, Dr Phineas Bond and Dr Redman, and the Medical Professors Dr Morgan and Dr Shippen junior.

The preamble to these rules is entitled to a record here ; its simple statement of the situation held a larger promise in it than the Trustees and the Provost could foresee ; they were building more than they knew, and could not realize how large an influence and reputation to their beloved institution they were now preparing for their successors to work and develop. Morgan had founded a Faculty which was to earn for his Alma Mater a National position as the great instructor in Medical Science for long years to come, and its graduates were to extend the name and fame of the College into every corner of the land in a measure which could never be obtained by any efforts of the earlier Faculty of the College. If Dr. Smith moulded the College into a great teacher, none the less did Dr. Morgan earn the gratitude of succeeding generations in founding therein the higher teaching of the medical sciences which was to be the forerunner, indeed the leader, in every attempt of succeeding times in our country to develop and further the knowledge of the healing art. The question may arise where Dr. Morgan received his impulses which worked out this great movement, and how came it that Philadelphia for so long a period held the preëminence in this science. We shall not be far wrong in tracing it to the seed planted in the Pennsylvania Hospital, which in turn was an outgrowth of the College when certain Trustees of the latter conceived the bold project in 1752. Dr. Thomas Bond, alike interested in College and Hospital, would welcome the pupils and graduates of the former attending his clinics in the latter, and this interest was shared by his fellow Trustees Phineas Bond, the elder Shippen, Cadwalader, and Redman. If certain College Trustees founded the Hospital, the return gift was made when the latter offered a clinical school to the former's students and alumni to whom the younger Shippen and Morgan were now lecturing, and the Pennsylvania Hospital must be granted its honorable meed of being the supporter and ally of the new College Faculty, making an obligation of duty and reverence which

the latter can never overlook. Its continuance to this day in a like loving association is a constant testimony to that early and secure support and alliance, in which the new Faculty received its best inspiration and brightest encouragement.³

King's College, New York, was not long behind the Philadelphia enterprise; and from a letter of Dr. Morgan's we can conceive of the friendly rivalry between the two. He wrote to his friend, Mr. William Hewson, of London, 20 November, 1767: "I have twenty pupils this year at about five guineas each. Next year we shall confer the degree of Bachelor in Physic on several of them, and that of doctor in three years after. New York has copied us and has six Professors, three of whom you know, to wit: Bard, Professor of Physic; Tennant of Midwifery; and Smith, in Chemistry; besides whom are Dr. Jones, Professor of Surgery; Middleton, of Physiology; and Clossy of Anatomy. Time will show in what light we are to consider the rivalry; for my part, I do not seem to be under great apprehension." King's College conferred its first degree of Bachelor of Physic in 1769, but its first Doctorate was in 1770, and this latter gives King's the precedence in conferring the greater degree.⁴

But to return to the Rules of the Philadelphia College which were prefaced by the following Preamble:

Whereas the Trustees of the College of Philadelphia by its Charter can confer the usual Degrees granted in the European Seminaries and Universities; and it being apprehended that the granting Degrees in Physic to Students regularly educated and properly qualified for the same, would contribute greatly to the Encouragement of the Medical School in this College, and would also be a Means of putting the Practice of Physic on a more respectable and useful Footing, especially in these Parts of America, and would moreover draw many Students for their Education to this city, which is advantageously situated for such an undertaking, in the Center of

³ So close has been the association between the hospital and the medical school, that of the twenty-nine professors who have occupied collegiate chairs, eighteen have been attending physicians or surgeons of the hospital and five of the seven medical men first elected to these positions in the hospital were Trustees of the College. Dr. Carson, *History of the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania*, p. 37.

⁴ Sir Dr. Hosack's *Inaugural Discourse Delivered at the Opening of the Rutgers Medical School in the City of New York*, 6 November, 1826. Also Dr. Carson's review of the claims of King's College, *Hist. Med. Depart. Univ. of Penna.*, 66-67.

the Colonies; it was therefore the Unanimous Opinion of the Gentlemen above named that such Degrees in Physic ought to be conferred on deserving Students; and the following Qualifications and course of Studies were agreed upon to be proposed to the Trustees of the College in Order to be enacted as requisite to entitle Medical Students to their different Degrees, viz:

FOR A BACHELOR'S DEGREE IN PHYSIC.

1. Such Students as have not taken a Degree in the Arts, in any College, shall before receiving a Degree in Physic, satisfy the Trustees and Professors of this College of their Knowledge in the Latin Language and such Branches of Mathematics, natural and experimental Philosophy, as shall be judged requisite to a Medical Education.

2. Each Student shall take at least one Course in Anatomy, Materia Medica, Chemistry, Theory and Practice of Physic, and Clyrical Lectures, and shall attend the Practice of the Pennsylvania Hospital for One Year, and may then be admitted to a public Examination for a Bachelor's Degree, provided that in a previous private Examination by the Medical Trustees and Professors, and such other Trustees and Professors, as chuse to attend, he shall be judged fit for a public Examination, without attending any more courses in the Medical School.

3. It is further required that each Student previous to the Bachelor's Degree shall have served a sufficient Apprenticeship to some reputable Practitioner in Physic and be able to make it appear that he has a general Knowledge in Pharmacy.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR A DOCTOR'S DEGREE IN PHYSIC.

It is required for this Degree that at least Three Years shall have intervened from taking the Bachelor's Degree, and that the Candidate be full Twenty-four Years of Age; who shall also write and defend a Thesis publickly in College, unless he should be beyond Seas, or so remote on the Continent of America, as not to be able to attend without manifest Inconvenience, in which case, on sending a written Thesis, such as shall be approved by the College, the Candidate may receive his Doctor's Degree; and his Thesis is to be printed and published at his own expense.

FEEES TO THE PROFESSORS.

No Professor to take more than Six Pistoles for a single course in any of the above Branches, and after two courses any Student may attend as many more as he pleases, gratis.

A twelvemonth elapsed before the establishment of rules for the Examination of the Students and regulation of their fees. On 27 May, 1768, the following were agreed to:

1. Such Medical Students as propose to be Candidates for Degrees and likewise such other Medical Students, as shall attend the Natural

Philosophy Lectures now given by the Provost, and whose names have never been entered in the College, shall enter the same, and pay the usual Sum of Twenty Shillings matriculation money.

2. Every Student, on taking the Degree of Bachelor of Physic, shall pay not less than One Guinea to each Professor he has studied under in the College from the Time of his entering the Medical Classes and likewise the usual Fees for the Seal to his Diploma, and for the Increase of the Library.

3. Each Medical Student who shall pay one Dollar for the Use of the Library (exclusive of the Fee at Commencements) shall have his name entered and have the free Use of any books belonging to the Medical Library of the College, during his continuance at the same, and attendance of Lectures under the Medical Professors.

The fourth and last rule was in fact a request to Dr. Bond to keep alive the connection of the College with the Hospital:

4. Dr Thomas Bond is requested by the Trustees and Professors to continue his Clyrical Lectures at the Hospital, as a Branch of Medical Education, judged to be of great Importance and Benefit to the Students.

These Lectures Dr. Bond had begun in December, 1766, and his Introductory he submitted to the Managers of the Hospital which they directed to be inserted in the minutes of their Board.

Finally the "Birthday of Medical Honors in America" arrived, and on 21 June, 1768, the first Medical Commencement was held. It is recorded that

the Trustees being met at half an hour past nine in the forenoon, and the several Professors and Medical Candidates in their proper Habits, proceeded from the Apparatus Room to the public Hall, where a polite assembly of their fellow citizens were convened to honor the Solemnity.

The Provost having there received the Mandate for the Commencement from his Honour the Governor as President of the Trustees, introduced the Business of the Day with Prayers, and a short Latin Oration suited to the Occasion. Then followed

1. A Latin Oration delivered by Mr Lawrence, "De Honoribus qui omni Ævo in veros Medicinæ Cultores, Collati fuerint."

2. A Dispute "whether the *Retina* or *Tunica Choroides* be the immediate Seat of Vision?" The argument for the *Retina* was ingeniously maintained by Mr Cowell; the opposite side of the Question was supported with great acuteness by Mr Fullerton, who contended that the *Retina* is incapable of the office ascribed to it, on account of its being easily permeable by the Rays of Light, and that the *Choroid Coat*, by its being

opaque, is the proper Part for Stopping the Rays, and the receiving the Picture of the Object.

3. Num detur Fluidum Nervosum? Mr Duffield held the affirmative, and Mr Way the negative—both with great Learning.

4. Mr Tilton delivered an Essay “on Respiration and the Manner in which it is performed,” which did credit to his Abilities.

5. The Provost then conferred the Degree of Bachelor of Physic on the following gentlemen, viz.: Messrs John Archer of New Castle County, Benjamin Cowell of Bucks, Samuel Duffield of Philadelphia, Jonathan Elmer of West Jersey, Humphrey Fullerton of Lancaster County, David Jackson of Chester County, John Lawrence of East Jersey, Jonathan Potts of Philadelphia, James Tilton of Kent County on Delaware, and Nicholas Way of Wilmington.

6. An elegant Valedictory Oration was spoken by Mr Potts “On the Advantages derived in the Study of Physic, from a previous liberal Education in the other Sciences.

7. The Provost then addressed the Graduates in a brief account of the present State of this College, and its quick Progress in the various extensive Establishments it hath made. He pointed out the general Causes both of the Rise and Decline of Sciences and observed that as the present Sett of Graduates were the first who had received Medical Honors in America, on a regular Collegiate Plan, it depended much on them, in their future conduct and Eminence, to place such Honors in Estimation among their countrymen; concluding with an earnest charge that they would never forget the Opportunities which their Profession would give them (when their Art perhaps could be of no further service to the Body) of making serious Impressions on their Patients, and shewing themselves Men of Consolation and Piety, which might have singular Weight from a Lay character; adding that what might more particularly concern their Practice, he had devolved on a Gentleman of their own Profession from whom it would come with greater Propriety and Advantage.

Dr Shippen, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, then gave the Remainder of the charge, further animating the Graduates to Support the Dignity of their Profession by a laudable Perseverance in their Studies, and by a Practice becoming the character of Gentlemen; adding many useful precepts respecting their Conduct towards their Patients, Charity towards the Poor, Humanity towards all, and the Opportunities they might have of gaining the Confidence and Esteem of those who by their care might be relieved from Suffering and restored to Health.

The Vice Provost concluded the whole with Prayer and Thanksgiving.

LXXXIII.

Before another Commencement occurred, a young physician who had well earned his degree in a foreign school was crossing the ocean on his way home ; and having heard of the plans of the Trustees in devising honors for their medical matriculants, formed hopes of taking part in the medical work of the College ; and the name of BENJAMIN RUSH is now to be added to this notable faculty. Young Rush, then in the twenty-fourth year of his age, had just returned from completing his medical studies abroad. Born in Philadelphia County on Christmas Eve, 1745, he graduated at Princeton College in the class of 1760, and shortly after began the study of medicine in Philadelphia under the direction of Dr. Redman. In 1766 he went to Edinburgh to further pursue his studies, where he secured his Degree ; and passed the earlier months of 1769 in London in attendance on its hospitals and medical lectures. Here he secured the friendship of Dr. Fothergill, and through him obtained the countenance of the Proprietary ; and contemplating some practical plans for his work at home and possibly looking to a connection with the College of which his learned preceptor was a Trustee, and to the advantages of the Hospital with which Dr. Redman was also closely associated, he submitted his plans to Thomas Penn, who wrote the Trustees under date of 9 May, 1769 :¹

Dr Rush having been recommended to me by Dr Fothergill as a very expert Chymist, and the Doctor having further recommended to me to send a Chymical Apparatus to the College as a Thing that will be of great Use, particularly in the Tryal of Ores, I send you such as Dr Fothergill thought necessary, under the care of Dr Rush, which I desire your acceptance of. I recommend Dr Rush to your Notice, and heartily wishing Success to the College, remain with great Regard, Gentlemen, Your very affectionate Friend,

Tho. Penn

¹ Dr. Carson quotes a letter from Dr. Rush written from London in October, 1768, to Dr. Morgan which would imply some certainty on his part of being elected a Professor, " I am much obliged to you for continuing to read Lectures upon Chemistry. I hope to be in Philadelphia in May or June next, so that I shall relieve you from the task the ensuing winter. Is it necessary for me to deliver publicly an Inaugural Oration ? Something must be said in favor of the advantages of Chemistry to Medicine, and its usefulness to medical philosophy, as the people of our country in general are strangers to the nature and objects of the science." *History &c.* p. 73.

This letter was presented at the Meeting of the Trustees on 23 July, Dr. Redman being present. And at a special meeting held on 1 August, there being fifteen Trustees present, and among them the two Doctors Bond, Dr. Redman, Dr. Shippen and Dr. Cadwalader, a letter from Dr. Rush was submitted offering himself as a candidate for "the Professorship of Chemistry (which Dr. Morgan hath some time supplied)," when "in consequence of the above application and in consideration of Dr. Rush's character as an able chemist, he was unanimously appointed Professor of Chemistry in this College." Thus was formed a connection with the institution which continued until Dr. Rush's death in 1813. Of his civil and public services our country's history makes true note; and these in a measure reflected with advantage upon the Faculty of which he was a distinguished member. In the course of our present narrative, we may have more to say of him, as in his professional and political life he became intimately associated with all the interests and concerns of the College. The average age of the four professors, Morgan, Shippen, Kuhn, and Rush was under thirty years; affording another instance in the history of the College that some of its best and firmest developments were the instrumentality of young men. Dr. Bond, the clinical Lecturer, as Dr. Carson humorously records, "only had arrived at that age when experience is supposed to bring the greatest wisdom:— he was over fifty years."²

At the Commencement of 1769, on 30 June, eight students received their degrees of Bachelor of Medicine: James Armstrong, Josias Carvill Hall, John Hodge, John Houston, Thomas Pratt, Alexander Skinner, John Wynder, and Myndert Veeder. The Commencement of 5 June, 1770, exhibited but one of these honors, Thomas Parke. At the Commencement of 28 June, 1771, were conferred seven of these degrees, viz: Benjamin Alison (of the class of 1765), Jonathan Easton (1768), Frederick Kuhn, John Kuhn, Bodo Otto, Robert Pottenger, and William Smith.³ But this occasion was chiefly notable for the conferring

² *History* &c. p. 75.

³ Who married in 1775 the granddaughter of Dr. Thomas Graeme.

of the first degrees of Doctor of Physic, Messrs. Elmer, Potts, Tilton and Way, the Bachelors of Physic in the class of 1768, being the recipients of this honor. The Provost records this act in the following words :

They then presented themselves agreeable to the rules of the College, to defend in Latin the Dissertations printed for their Degree of Doctor in Physic. Mr Elmer's piece, "*De Causis & Remediis Sitis in Febribus*," was impugned by Dr Kuhn, Professor of Botany and Materia Medica. Mr Pott's "*De Febribus intermittibus, potentissimum tertianis*" was impugned by Dr Morgan, Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic. Mr Tilton's "*De Hydrope*" was impugned by Dr Shippen, Professor of Anatomy. Mr Way's "*De Variolerum Insitione*" was impugned by Dr Rush, Professor of Chemistry.

Each of these candidates, having judiciously answered the objections made to some Parts of their Dissertations, the Provost conferred the Degree of Doctor in Physic with particular Solemnity, as the highest mark of Literary Honor which they could receive in their Profession.

These theses were submitted in Latin and were published according to the Rules adopted in 1767.⁴

He proceeds further in his Minutes of this interesting day, and epitomises Dr. Morgan's charge to these young Doctors.

Dr. Morgan, who was appointed to that Part of the Business, entered into a particular Account of those Branches of Study, which the Medical Gentlemen ought still to prosecute with unremitted Diligence, if they wished to be eminent in their Profession; laying down some useful Rules for an honorable Practice in the Discharge of it. He observed that the "Oath which was prescribed by Hippocrates to his Disciples, had been generally adopted in Universities and Schools of Physic on the like occasions, but that laying aside the Form of Oaths, this College, which is of a free Spirit, wished only to bind its Sons and Graduates by the Ties of Honor and Gratitude; and that therefore he begged leave to impress it upon those, who had received the distinguished Degree of Doctors, that as they were among the foremost Sons of the Institution, and the Birth Day of Medical Honors in this New World had arose upon them with auspicious Lustre, they would in all their Practice consult the Safety of their Patients, the Good of the Community, and the Dignity of their Profession; so as that the Seminary, from which they derived their Titles in Physic, might never have cause to be ashamed of them.

⁴ These are the earliest medical inaugural essays published in America. Copies of them are with either the American Philosophical Society or the Library Company of Philadelphia. They bear the date 1771.

LXXXIV.

But this Commencement of 1771 is memorable in witnessing the first public claim by the Provost for the institution of the rank and place of a University, to which in fact it had attained in 1768, and which it has maintained with honor through varying changes and vicissitudes to the present moment. Dr. Smith's charge to the graduates, written in his happiest style, he gives in part in the Minutes, wherein he observed, he says, among things,

That it is by slow Degrees the Sciences are introduced and established in any young Country ; that there is perhaps scarce an Instance, where any Seminary of Learning although patronized and supported by Princes, hath, in the same space of Time come to equal Perfection, with the College of Philadelphia, although at first begun only by a few private Gentlemen. That he had found it seventeen ago just in its Infancy ; that amid the Tumults of War and many other Circumstances unfavorable to Literature, it had, during that period, been constantly growing in Usefulness and Reputation, that numerous and illustrious Benefactors had been raised up for its support, that all the Branches of Science were now professed and taught in it on so liberal a Foundation, that it would be entitled not merely to the name of a College, but of an University, in any Part of the World; that not only Professorships in the Languages, Mathematics, Philosophy, etc; but in the different branches of Physic, were established in it, and that this Day saw the whole plan compleat, as several Gentlemen, who had been regularly educated in the Study of Physic, and admitted to their first Degrees in this Seminary, were now, after three years reputable and successful Practice, and after giving convincing Specimens of their Abilities, thought worthy of being admitted to the Degree of Doctor, the highest Honor belonging to their Profession. He added an earnest Exhortation to all the Graduates so to acquit themselves through Life, as still to reflect fresh Lustre on the Place of their Education ; referring further to what might be said by the Gentlemen, who was to give the Medical Charge.

With two Bachelors in Physic created in 1773, Thomas Biddle and David Ramsey, the latter of whom won his Doctor's Degree in 1780, we find that but twenty-eight sought this honor prior to the dissolution of the College in 1779, and of these four only won their Doctor's Degree in that time. It may be that the lesser Degree furnished its possessor with sufficient warrant for general practice, and the active life thrust upon him in the stir of a

busy population perhaps forbade his continuance in the three years course prescribed for a Doctor's Degree. The troublous times of the Revolution, of which Philadelphia appeared to be the centre, were not propitious to professional research or study among the younger people ; but students were not wanting in the Medical Faculty, although the year 1780 had arrived before the latter could bestow any honors upon them. In that year three Bachelors in Physic were created ; in 1781, two ; in 1782, eight, of whom were James Craik and Caspar Wistar, Jr. ; in 1783, three ; in 1784, eight ; in 1785, nine, of whom Edward Miller received the Degree of Doctor in Physic in 1789 ; in 1786, four, of whom Moses Bartram received the Degree of Doctor in Physic in 1790 and Nicholas B. Waters in 1788 ; in 1787, four ; in 1788, six, of whom Francis B. Sayre received his Doctorate in 1790 ; in 1789, three ; and in 1790, twelve, of whom John Laws received his Doctorate in 1797. After 1790, no Degrees of Bachelor of Physic were conferred ; the whole number up to this time being ninety ; of these, but ten continued their studies and became entitled to their Doctor's Degree.

From the absence of any lists of students in the College we can only form an estimate of the relative growth of their number from the Treasurer's receipts of Tuition fees. While in the year 1752 these were £716.19.9 and in 1753 £758.19.4, they did not rise to £600 per annum until 1760, when they amounted to £629.7.6, and in 1761 the figures reached £763.15. While in 1762 they were £609.1.10. they were in 1763, £910.22, but in 1764, only £643.11.7 Some allowance must be made for the irregular returns of the Collectors, who were generally the younger Tutors, and whose compensation was two and a half per cent ; but no annual returns equalled those of 1763 the year of Dr. Smith's absence in England. In 1765 they fell below £600 ; in 1766 and 1767 they did not exceed £612 each year ; but in 1768, the Birth year of Medical honors, which drew greater credit to the College, the fees amounted to £751.12.6. The following three years the annual average was but £529.4, but in 1772 they again rose to £646.2.3½. The increase in tuition

fees required by the depreciating paper currency, made the average returns for 1774 and 1775 amount to £722.5.5.

Here the AUTHOR lays down his pen, hoping, however, that another may carry on the History of this University Family, illustrating its varying misfortunes during the Revolutionary struggle, its quiet life through the first seventy years of this century, and portraying with loving strokes its enlarged and influential work of the present generation, under the strong stimulus of which it is prepared to enter upon its great career in the Twentieth Century.

APPENDIX.

- A. PROPOSALS RELATING TO THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH IN PENNSYLVANIA.
- B. PROCEEDINGS OF PHILADELPHIA COUNCILS RELATING TO THE ACADEMY 1750-1751.
- C. FRANKLIN AND JOHNSON CORRESPONDENCE.
- D. ANNOUNCEMENT OF OPENING OF KING'S COLLEGE.
- E. ACCOUNT OF COLLEGE AND ACADEMY IN *The American Magazine*, October, 1758.
- F. LIST OF ALL THE STUDENTS ENTERED UP TO AND INCLUDING 1769.

APPENDIX A.

PROPOSALS
RELATING TO THE
EDUCATION
OF
YOUTH
IN
PENSILVANIA
PHILADELPHIA
PRINTED IN THE YEAR MDCCXLIX

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

IT has long been regretted as a Misfortune to the Youth of this Province, that we have no ACADEMY, in which they might receive the Accomplishments of a regular Education.

The following Paper of Hints towards forming a Plan for that Purpose, is so far approv'd by some publick-spirited Gentlemen, to whom it has been privately communicated, that they have Directed a Number of Copies to be made by the Press, and properly distributed, in order to obtain the Sentiments and Advice of Men of Learning, Understanding, and Experience in these Matters; and have determined to use their Interest and best Endeavours, to have the Scheme, when completed, carried gradually into Execution; in which they have Reason to believe they shall have the hearty Concurrence and Assistance of many who are Wellwishers to their Country.

Those who incline to favour the Design with their Advice, either as to the Parts of Learning to be taught, the Order of Study, the Method of Teaching, the Economy of the School, or any other Matter of Importance to the Success of the Undertaking, are desired to communicate their Sentiments as soon as may be, by Letter Directed to B. Franklin, Printer, in Philadelphia.

PROPOSALS, &c.

The good Education of Youth has been esteemed by wise Men in all Ages, as the Surest Foundation of the Happiness of both private Families and of Common-wealths. Almost all Governments have therefore made it a principal Object of their Attention, to establish and endow with proper Revenues, such Seminaries of Learning, as might supply the succeeding Age with Men qualified to serve the Publick with Honour to themselves, and to their Country.

Many of the first settlers of these Provinces, were Men who had received a good Education in *Europe*, and to their Wisdom and good Management we owe much of our present Prosperity. But their Hands were full, and they could not do all Things. The present Race are not thought to be generally of equal Ability : For though the *American* Youth are allow'd not to want capacity ; yet the best Capacities require Cultivation, it being truly with them, as with the best Ground, which unless well tilled and sowed with profitable Seed, produces only ranker Weeds.

That we may obtain the Advantages arising from an Increase of Knowledge, and prevent as much as may be the mischievous Consequences that would attend a general Ignorance among us, the following *Hints* are offered towards forming a Plan for the Education of the Youth of Pennsylvania, viz :

It is propos'd,

THAT some Persons of Leisure and publick Spirit, apply for a CHARTER, by which they may be incorporated, with Power to erect an ACADEMY for the Education of Youth, to govern the same, provide Masters, make Rules, receive Donations, purchase Lands, &c., and to add to their Number, from Time to Time such other Persons as they shall judge suitable.

That the Members of the Corporation make it their Pleasure, and in some Degree their Business, to visit the Academy often, encourage and countenance the Youth, countenance and assist the Masters, and by all Means in their Power advance the Usefulness and Reputation of the Design ; that they look on the Students as in some Sort their children, treat them with Familiarity and Affection, and when they have behaved well, and gone through their Studies, and are to enter the World, zealously unite, and make all the Interest that can be made to establish them, whether in Business, Offices, Marriages, or any other Thing for their Advantage, preferably to all other Persons whatsoever even of equal Merit.

And if Men may, and frequently do, catch such a taste for cultivating Flowers, for Planting, Grafting, Inoculating, and the like, as to despise all other Amusements for their Sake, why may not we expect they should acquire a Relish for that *more useful* Culture of young Minds. *Thompson* says :

'Tis Joy to see the human Blossoms blow,
When infant Reason grows apace, and calls
For the Kind Hand of an Assiduous Care ;
Delightful Task ! to rear the tender Thought,
To teach the young Idea how to shoot,
To pour the fresh Instruction o'er the Mind,
To breathe th' enliv'ning Spirit, and to fix
The generous Purpose in the glowing Breast.

That a House be provided for the ACADEMY, if not in the Town, not many miles from it ; the Situation high and dry, and if it may be, not far from a River, having a Garden, Orchard, Meadow, and a Field or two.

That the House be furnished with a Library (if in the Country, if in the Town, the Town Libraries may serve) with Maps of all Countries, Globes, some mathematical Instruments, an Apparatus for Experiments in Natural Philosophy, and for Mechanics ; Prints, of all Kinds, Prospects, Buildings, Machines, &c.

That the RECTOR be a Man of good Understanding, good Morals, diligent and patient, learn'd in the Languages and Sciences, and a correct pure Speaker and writer of the *English* Tongue ; to have such Tutors under him as shall be necessary.

That the boarding Scholars diet together, plainly, temperately, and frugally.

That to keep them in Health, and to strengthen and render active their Bodies, they be frequently exercis'd in Running, Leaping, Wrestling, and Swimming, &c.

That they have peculiar Habits to distinguish them from other Youth, if the Academy be in or near the Town ; for this, among other Reasons, that their Behaviour may be the better observed.

As to their STUDIES, it would be well if they could be taught *every Thing* that is useful, and *every Thing* that is ornamental : But Art is long, and their Time is short. It is therefore proposed that they learn those Things that are likely to be *most useful* and *most ornamental*, Regard being had to the several Professions for which they are intended.

All should be taught to write a *fair Hand*, and swift, as that is useful to All. And with it may be learnt something of *Drawing*, by Imitation of Prints, and some of the first Principles of Perspective.

Arithmetick, *Accounts*, and some of the first Principles of *Geometry* and *Astronomy*.

The *English* Language might be taught by Grammar, in which some of our best Writers, as *Tillotson*, *Addison*, *Pope*, *Algernon Sidney*, *Cato's* Letters, &c should be classicks : The *Stiles* principally to be cultivated, being the *clear* and the *concise*. Reading should also be taught, and pronouncing, properly, distinctly, emphatically ; not with an even Tone, which *under-does*, nor a theatrical, which *over-does* Nature.

To form their Stile, they should be put on Writing Letters to each other, making Abstracts of what they read ; or writing the same Things in their own Words ; telling or writing Stories lately read, in their own Expressions. All to be revised and corrected by the Tutor, who should give his Reasons, explain the Tone and Import of Words, &c.

To form their Pronunciation, they may be put on making Declamations, repeating Speeches, delivering Orations, &c. The Tutors assisting at the Rehearsals, teaching, advising, correcting their Accent, &c.

But if HISTORY be made a constant Part of their Reading, such as the Translations of the *Greek* and *Roman* Historians, and the modern Histories of antient *Greece* and *Rome*, &c., may not almost all Kinds of useful Knowledge be that Way introduced to Advantage, and with Pleasure to the Student? As

GEOGRAPHY, by reading with Maps, and being required to point out the Places *where* the greatest Actions were done, to give their old and new Names, with the Bounds, Situation, Extent of the Countries concern'd, &c.

CHRONOLOGY, by the Help of Helvius or some other Writer of the kind, who will enable them to tell *when* those Events happened; what Princes were Cotemporaries, what States or famous Men flourished about that Time, &c. The several principal Epochs to be first well fix'd in their Memories.

ANTIEN'T CUSTOMS, religious and civil, being frequently mentioned in History, will give occasion for explaining them; in which the Prints of Medals, Basso Relievo's, and antient Monuments will greatly assist.

MORALITY, by descanting and making continual Observations on the Causes of the Rise or Fall of any Man's Character, Fortune, Power, &c., mentioned in History; the Advantages of Temperance, Order, Frugality, Industry, Perseverance, &c. &c. Indeed the general natural Tendency of Reading good History, must be, to fix in the Minds of Youth deep Impressions of the Beauty and Usefulness of Virtue of all Kinds, Publick Spirit, Fortitude, &c.

History will show the wonderful effects of ORATORY in governing, training and leading great Bodies of Mankind, Armies, Cities, Nations. When the Minds of Youth are struck with Admiration at this, then is the Time to give them the Principles of that Art, which they will study with Taste and Application. Then they may be made acquainted with the best Models among the Antients, their Beauties being particularly pointed out to them. Modern Political Oratory being chiefly performed by the Pen and Press, its Advantages over the Antients in some Respects are to be shown; as that its Effects are more extensive, more lasting, &c.

History will also afford frequent Opportunities of showing the Necessity of a *Publick Religion*, from its Usefulness to the Publick; the Advantages of a Religious Character among private Persons; the Mischiefs of Superstition, &c., and the Excellency of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION above all others antient or modern.

History will also give Occasion to expatiate on the Advantage of Civil Orders and Constitutions, how Men and their Properties are protected by joining in Societies and establishing Government; their Industry encouraged and rewarded, Arts invented, and Life made more comfortable: The Advantages of *Liberty*, Mischiefs of *Licentiousness*, Benefits arising from good Laws and a due Execution of Justice, &c. Thus may the first Principles of sound *Politics* be fixed in the Minds of Youth.

On *Historical* Occasions, Questions of Right and Wrong, Justice and Injustice, will naturally arise, and may be put to Youth, which they may debate in Conversation and in Writing. When they ardently desire Victory, for the Sake of the Praise attending it, they will begin to feel the Want, and be sensible of the Use of *Logic*, or the Art of Reasoning to *discover* Truth, and of Arguing to *defend* it, and convince Adversaries. This would be the Time to acquaint them with the Principles of that Art. *Grotius*, *Puffendorff*, and some other Writers of the same kind, may be used on these Occasions to decide their Disputes. Publick Disputes warm the Imagination, whet the Industry, and strengthen the natural Abilities.

When Youth are told, that the Great Men whose Lives and Actions they read in History, spoke two of the best Languages that ever were, the most expressive, copious, beautiful; and that the finest Writings, the most correct Compositions, the most perfect Productions of human Wit and Wisdom, are in those Languages which have endured Ages, and will endure while there are Men; that no Translation can do them justice, or give the Pleasure found in Reading the Originals; that those Languages contain all Science; that one of them is become almost universal, being the Language of Learned Men in all Countries; that to understand them is a distinguishing ornament, &c., they may be thereby made desirous of learning those Languages, and their Industry sharpen'd in the Acquisition of them. All intended for Divinity should be taught the *Latin* and *Greek*; for Physick, the *Latin*, *Greek* and *French*; for Law, the *Latin* and *French*; Merchants, the *French*, *German*, and *Spanish*; and though all should not be compell'd to learn *Latin*, *Greek*, or the modern foreign Languages; yet none that have an ardent Desire to learn them should be refused; their *English*, Arithmetick, and other Studies absolutely necessary, being at the same Time not neglected.

If the new *Universal History* were also read, it would give a *connected* Idea of human Affairs, so far as it goes, which should be followed by the best modern Histories, particularly of our Mother Country; then of these Colonies; which should be accompanied with Observations on their Rise, Encrease, Use to *Great Britain*, Encouragements, Discouragements, &c., the Means to make them flourish, secure their Liberties, &c.

With the History of Men, Times and Nations, should be read at proper Hours or Days, some of the best *Histories of Nature*, which would not only be delightful to Youth, and furnish them with Matter for their Letters, &c., as well as other History; but afterwards of great use to them, whether they are Merchants, Handicrafts, or Divines; enabling the first the better to understand many Commodities, Drugs, &c., the second to improve his Trade or Handicraft by new Mixtures, Materials, &c., and the last to adorn his Discourses by beautiful Comparisons, and strengthen them by new Proofs of Divine Providence. The Conversation of all will be improved by it, as Occasions frequently occur of making Natural Observa-

tions, which are instructive, agreeable and entertaining in almost all Companies. *Natural History* will also afford Opportunities of introducing many observations, relating to the Preservation of Health, which may be afterwards of great use. *Arbutknot* on Air and *Aliment*, *Sanctorius* on Perspiration, *Lemery* on Foods, and some others, may now be read, and a very little Explanation will make them sufficiently intelligible to Youth.

While they are reading Natural History, might not a little *Gardening*, *Planting*, *Grafting*, *Inoculating*, &c., be taught and practised, and now and then Excursions made to the neighboring Plantations of the best Farmers, their Methods observ'd and reason'd upon for the Information of Youth? The Improvement of Agriculture being useful to all, and Skill in it no Disparagement to any.

The History of *Commerce*, of the Invention of Arts, Rise of Manufactures, Progress of Trade, Change of its Seats, with the Reasons, Causes, &c., may also be made interesting to Youth, and will be useful to all. And this with the Accounts in other History of the prodigious Force and Effect of Engines and Machines used in War, will naturally introduce a Desire to be instructed in *Mechanicks*, and to be informed of the Principles of that Art by which weak Men perform such Wonders, Labour is sav'd, Manufactures expedited, &c., &c. This will be the Time to show them Prints of antient and modern Machines, to explain them, to let them be copied, and to give Lectures in Mechanical Philosophy.

With the whole should be constantly inculcated and cultivated, that *Benignity of Mind*, which shows itself in *searching for* and *seizing* every opportunity *to serve* and *to oblige*; and is the Foundation of what is called *GOOD BREEDING*; highly useful to the Possessor, and most agreeable to all.

The Idea of what is *true Merit*, should also be often presented to Youth, explain'd and impress'd on their Minds, as consisting in an *Inclination* join'd with an *Ability* to serve Mankind, one's Country, Friends and Family; which *Ability* is (with the Blessing of God) to be acquir'd or greatly increas'd by *true Learning*, and should indeed be the great *Aim* and *End* of all Learning.

NOTE.—Thomson's lines are found near the close of his *Spring*, and begin :

By degrees

The human blossom blows; and every day,
Soft as it rolls along, shows some new charm,
The father's lustre, and the mother's bloom.
Then infant reason grows apace, and calls
For the kind hand of an assiduous care,
Delightful task! &c., &c., &c.

The tidings of the poet's death could have reached Franklin but a few weeks before making this quotation.—T. H. M.

APPENDIX B.

At a Common Council held at Philadelphia for the City of Philadelphia the 30th Day of July 1750.

PRESENT.

Thomas Lawrence, Esq ^r ,	Mayor	Septimus Robeson	} Common Council Men.
William Allen, Esq ^r ,	Recorder	John Mifflin	
Samuel Hassell	} Esquires, Aldermen.	John Stamper	
Edward Shippen		Benj ^a Franklin	
Benj ^a Shoemaker		Tho ^s Hopkinson	
Joseph Turner		Phineas Bond	
Robert Strettell		Tench Francis	
		Tho ^s Lawrence, jun ^r	
		Samuel Rhoads	
		George Mifflin	
		W ^m Coleman	

The Recorder acquainted the Board there is a Design on Foot for the Erecting a Publick Academy and Charity School in this City, for instructing Youth in the several Branches of useful Learning, And that divers of the Inhabitants have subscribed liberally towards it ; But as this Undertaking is attended with a great Expence in the Beginning, some further Assistance is necessary to carry it into Execution in the best Manner. And as this Corporation have a considerable Sum of Money in the Hands of their Treasurer, and have likewise an Income of about Three Hundred pounds p. Annum, besides Fines and Forfeitures, the Recorder proposed that it might be considered, Whether this Design for the Advancement of Learning, be not worthy of some Encouragement from this Board, as their Circumstances may very well afford it.

The Board having taken this Affair into Consideration, and it appearing to be a Matter of Consequence, and but a small Number of the Members now present, it was thought proper to referr the further consideration thereof to the next Common Council : It is therefore Ordered, That the Members of this Board have Notice to meet Tomorrow at four a Clock in the Afternoon, to consider of a Proposal of contributing a Sum of Money for the Encouragement of the Academy & Charity School now erecting in this City.

At a Common Council held at Philadelphia the 31st Day of July
1750.

PRESENT.

Thomas Lawrence, Esq ^r , Mayor	Septimus Robeson	} Common Council Men.
William Allen, Esq ^r , Recorder	Tench Francis	
Samuel Hassell	Benjamin Franklin	
Anthony Morris	Samuel M ^c Call, jun ^r	
Joseph Turner	John Inglis	
Robert Strettell	William Shippen	
Edw ^d Shippen	Thomas Bond	
Benjamin Shoemaker	Tho ^s Hopkinson	
William Plumsted	Tho ^s Lawrence, jun ^r	
	Nath ^l Allen	
	Joseph Sims	
	George Mifflin	
	William Coleman	
	John Wilcocks	
	John Stamper.	

The Board resumed the Consideration of the Proposal made at the last Common Council, of contributing a Sum of Money for the Encouragement of the Academy & Charity School now erecting in this City ; And a Paper containing an Account of what is already done by the Trustees of the Academy, and what Advantages are expected from that Undertaking being laid before the Board, was read, and follows in these Words :

, The Trustees of the Academy have already laid out near £800, in the Purchase of the Building, and will probably expend near as much more in fitting up Rooms for the Schools, & furnishing them with proper Books, & Instruments for the Instruction of Youth.

, The greatest Part of the Money paid & to be paid is subscribed by the Trustees themselves, and advanced by them ; Many of whom have no children of their own to educate, but act from a View to the Publick Good, without Regard to sect or party. And they have engaged to open a Charity School within two Years for the Instruction of Poor Children gratis, in Reading, Writing and Arithmetick, and the first Principles of Virtue and Piety.

The Benefits expected from this Institution are :

1. That the Youth of Pensilvania may have an Opportunity of receiving a good Education at home, and be under no necessity of going abroad for it ; Whereby not only considerable Expense may be saved to the Country, but a stricter Eye may be had over their morals by their Friends and Relations.

2, That a Number of our Natives will be hereby qualified to bear Magistracies, and execute other public offices of Trust, with Reputation to themselves & Country ; there being at present great Want of Persons so qualified in the several Counties of this Province. And this is the more necessary now to be provided for by the English here, as vast Numbers of Foreigners are yearly imported among us, totally ignorant of our Laws, Customs, and Language.

3. That a Number of the poorer Sort will hereby be qualified to act as Schoolmasters in the Country, to teach Children Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and the Grammar of their Mother Tongue ; and being of good morals and known character, may be recommended from the Academy to Country Schools for that purpose ; The Country suffering at present very much for want of good Schoolmasters, and oblig'd frequently to employ in their Schools, vicious imported Servants, or concealed Papists, who by their bad Examples and Instructions often deprave the Morals or corrupt the Principles of the Children under their Care.

4. It is thought that a good Academy erected in Philadelphia, a healthy place where Provisions are plenty, situated in the Center of the Colonies, may draw numbers of Students from the neighbouring Provinces, who must spend considerable Sums yearly among us, in Payment for their Lodging, Diet, Apparel, &c., which will be an Advantage to our Traders, Artisans and Owners of Houses and Lands. This Advantage is so considerable, that it has been frequently observed in Europe, that the fixing a good School or College in a little inland Village, has been the means of making it a great Town in a few Years ; and therefore the magistrates of many Places, have offer'd and given great yearly salaries, to draw learned Instructors from other Countries to their respective Towns, merely with a View to the Interest of the Inhabitants.

, Numbers of people have already generously subscribed considerable sums to carry on this Undertaking ; but others, well disposed, are somewhat discouraged from contributing, by an Apprehension, lest when the first Subscriptions are expended, the Design should drop.

,The great Expence of such a Work is in the Beginning. If the Academy be once well-open'd, good Masters provided, and good Orders established, there is Reason to believe (from many former Examples in other Countries) that it will be able after a few years to support itself.

,Some Assistance from the Corporation is immediately wanted and hoped for ; and it is thought that if this Board, which is a perpetual Body, take the Academy under their Patronage, and afford it some Encouragement, it will greatly strengthen the Hands of all concerned, and be a

means of Establishing this good Work, and continuing the good Effects of it down to our late Posterity.

The Board having weighed the great Usefulness of this Design, after several Propositions heard & debated, agreed That a Sum of Money be given by this Board & paid down, towards compleating the Building which the Trustees have purchased, and are now fitting up for the Purpose ; and likewise, that a Sum or Sums be given yearly by this Board, for five Years to come, towards the support & Maintenance of the Schools under the Direction of the said Trustees. Whereupon the following Questions were put and carried in the Affirmative.

1. Whether this Board will give the Sum of Two Hundred Pounds, to be paid immediately to the Trustees of the Academy, towards compleating the Building purchased by the said Trustees for an Academy & Charity School in this City ? Which was carried in the Affirmative by a great Majority.

2. Whether this Board will give Fifty pounds p. annum for five years next ensuing, to The Trustees of The Academy, towards supporting a Charity School for the Teaching of poor Children Reading, Writing and Arithmetick ?

Which was unanimously agreed to.

3. Whether this Board will give Fifty Pounds p. annum for the five years next ensuing, to the Trustees of the Academy, for the Benefit thereof, with Condition that this Board shall have a Right of nominating and sending one Scholar Yearly from the Charity School, to be instructed gratis in the Academy , in any or all of the Branches of Learning there taught ? Which was carried in the Affirmative by a great Majority.

At a Common Council held for the City of Philadelphia the 21st Day of March, 1750-51.

PRESENT

William Plumsted, Esq^{re}, Mayor
Tench Francis, Esq^{re}, Recorder
Robert Strettell
Anthony Morris
Thomas Lawrence
Edward Shippen
Samuel Hasell

}
Esquires,
Aldermen.

Common Council Men

Joshua Maddox
Samuel Rhoads
John Stamper
Israel Pemberton
Joseph Morris
Benjamin Franklin
William Logan
George Mifflin
William Coleman

Alderman Lawrence acquainted the Board that the Sum of One Hundred Pounds is due to him from this Corporation, being his Salary as Mayor of this City for the last Year, pursuant to a Vote of this Board of the 18th of September, 1747, whereby it was resolved that such Salary should be paid to the Mayor of this City for the three Years then next ensuing ; And that, as some late Mayors, in lieu of an Entertainment, had given a Sum of Money for some publick Use, he was inclined to follow the Example, and proposed to give the Sum of One Hundred Pounds for the Use of the Academy in this City ; which Proposal was approved of by a great Majority ; And at Alderman Lawrence's Request, the Treasurer of this Corporation is order'd to pay the said Sum to William Coleman in Behalf of the Trustees of the said Academy, for the Use aforesaid.

APPENDIX C.

BERKELEY, JOHNSON, AND FRANKLIN CORRESPONDENCE.
FROM DR. BEARDSLEY'S LIFE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON, D. D.

BISHOP BERKELEY TO DR. JOHNSON.

Cloyne, August 23, 1749.

REV. SIR,—I am obliged for the account you have sent me of the prosperous estate of learning in your College of New Haven. I approve of the regulations made there, and am particularly pleased to find your sons have made such a progress as appears from their elegant address to me in the Latin tongue. It must indeed give me a very sensible satisfaction to hear that my weak endeavors have been of some use and service to that part of the world. I have two letters of yours at once on my hands to answer, for which business of various kinds must be my apology. As to the first, wherein you inclosed a small pamphlet relating to tar-water, I can only say in behalf of those points in which the ingenious author seems to dissent from me, that I advance nothing which is not grounded on experience, as may be seen at large in Mr. Prior's narrative of the effects of tar-water, printed three or four years ago, and which may be supposed to have reached America.

For the rest, I am glad to find a spirit towards learning prevail in those parts, particularly New York, where you say a College is projected, which has my best wishes. At the same time I am sorry that the condition of Ireland, containing such numbers of poor uneducated people, for whose sake Charity Schools are erecting throughout the kingdom, obligeth us to draw charities from England ; so far are we from being able to extend our bounty to New York, a country in proportion much richer than our own. But as you are pleased to desire my advice upon this undertaking, I send the following hints to be enlarged and improved by your own judgment.

I would not advise the applying to England for charters or statutes (which might cause great trouble, expense, and delay), but to do the business quietly within themselves.

I believe it may suffice to begin with a President and two Fellows. If they can procure but three fit persons, I doubt not the college from the smallest beginnings would soon grow considerable : I should conceive good hopes were you at the head of it.

Let them by all means supply themselves out of the seminaries in New England (who are willing to go) worth sending.

Let the Greek and Latin classics be well taught. Be this the first

care as to learning. But the principle care must be good life and morals to which (as well as to study) early hours and temperate meals will much conduce.

If the terms for degrees are the same as in Oxford and Cambridge, this would give credit to the College, and pave the way for admitting their graduates *ad eundem* in the English Universities.

Small premiums in books, or distinctions in habit, may prove useful encouragements to the students.

I would advise that the building be regular, plain, and cheap, and that each student have a small room (about ten feet square) to himself.

I recommended this nascent seminary to an English bishop, to try what might be done there. But by his answer it seems the colony is judged rich enough to educate its own youth.

Colleges from small beginnings grow great by subsequent bequests and benefactions. A small matter will suffice to set one a going. And when this is once well done, there is no doubt that it will grow and thrive. The chief concern must be to set out in a good method, and introduce, from the very first, a good taste into the society. For this end the principal expense should be in making a handsome provision for the President and Fellows.

I have thrown together these few crude thoughts for you to ruminate upon, and digest in your own judgment, and propose from yourself, as you see convenient.

My correspondence with patients who drink tar water, obliges me to be less punctual in corresponding with my friends. But I shall be always glad to hear from you. My sincere good wishes and prayers attend you in all your laudable undertakings.

I am your faithful, humble servant,

G. CLOYNE.

MR. FRANKLIN TO DR. JOHNSON.

Philadelphia, Aug. 9, 1750.

REV. SIR,—At my return home I found your favor of June the 28th, with the Bishop of Cloyne's letter inclosed, which I will take care of, and beg leave to keep a little longer.

Mr. Francis, our Attorney General, who was with me at your house, from the conversation then had with you, and reading some of your pieces, has conceived an esteem for you equal to mine. The character we have given of you to the other trustees, and the sight of your letters relating to the academy, has made them very desirous of engaging you in that design, as a person whose experience and judgment would be of great use in forming rules and establishing good methods in the beginning, and whose name for learning would give it a reputation. We only lament, that in the infant state of our funds, we cannot make you an offer equal to your merit.

But as the view of being useful has most weight with generous and benevolent minds, and in this affair you may do great service not only to the present but to future generations, I flatter myself sometimes that if you were here, and saw things as they are, and conversed a little with our people, you might be prevailed with to remove. I would therefore earnestly press you to make us a visit as soon as you conveniently can ; and in the mean time let me represent to you some of the circumstances as they appear to me.

1. The Trustees of the Academy are applying for a charter, which will give an opportunity of improving and modeling our Constitution in such a manner as, when we have your advice, shall appear best. I suppose we shall have power to form a regular college.

2. If you would undertake the management of the English Education, I am satisfied the trustees would, on your account, make the salary £100 sterling, (they have already voted £150 currency which is not far from it), and pay the charge of your removal. Your son might also be employed as tutor at £60 or perhaps £70 per annum.

3. It has been long observed, that our church is not sufficient to accommodate near the number of people who would willingly have seats there. The buildings increase very fast towards the south end of the town, and many of the principal merchants now live there ; which being at a considerable distance from the present church, people begin to talk much of building another, and ground has been offered as a gift for that purpose. The Trustees of the Academy are three fourths of them members of the Church of England, and the rest men of moderate principles. They have reserved in the building a large hall for occasional preaching, public lectures, orations, etc. ; it is 70 feet by 60, furnished with a handsome pulpit, seats, etc. In this Mr. Tennent collected his congregation who are now building him a meeting-house. In the same place, by giving now and then a lecture, you might, with equal ease, collect a congregation that would in a short time build you a church, if it should be agreeable to you.

In the mean time, I imagine you will receive something considerable yearly, arising from marriages and christenings in the best families, etc., not to mention presents that are not unfrequent from a wealthy people to a minister they like ; and though the whole may not amount to more than a due support, yet I think it will be a comfortable one. And when you are well settled in a church of your own, your son may be qualified by years and experience to succeed you in the Academy ; or if you rather choose to continue in the Academy, your son might probably be fixed in the Church.

These are my private sentiments which I have communicated only to Mr. Francis, who entirely agrees with me. I acquainted the trustees that I would write to you, but could give them no dependence that you would be prevailed on to remove. They will, however, treat with no other till I have your answer.

You will see by our newspaper, which I inclose, that the Corporation of this city have voted £200 down and £100 a year out of their revenues to the Trustees of the Academy. As they are a perpetual body, choosing their own successors, and so not subject to be changed by the caprice of a governor or of the people, and as 18 of the members (some the most leading) are of the trustees, we look on this donation to be as good as so much real estate; being confident it will be continued as long as it is well applied, and even increased, if there should be occasion. We have now near £5,000 subscribed, and expect some considerable sums besides may be procured from the merchants of London trading hither. And as we are in the centre of the Colonies, a healthy place, with plenty of provisions, we suppose a good Academy here may draw numbers of youth for education from the neighboring Colonies, and even from the West Indies.

I will shortly print proposals for publishing your pieces by subscription, and disperse them among my friends along the continent. My compliments to Mrs. Johnson and your son; and Mr. and Mrs. Walker your good neighbors.

I am, with great esteem and respect, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—There are some other things best treated of when we have the pleasure of seeing you. It begins now to be pleasant travelling. I wish you would conclude to visit us in the next month at farthest. Whether the journey produce the effect we desire or not, it shall be no expense to you.

DR. PETERS TO DR. JOHNSON.

Philadelphia, *Aug. 6, 1750.*

REVEREND SIR,—I am obliged to you for the honor you did me in your compliments by Mr. Franklin and Mr. Francis. They said so many good things of your abilities and inclinations to promote useful knowledge, and the Trustees of the Academy are so much in want of your advice and assistance, that, though personally unknown to you, I must take the freedom, from a hint that such a journey would not be disagreeable to you, to give you an invitation to my house. Let me, good Sir, have the pleasure of conversing with a gentleman whose character I have a long time esteemed, and provided your journey be not between the 20th October and 1st November, when I am obliged to attend the Governor and Assembly at New Castle, I will meet you at Trenton or Brunswick, or any other place you shall appoint. I will tell you beforehand, that can my friends or I find any expedient to engage your residence among us, I will leave nothing unattempted in the power of, Reverend Sir,

Your affectionate brother and humble servant,

RICHARD PETERS.

DR. JOHNSON TO DR. PETERS,
(from Dr. Johnson's draft.)

Aug. 16.

SIR,—I am extremely obliged to you for the honor you have done me in writing so kind and polite a letter to me, who am a perfect stranger to you, a person whose real character I doubt you will find much below what the candor of the openly friendly gentlemen have represented. You will see by my letter to Mr. Franklin what difficulties lie in my way with regard to my residence among you, which otherwise would, doubtless, be vastly agreeable to me. However, as I do think in earnest, if practicable, to make a tour to Philadelphia in acknowledgment of the great kindness you express towards me, I shall most gratefully accept of your kind invitation, and let you know beforehand when to expect me. If I can come at all it will be before the time you mention, but I would first see my brethren here together at our Commencement on the 2d week in Sept., by conversing with whom I shall be the better able to make adjustment whether a remove would be practicable. Meantime,

I remain, Sir, etc.,

S. J.

MR. FRANKLIN TO DR. JOHNSON.

Philadelphia, *Aug. 23, 1750.*

DEAR SIR,—We received your favor of the 16th inst. Mr. Peters will hardly have time to write to you per this post, and I must be short. Mr Francis spent the last evening with me, and we were all glad to hear that you seriously meditate a visit after the middle of next month, and that you will inform us by a line when to expect you. We drank your health and Mrs Johnson's, remembering your kind entertainment of us at Stratford.

I think, with you, that nothing is of more importance for the public weal, than to form and train up youth in wisdom and virtue. Wise and good men are, in my opinion, the strength of a State much more so than riches or arms, which, under the management of ignorance and wickedness, often draw on destruction, instead of providing for the safety of the people. And though the culture bestowed on *many* should be successful only with a *few*, yet the influence of those few, and the service in their power, may be very great. Even a single woman, that was wise by her wisdom saved a city.

I think, also, that general virtue is more probably to be expected and obtained from the education of youth than from the exhortation of adult persons; bad habits and vices of the mind being, like diseases of the body, more easily prevented than cured. I think, moreover, that talents for the education of youth are the gift of God; and that he on whom they are bestowed, whenever a way is opened for the use of them, is as strongly

called as if he heard a voice from heaven. Nothing more surely pointing out duty, in a public service, than ability and opportunity of performing it.

I have not yet discoursed with Dr. Jenney concerning your removal hither. You have reason, I own, to doubt whether your coming on the foot I proposed would not be disagreeable to him, though I think it ought not. For should his particular interest be somewhat affected by it, that ought not to stand in competition with the *general good*; especially as it cannot be much affected, he being old, and rich, and without children. I will however learn his sentiments before the next post. But, whatever influence they might have on your determinations about removing, they need have none on your intention of visiting. And if you favor us with the visit, it is not necessary that you should previously write to him to learn his dispositions about your removal, since you will see him, and when we are all together those things may be better settled in conversation than by letters at a distance. Your tenderness of the Church's peace is truly laudable; but, methinks, to build a new church in a growing place is not properly *dividing* but *multiplying*; and will really be a means of increasing the number of those who worship God in that way. Many who cannot now be accommodated in the church go to other places or stay at home; and if we had another church, many, who go to other places or stay at home, would go to church. I suppose the interest of the Church has been far from suffering in Boston by the building of two churches there in my memory. I had for several years nailed against the wall of my house, a pigeon-box that would hold six pair; and though they bred as fast as my neighbor's pigeons, I never had more than six pair; the old and strong driving out the young and weak, and obliging them to seek new habitations. At length I put up an additional box, with apartments for entertaining twelve pair more, and it was soon filled with inhabitants, by the overflowing of my first box and of others in the neighborhood. This I take to be a parallel case with the building of a new church here.

Your years, I think, are not so many as to be an objection of any weight, especially considering the vigor of your constitution. For the small-pox, if it should spread here, you might inoculate with great probability of safety; and I think that distemper generally more favorable here than further northward. Your objection about the politeness of Philadelphia, and your imagined rusticity, is mere compliment; and your diffidence of yourself absolutely groundless. My humble respects, if you please, to your brethren at the Commencement. I hope they will advise you to what is most for the good of the whole, and then I think they will advise you to move hither.

Please to tender my best respects and service to Mrs. Johnson and your son.

I am, dear Sir,

Your obliged and affectionate. humble serv^t,

B. FRANKLIN.

MR. FRANKLIN TO DR. JOHNSON.

DEAR SIR,—I am sorry to hear of your illness. If you have not been used to the fever-and-ague let me give you one caution. Don't imagine yourself thoroughly cured, and so omit the use of the bark too soon. Remember to take the preventing doses faithfully. If you were to continue taking a dose or two every day for two or three weeks after the fits have left you, 'twould not be amiss. If you take the powder mixed quick in a tea-cup of milk, 'tis no way disagreeable, but looks and even tastes like chocolate. 'Tis an old saying : That an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure,—and certainly a true one, with regard to the bark ; a little of which will do more in preventing the fits than a great deal in removing them.

But if your health would permit I should not expect the pleasure of seeing you soon. The small-pox spreads apace, and is now in all quarters ; yet as we have only children to have it, and the Doctors inoculate apace, I believe they will soon drive it through the town ; so that you may possibly visit us with safety in the spring. In the meantime we should be glad to know the result you came to after consulting your brethren at the Commencement. Messrs. Peters and Francis have directed me on all occasions to present their compliments to you. Please to acquaint me if you propose to make any considerable additions to the "Ethics," that I may be able in the proposals to compute the bigness of the book.

I am, with sincere esteem and respect, dear Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Philadelphia, *September 13, 1750.*

Inclosed I return the good Bishop's letter with thanks.

MR. FRANKLIN TO DR. JOHNSON.

Philadelphia, *December 24, 1751.*

DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 11th inst. and thank you for the hint you give of the omission in the "Idea." The "Sacred Classics" are read in the English school, though I forgot to mention them. And I shall propose at the meeting of the Schools, after the Holidays, that the English master begin and continue to read select portions of them daily with the prayers as you advise.

But if you can be thus useful to us at this distance, how much more might you be so if you were present with us, and had the immediate inspection and government of the schools. I wrote to you in my last that Mr Martin our Rector died suddenly of a quinsy. His body was carried to the Church, respectfully attended by the trustees, all the masters and scholars in their order, and a great number of the citizens. Mr. Peters preached his funeral sermon, and gave him the just and honorable character he deserved. The schools are now broke up for Christmas, and will

not meet again till the 7th of January. Mr. Peters took care of the Latin and Greek School after Mr. Martin's death till the breaking up. And Mr. Allison, a dissenting minister, has promised to continue that care for a month after their next meeting. Is it impossible for you to make us a visit in that time? I hope by the next post to know something of your sentiments, that I may be able to speak more positively to the Trustees concerning the probability of your being prevailed with to remove hither.

The English master is Mr. Dove, a gentleman about your age, who formerly taught grammar sixteen years at Chichester in England. He is an excellent master, and his scholars have made a surprising progress.

I shall send some of the "Economies" to Mr. Havens per next post. If you have a spare one of your "Essays on the Method of Study," the English edition, please to send it me.

My wife joins in the compliments of the season to you and Mrs. Johnson, with, dear Sir,

Your affectionate humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

DR. JOHNSON TO MR. FRANKLIN.

(From Dr. Johnson's Draft.)

DEAR SIR,—I now write my most thankful acknowledgments for your two kind letters of December 24 and January 8, and have received your most obliging letters of the summer before last, to which you refer me. There was one of August 23, to which I did not make a particular reply by reason of my illness at that time. In that you reasoned, I own, in a very forcible manner upon the head of duty. You argued that ability, with opportunity, manifestly pointed out duty, as though it were a voice from Heaven. This, Sir, I agree to, and therefore have always endeavored to use what little ability I have that way in the best manner I could, having never been without pupils of one sort or other half year at a time, and seldom that, for thirty-eight years. And, thank God, I have the great satisfaction to see some of them in the first pulpits, not only in Connecticut, but also in Boston and New York, and others in some of the first places in the land. But I am now plainly in the decline of life, both as to activity of body and vigor of mind, and must, therefore, consider myself as being an *Emeritus*, and unfit for any new situation in the world or to enter on any new business, especially at such a distance from my hitherto sphere of action and my present situation, where I have as much duty on my hands as I am capable of and where my removal would make too great a breach to be counter-vailed by any good I am capable of doing elsewhere, for which I have but a small chance left for much opportunity. So that I must beg my good friends at Philadelphia to excuse me, and I pray God they may be directed to a better choice. And as Providence has so unexpectedly provided so

worthy a person as Mr. Dove for your other purpose, I hope the same good Providence will provide for this. I am not personally acquainted with Mr. Winthrop, the Professor at Cambridge, but what I have heard of him, perhaps he might do. But I rather think it would be your best way to try if you cannot get some friend and faithful gentleman at home, of good judgment and care, to inquire and try if some worthy Fellow of one or other of the Universities could not be obtained. Perhaps Mr. Peters or Mr. Dove may know of some acquaintance of theirs, that might do likely : *dulcius ex ipsis fortibus*. Your son intimated that you had thought of a voyage home yourself ; if you should you might undoubtedly look out a fit person to be had, and you had better do as you can for some time than not be well provided. I could, however, wish to make you a visit in the Spring, if the way were safe, but it seems the small-pox is propagating at New York, and perhaps you will be scarcely free of it. Meantime you have, indeed, my heart with you as though I were ever so much with you in presence, and if there were any good office in my power you might freely command it. I thank you for sending the two sheets of my "Noetica" which are done with much care. I find no defects worth mentioning but what were probably my own. At page 62, l. 19, there should have been a (;) after "universal," and l. 21 a (;) after "affirmative." On reviewing the former sheets I observe a neglect, p. 30, l. 24, "on account of which," and p. 36, l. 3, there should be a (,) after "is."

I am very much obliged to you for Short and the Almanac and my wife for hers. I have had five parcels of the "Economies" and Fisher. I think you told me they were a dollar each parcel, besides that of Havens, who desires you to send him another parcel, and begs you to send one or more of your pieces on "Electricity," published in England. By your son's account I am much charmed with this, and beg if you have a spare copy to send it me. And as you desire a copy of my "Introduction," since I had many sent me from home, I send a half dozen of which with my humble service to Messrs: Peters and Francis and your son, pray them to accept each a copy. My wife and son, with me, desire our service may be acceptable to them and Mrs. Franklin and your son.

I am, Sir, etc.

S. J.

MR. FRANKLIN TO DR. JOHNSON.

Philadelphia, *July*, 2, —52.

REV. SIR,—I have sent you, via New York, twenty-four of your books bound as those I sent per post. The remainder of the fifty are binding in a plainer manner, and shall be sent as soon as done and left at Mr. Stuyvesant's as your order.

Our Academy, which you so kindly inquire after, goes on well. Since Mr. Martin's death the Latin and Greek School has been under the

care of Mr. Allison, a Dissenting Minister, well skilled in those languages and long practiced in teaching. But he refused the Rectorship, or to have anything to do with the government of the other schools. So that remains vacant, and obliges the Trustees to more frequent visits. We have now several young gentlemen desirous of entering on the study of Philosophy, and Lectures are to be opened this week. Mr. Allison undertakes Logic and Ethics, making your work his text to comment and lecture upon. Mr. Peters and some other gentlemen undertake the other branches, till we shall be provided with a Rector capable of the whole, who may attend wholly to the instructions of youth in the higher parts of learning as they come out fitted from the lower schools. Our proprietors have lately wrote that they are extremely well pleased with the design, will take our Seminary under their patronage, give us a charter, and, as an earnest of their benevolence, Five Hundred Pounds sterling. And by our opening a Charity School, in which near one hundred poor children are taught Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, with the rudiments of religion, we have gained the general good will of all sorts of people, from whence donations and bequests may be reasonably expected to accrue from time to time. This is our present situation, and we think it a promising one ; especially as the reputation of our schools increases, the masters being all very capable and diligent and giving great satisfaction to all concerned. I have heard of no exceptions yet made to your work, nor do I expect any, unless to those parts that savor of what is called *Berkeleyanism*, which is not well understood here. When any occur I shall communicate them.

With great esteem and respect, I am, dear Sir,

Your obliged humble serv' t,

B. FRANKLIN.

APPENDIX D.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE OPENING OF KING'S COLLEGE.

May 31, 1754.

ADVERTISEMENT.

To such Parents as have now (or expect to have) children prepared to be educated in the College of New York.

I. AS the Gentlemen who are appointed by the Assembly, to be Trustees of the intended Seminary or College of *New York*, have thought fit to appoint me to take Charge of it, and have concluded to set up a Course of Tuition in the learned Languages, and in the liberal Arts and Sciences ; They have judged it advisable, that I should publish this *Advertisement*, to inform such as have Children ready for a College Education, that it is proposed to begin Tuition upon the first Day of *July* next, at the *Vestry Room* in the new *School House*, adjoining to *Trinity Church* in *New York*, which the Gentlemen of the Vestry are so good as to favour them with the Use of in the Interim, till a convenient Place may be built.

II. The lowest Qualifications they have judged requisite, in order to Admission into the said College, are as follows, *viz.* : That they be able to read well, and write a good legible Hand ; and that they be well versed in the Five first Rules in *Arithmetic*, *i. e.* as far as *Division* and *Reduction* ; and as to *Latin* and *Greek*, That they have a good Knowledge in the *Grammars*, and be able to make grammatical *Latin*, and both in construing and parsing, to give a good Account of two or three of the first Orations of *Tully*, and of the first Books of *Virgil's Æneid*, and some of the first Chapters of the *Gospel* of *St. John*, in *Greek*. In these Books therefore they may expect to be examined ; but higher Qualifications must hereafter be expected : and if there be any of the higher Classes in any College, or under private Instruction, that incline to come hither, they may expect Admission to proportionably higher classes here.

III. And that People may be the better satisfied in sending their Children for Education to this College, it is to be understood, that as to Religion, there is no Intention to impose on the Scholars, the peculiar Tenets of any particular Sect of Christians ; but to inculcate upon their tender minds, the great Principles of Christianity and Morality, in which true Christians of each Denomination are generally agreed. And as to

the daily Worship in the College Morning and Evening, it is proposed that it should, ordinarily, consist of such a Collection of Lessons, Prayers and Praises of the Liturgy of the Church, as are for the most Part, taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and such as are agreed on by the Trustees, to be in the best Manner expressive of our common Christianity ; and as to any peculiar Tenets, every one is left to judge freely for himself, and to be required only to attend constantly at such Places of Worship, on the Lord's Day, as their Parents or Guardians shall think fit to order or permit.

IV. The chief Thing that is aimed at in this College is, to teach and engage the Children to *know God in Jesus Christ*, and to love and serve him, in all *Sobriety, Godliness and Righteousness* of Life, with a *perfect Heart and Willing Mind* ; and to train them up in all virtuous Habits, and all such useful Knowledge as may render them creditable to their Families and Friends, Ornaments to their Country, and useful to the public Weal in their Generations. To which good Purposes, it is earnestly desired, that their Parents, Guardians, and Masters, would train them up from their Cradles under strict Government, and in all Seriousness, Virtue and Industry, that they may be qualified to make orderly and tractable members of this Society ;—and, above all, that in order hereunto, they be very careful themselves, to set them good Examples of true Piety and Virtue in their own Conduct. For as Examples have a very powerful Influence over young Minds, and especially those of their Parents, in vain are they solicitous for a good Education for their Children, if they themselves set before them Examples of Impiety and Profaneness, or of any sort of Vice whatsoever.

V. And, *lastly*, a serious, *virtuous*, and industrious Course of Life, being first provided for, it is further the Design of this College, to instruct and perfect the Youth in the learned Languages, and in the Arts of *reasoning* exactly, of *writing* correctly, and *speaking* eloquently ; and in the Arts of *numbering* and *measuring* ; of *Surveying* and *Navigation*, of *Geography* and *History*, of *Husbandry*, *Commerce* and *Government*, and in the Knowledge of *all Nature* in the *Heavens* above us, and in the *Air, Water* and *Earth* around us, and the various kinds of *Meteors, Stones, Mines* and *Minerals, Plants* and *Animals*, and of everything *useful* for the Comfort, the Convenience and Elegance of Life, in the chief *Manufactures* relating to any of these Things : And finally, to lead them from the Study of Nature to the Knowledge of themselves, and of the God of Nature, and their Duty to him, themselves, and one another, and every Thing that can contribute to their true Happiness, both here and hereafter.

Thus much, *Gentlemen*, it was thought proper to advertise you of concerning the Nature and Design of this College : And I pray God, it may be attended with all the Success you can wish, for the best Good of

the rising Generations ; to which, (while I continue here) I shall willingly contribute my Endeavours to the Utmost of my Power.

*Who am, Gentlemen,
Your real Friend,
And most humble Servant,*

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

N. B. The Charge of the Tuition is established by the Trustees to be only 25s. for each Quarter.

The New York Gazette : or Weekly Post Boy, June 3, 1754.

This is to acquaint all whom it may concern, that I shall attend at the vestry room, in the school-house, near the *English-Church* on *Tuesdays* and *Thursdays*, every Week, between the hours of *nine* and *twelve*, to examine such as offer themselves to be admitted into the college.

S. JOHNSON.

The New York Mercury, Monday, July 1, 1754.

APPENDIX E.

Account of the College and Academy in

The American Magazine, October, 1758, p. 630 *ut. seq.*

[Written by Provost Smith.]

TO THE PROPRIETORS, &C.

GENTLEMEN :

AMONG your various publications for the Advancement of virtue and literature I observe that you have hitherto given no account of the *College and Academy* of this place, altho' you have no doubt been beholden to the members of that institution for many of those monthly performances, which have been so considerable an ornament to your work. To supply that defect you will, therefore, accept from me the following brief and genuine account of its *Rise, Progress*, and present state.

In the year 1749, a number of private gentlemen, who had long regretted it as misfortune to the youth of this province, that we had no public Seminary, in which they might receive the accomplishments of a regular education, published a paper of hints and proposals for erecting an academy in this city. They observed very justly that the good education of youth has been esteemed by wise men in all ages, the surest foundation, both of private and public happiness; and that it has been the principal concern of every well-regulated government to establish and endow proper seminaries for the advancement of learning, and for training up a succession of men, fit to serve their country in every useful station. Many of the first settlers of these provinces, (it was observed further) were men who had received a good education in *Europe*, and to their wisdom and good management we owe much of our present prosperity. Nevertheless, it was obvious that without making a provision for cultivating wisdom and goodness in the rising generation, we would soon degenerate into a state of ignorance and barbarity, little better than that of our *Neighbour-Savages*, and be neither able to preserve nor enjoy the inestimable blessings, delivered down to us from our fathers. To prevent these dreadful misfortunes, was the design of those who projected this institution; a design that will do honor to their names as long as any memorial of virtue and letters shall remain in their country; and a design in which they can boast all the *Sages* and *Lawgivers* and *Patriots* of every age, as their patterns and fellow labourers, for the propagation of wisdom and good of their species !

This design was not long formed before it was carried into execution. At first, only three persons were concerned in forming it, two of whom are since dead, and the other now in *England*. These communicated their thoughts to others, till at last the number of twenty-four joined themselves

together, as *Trustees* for carrying on the work, and agreed never to exceed that number, which was composed without any regard to difference in religious persuasions, of creditable gentlemen of various professions and callings.

The scheme being made public, with the names of the gentlemen undertakers, all was so well approved of, that in a very short time the subscription for carrying it on amounted to *Eight Hundred Pounds* per annum, for five years, a very strong proof of the public spirit and generosity of the inhabitants of this place! In the beginning of *January, 1750*, three of the schools were opened, namely the *Latin School*, the *Mathematical School* and the *English School*, the two former under men who had long been known in the country as sufficiently qualified for the business; and the latter under a person who, being accidentally in the place, offered his service and was accepted for a time upon trial. For it had always been considered as a very leading part of the design, to have a good school in the mother tongue, and to be well satisfied of the abilities and assiduity of the person entrusted with the care of it, before any final agreement, which had likewise been made a rule in providing masters for the other schools. *Oratory*, correct *Speaking* and *Writing the Mother Tongue*, is a branch of education too much neglected in all our *English Seminaries*, as is often visible in the public performances of some of our most learned men. But in the circumstances of this province, such a neglect would have been still more inexcusable, than in any other part of the *British dominions*. For as we are so great a mixture of people, from almost all corners of the world, necessarily speaking a variety of languages and dialects, the true pronunciation and writing of our own language might soon be lost among us, without such a previous care to preserve it in the rising generation.

Thus this Seminary opened with *three* masters in the branches of education most immediately necessary to prepare the youth for public life, and the higher parts of learning. All the trustees, and a great concourse of the inhabitants were present at the *Opening* when the service of the *Church of England* was read, and a suitable sermon preached by the reverend Mr. *Peters*, Provincial Secretary, from *St. John* viii. 32, *And ye shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you Free.*

This worthy gentleman (who amid all the labours of his public station, as well as the many private labours in which his benevolence continually engages him, has still made it his care to devote some part of his time to *Classical Learning* and the Study of *Divinity*, to which he was originally bred) took occasion, from these words of our blessed Saviour, to shew the intimate connexion between *Truth* and *Freedom*, between *Knowledge* of every kind, and the preservation of *civil* and *religious Liberty*. For it has ever been found that where the *Former* is not, the *latter* cannot subsist.

The institution, thus begun, continued daily to flourish, in so much that all the schools soon stood in need of ushers and assistants to the chief

masters. At length encouraged by such a fair beginning, the *Trustees* applied to the honourable *Proprietors* for a charter of *Incorporation*, which they obtained in *July*, 1753. At that time the institution consisted of *three* schools above mentioned, and two *Charity Schools*.

In the space of about 4 years, from the first opening, it was found that many youths, having gone thro' their course of *Grammar-Learning*, would be desirous of proceeding to *Philosophy* and the *Sciences*, and must depart to other *Seminaries* unless a provision was made for compleating their studies here. This being represented to the *Trustees*, they began to think of enlarging their plan, as they had promised at the beginning. They were highly sensible that the knowledge of *Words*, without making them subservient to the knowledge of *Things*, could never be considered as the business of education. To lay a foundation in the *Languages*, was very necessary as a first step, but without the superstructure of the *Sciences* it would be but of little use for the conduct of Life. The bare study of words could never be designed as the chief object of man's *reasoning* and *intellectual faculties*. Our *Maker* had something more sublime in view; and to stop short of that end is to be greatly wanting to ourselves, in a matter of the last importance.

In consideration of this, the trustees determined to complete the remainder of their plan, and applied for an *Addition* to their Charter, by which a power of conferring degrees and appointing Professors in the various branches of the arts and sciences, was granted to them. By this means a COLLEGE was added to, and ingrafted upon their former *Academy*, a joint government agreed upon for both, the style of the trustees changed to that of—"Trustees of the College, Academy and Charity School of Philadelphia," and the Professors constituted under them into one body or faculty, by the name of "*The Provost, Vice Provost and Professors of the College and Academy of Philadelphia*." This charter was obtained *May* 14th, 1755. What further relates to the government of this institution shall be mentioned, after giving a view of the plans of education pursued in it, which I am to do under two heads. The first shall be the plan of education in the college or higher part of the institution, including the *Latin* and *Greek* schools, which shews the course gone thro' by those intended for the learned professions. The second shall be what is properly called the *Academy*, shewing the course of learning intended for those who are bred for the mechanic arts and other professions.

Probably some youths will go thro' these stages in three years, many will require four years, and many more may require five years, especially if they begin under nine or ten years of age. The masters must exercise their best discretion in this respect.

Those who can acquit themselves to satisfaction in the books laid down for the fourth stage, after public examination, are to proceed to the study of the sciences, and to be admitted into the College as *Freshmen*,

with the privilege of being distinguished with an under-graduate's gown. The method of study to be prosecuted in the college for the term of three years follows in one general view.

[Given on pp. 236 to 239.]

Along with this plan, which was first published in *August, 1756*, and subscribed by the *Faculty* of masters, the following remarks were also published, viz.: "Life itself being too short to attain a perfect acquaintance with the whole circle of the *Sciences*, nothing has ever been proposed by any plan of *University-Education*, but to lay such a general foundation in all the branches of literature, as may enable youth to perfect themselves in those particular parts, to which their business, or genius, may afterwards lead them. And scarce any thing has more obstructed the advancement of sound learning, than a vain imagination, that a few years, spent at college, can render youth such *absolute Masters of Science*, as to absolve them from all future study."

"As far as our influence extends, we would wish to propagate a contrary doctrine, and tho' we flatter ourselves that, by a due execution of the foregoing plan, we shall enrich our country with many *Minds*, that are literally accomplished, and send out none that may justly be denominated barren, or unimproved; yet we hope that the youth committed to our tuition, will neither at college, nor afterwards, rest satisfied with such a general knowledge, as is to be acquired from the public lectures and exercises. We rather trust that those, whose taste is once formed for the acquisition of *Solid Wisdom*, will think it their duty and most rational satisfaction, to accomplish themselves still farther, by manly perseverance in private study and meditation."

"To direct them in this respect, the last column contains a judicious choice of the most excellent writers in the various branches of literature, which will be easily understood when once a foundation is laid in the books proposed in the plan, under the several lectures. For the books to be used as *Classics*, at the lecture hours, will not be found in this last column, which is only meant as a private library, to be consulted occasionally in the lectures, for the illustration of any particular part; and to be read afterwards for completing the whole."

"The last book in the catalogue is the HOLY BIBLE, without which the student's library would be very defective. But tho' it stands last, we do not mean that they are to defer reading it to the last, it being part of our daily exercise, and recommended from the beginning. We only intimate, by this disposition, that, when human science has done its utmost, and when we have thought the youth worthy of the honors of the Seminary, yet still we must recommend them to the *Scriptures of God*, in order to compleat their Wisdom, to regulate their conduct thro' life, and guide them to happiness forever!"

"In the disposition of the parts of this scheme, a principal regard

has been paid to the connexion and subserviency of the *Sciences*, as well as to the gradual openings of young minds. Those parts are placed first, which are suited to strengthen the inventive Faculties, and are *instrumental* to what follows. Those are placed last, which require riper judgment, and are more immediately connected with the main business of life."

"In the mean time, it is proposed that they shall never drop their acquaintance with the classic sages. They are every day called to converse with some one of the ancients, who, at the same time that he charms with all the beauties of language, is generally illustrating that particular branch of philosophy or science, to which the other hours of the day are devoted. Thus, by continually drawing something from the most admired masters of sentiment and expression, the taste of youth will be gradually formed, to just *Criticism* and masterly *Composition*."

"For this reason, *Composition*, in the *Strict Meaning* of the term, cannot be begun at an earlier period than is proposed in the plan. The knowledge of *Mathematics* is not more necessary, as an introduction to natural philosophy, than an acquaintance with the best ancient and modern writers, especially the *Critics*, is to just *Composition*."

"Whoever would build must have both the art and materials of building; and therefore *Composition*, from one's own stock, is justly placed after *Criticism*, which supplies the art, and not before *Moral and Natural Philosophy*, which enriches the Understanding, and furnishes the *Materials* or *Topics* for the *Work*."

"Thus it is hoped the student may be led thro' a scale of easy ascent, till finally render'd capable of *Thinking, Writing and Acting well*, which is the grand aim of a liberal education. At the end of every term, there is some time allowed for *Recreation*, or bringing up slower *Geniuses*.

"Perhaps, after all, some who see this plan, may think three years too scanty a period for its execution. We would not be tenacious of our opinion; but, from an attentive consideration of the business proposed for each term, we are inclined to think the time will be sufficient for a middling genius, with ordinary application. And where both genius and application are wanting, we conceive no time will be found sufficient. Experience, however, being the best guide in matters of this kind; we only propose that a fair trial of three years may be made, before anything farther is determined upon a subject of such concern."

"Such a trial we think due to the present state of our seminary, as well as to the public, and the particular circumstances of these Colonies, where very few youth can be detained for a long period at infant unendowed colleges, where they must wholly maintain themselves at a considerable expence, and where the genius seems not only to be sooner ripe, but where there is also a more immediate demand, and a more early settlement to be obtained, in all the ways of genteel employment, for *Young Men of Parts*, than there is in *European Countries*."

"N. B. *The utmost care will be taken for a faithful execution of this plan in all its parts. The time for admitting Freshmen in the youngest philosophy class is May 15, according to the plan. But those who necessarily apply later in the first year will obtain Admission, provided it appear upon examination that they are sufficiently grounded in the parts laid down in the plan, previous to the date of such their admission; which parts may always be known from inspection, together with the proficiency made by the class which they are to join.—The Sentiments of Men of Learning will be thankfully received for perfecting the whole, and upon a CANDID application to any of the professors, they will endeavour to explain and remove any difficulties that may occur to any persons concerning it.*"

So far the *Professors* themselves proceed in their account of the *College-part*, two years after its first erection. I go on to the next branch of this institution, which is properly an *English Academy*, and consists of two parts; an *English and Writing School*, and a School for the *Practical* branches of the *Mathematics*. In the *Former*, besides *Writing*, the children are taught the *Mother-tongue Grammatically*, together with a correct and just pronunciation. And for attaining this, a small rostrum or oratory is erected in one end of the School, and the children are frequently exercised in reading aloud from it, or delivering short orations; while the *Professor of English and Oratory* stands by to correct whatever may be amiss, either in their *Speech* or *Gesture*. This part of the institution is of singular benefit. It corrects unbecoming bashfulness, &c. gives the youth presence of mind, habituates them to appearing in public, and has been the means of producing many excellent young *Orators*, that have occasionally charmed vast audiences and it is hoped will soon become an honour and ornament to their country, in the various stations to which they may be called. This attention to public speaking, which is begun here, is continued to the end, and especially in the philosophy schools, where the youth frequently deliver exercises of their own composition, at commencements, examinations and other public occasions.

The *Last* branch of this institution consists of two charity schools; in one of which 40 *Girls* are taught *Reading Writing, and Sewing*, and in the other 60 *Boys* are taught *Reading, Writing and Arithmetic*.

This is a very noble and generous part of the design, and the benefit done by it to a vast number of poor children, who received the rudiments of education here to fit them for various sorts of business and mechanic arts, is unspeakable. For tho' the number of *Boys* was only intended to be 60, yet it is generally near 80, and wou'd be much greater if they could be received.

* * * * *

Thus, besides 5 *Professors* that constitute the *Faculty*, and have the immediate inspection of the whole, 6 other persons are continually

employed in this institution, making 11 in all ; by whom 266 students and scholars, often more, are instructed ; and all the branches of education carried on that are necessary, either for the *learned professions*, or *merchandise* or the *mechanic arts* and inferior *callings*. A seminary, on so extensive a plan, is nowhere else to be found in this new world, nor in many parts of the old ; and therefore a sketch of its constitution and government, and those methods, by which discipline and good order are preserved, among such a variety of schools, students and scholars, may be proper on this occasion. And here it will be found that its *Government* is the most *rational* and *free* that can well be imagined, and its *Constitution* has many advantages peculiar to itself.

The chief power is, by *Charter*, lodged in twenty-four *Trustees*, who must all be residents not only within the province, but within five miles of the city. All matters of higher import are to be decided by their councils and direction ; and all *Laws* are either to be made by them, or receive a final sanction from them.

No student can receive the honors and ordinary degrees of the college, without a previous examination in their presence, and a *Mandate* under their privy-seal and the hands of a majority of them. Nor can even an *honorary Degree* be conferred without a like *Mandate*, under the said privy-seal and the hands of at least two-thirds of the whole body ; which regulations must ever be a means of preventing a prostitution of those degrees and honors to the *Illiterate* and *Undeserving*, which should be the reward of real *Learning* and *Worth* ; a practise too much complained of in many other places.

In order to do their duty as trustees more effectually, they set apart the second Tuesday of every month, for visiting and examining the schools, conversing and advising with the masters, encouraging the students according to their several degrees of merit, and making such regulations as may be thought necessary. All the schools, high and low, have their turns of these visitations ; which are so truly calculated to keep up the spirit of the institution, and promote diligence, emulation and good behaviour among the scholars, that 'tis hoped none who accept the office of a *Trustee* will ever be slack in their attendance, when health and other business will permit. Besides these stated meetings, their president* who is chosen annually, has a power of calling other meetings on any particular occasion. The present trustees are the following gentlemen, viz.

James Hamilton, William Allen, John Inglis, William Masters, Samuel M^r Call, jun., Joseph Turner, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Leech, William Shippen, Robert Strettell, Philip Syng, Phineas Bond, Richard Peters, Abraham Taylor, Thomas Bond, Joshua Maddox, William Plumsted, Thomas White, William Coleman, Thomas Cadwalader, Alexander Stedman, John Mifflin, Benjamin Chew, and Edward Shippen, junior.

* *The present President of Trustees is Richard Peters, Esq*

Under these trustees, the principal masters are constituted into a *Faculty*, or learned body, with all the powers necessary for the ordinary government of the schools and good education of the youth. They are to meet, in *Faculty*, at least once in every two weeks, and at such other times as the *Provost*, or senior member present, shall think fit to call them, or any two members desire him to do. At these meetings they are to enquire into the state of the schools and see that the several plans of education be regularly carried on, and the laws of the institution duly executed and observed. They have also power to enact temporary *Rules* and *Ordinances*, to be in force as *Laws*, till the first ensuing meeting of the trustees; before whom they are then to be laid, in order to be altered, amended or confirm'd, or left probationary for a longer period, or wholly laid aside, as they shall think fit.

By this method, all *Laws* either do or may take their rise from masters, who being daily present in the institution know best what regulations and orders may be wanted. At the same time, as these regulations are to receive their last sanction from the *Trustees*, who are men of experience, weight and probity, and have children of their own to educate, we may be certain that nothing can obtain the force of a *Standing Law* but what is found salutary and good upon trial. By the present rules, the faculty meets every Thursday noon, and all the schools are assembled in order to examine the weekly roll, and call delinquents to account. As several youth are too big for corporal punishment, there are small *Fines* by the laws agreeable to the nature of the offence, and the custom of other Colleges, yet no one need pay any such fine unless he chuses it, but may undergo the same punishment as if no such fines had ever been appointed. Whatever money is thus raised from the slothful and refractory in *Fines*, is appropriated in rewards to the diligent and obedient; so that any youth who has once been a delinquent may have an opportunity of getting back, by *future* care, what he forfeited by *former* neglect.

These *Rewards* and *Punishments* are both administered in the most public manner; and in short the whole discipline is so reasonable and just, that any youth who might desire to break thro' the rules of this institution in his younger years, can hardly be expected to submit to the rules of any institution when grown up.

As to the plan of education, it is already laid down, and has been the fruit of much thought. Great care has been taken to comprehend every useful branch in it, without being burdensome, or launching into those that are unnecessary. The greatest regard possible is also paid to *Religion*, pure *Evangelical Religion*, untainted by the *Dogmas* of particular sects or persuasions. *Prayers* and reading the *Holy Scriptures* are regular every day, before the whole youth assembled. Nor is it any objection, but rather an advantage particularly for the youth intended for business and public life, that the building is within the city. By good rules and good

example, the *Morals* of youth may be as easily preserved, in a great and well-policed city, as in a small village, if we can suppose any place to continue small where such a seminary is once founded. When I speak so, I would be understood to mean, when the youth all lodge in the houses of their parents, or in lodgings within the walls of the college, which the trustees, by their first plan proposed to erect, and will do doubt accomplish whenever their funds will permit.

In this institution, there is a very noble *Apparatus* for experiments in *Natural Philosophy*, done in *England* by the best hands, and brought over from thence, in different parcels, at a very great expence. There is also, in the experiment room, an *Electrical Apparatus*, the property of one of the professors, chiefly his own invention, and perhaps the completest of the kind, now in the world.

What a blessing must such an institution be to this continent in general, and how great an honor to its worthy founders! What advantages may not the youth reap in it with common industry, amid so many opportunities of improvement and so many incitements to industry; where the *Masters* transact every thing by joint advice; where a due regard to religion is kept up; and the whole open to the visitation and frequent inspection of a number of gentlemen of rank and character? Who would not chuse rather to see his son in such a seminary, than in any obscure corner, under immoral men, habitual *Drunkards*, professed *Gamessters*, concealed *Papists* or others, who never call on the name of God in their schools thro' the week, and on his Sabbaths seldom enter his holy sanctuary! And yet, it were to be wished, that some such as these may not have been but too successful in deluding unthinking parents to commit an inestimable treasure into their hands, namely the education of innocent children.

But to return, the present professors and members of faculty in the institution of which I am giving an account are :—

REV. WILLIAM SMITH, M. A., PROVOST of the *College* and *Academy*, and *Professor* of *Rhetoric* and *Natural Philosophy*.

REV. FRANCIS ALISON, D.D., VICE PROVOST of the *College*, *Rector* of the *Academy*, and *Professor* of *Logic* and *Moral Philosophy*.

REV. EBENEZER KINNERSLEY, M. A., *Professor* of *English* and *Oratory*, and Chief Master of the *English School*.

THEOPHILUS GREW, M. A., *Professor* of *Mathematics*, and Master of the *Mathematical School*.

JOHN BEVERIDGE, M. A., *Professor* of *Languages*, and Chief Master of the *Latin* and *Greek Schools*.

As to the *First* of these gentlemen, his name has been so often mentioned of late, on many public occasions, that the writer of this would leave it to cooler times to declare for or against him. With respect to his

abilities, the world have specimens enough in their hands to judge concerning them.

The *Second* gentleman mentioned above has long been employed in the education of youth in this province, and many of those who now make a considerable figure in it have been bred under him. He was one of the first persons in this country, who, foreseeing the ignorance into which it was like to fall, set up a regular school of education in it; and so sensible were that learned and respectable body, the *University of Glasgow*, of his pious and faithful labors for the propagation of useful knowlege in these untutored parts, that they lately honored him with the degree of *Doctor of Divinity*, sent him without any sollicitation on his part, and even without his knowlege.

As to the *Third* of the above gentlemen, he is well qualified for his profession; and has moreover great merit with the learned world in being the chief inventor (as already mentioned) of the *Electrical* apparatus, as well as author of a considerable part of those discoveries in *Electricity*, published by Mr. *Franklin* to whom he communicated them. Indeed Mr. *Franklin* himself mentions his name with honor, tho' he has not been careful enough to distinguish between their particular discoveries. This, perhaps he may have thought needless, as they were known to act in concert. But tho' that circumstance was known here, it was not so in the remote parts of the world to which the fame of these discoveries have extended.

The *Fourth* gentleman in the above list has so long been an approved teacher of *Mathematics* and *Astronomy* in this city, that I need say nothing to make him better known than he is already.

The last gentleman, namely Mr. *Beveridge*, has been already mentioned in your magazine for *June*. By the specimens he has given, he will undoubtedly be acknowledged one of the ablest masters in the *Latin* tongue, on this continent; and it is a singular happiness to the institution that on the vacancy of a professor of languages, the trustees were directed to such an excellent choice, as it must be the certain means of encreasing the number of students from all parts, with such as are desirous of attaining the *Latin* tongue in its native purity and beauty.

Mr. *Beveridge*, in his younger years, taught a grammar school in the city of *Edinburgh*, under the particular patronage of the great Mr. *Rudiman*, from whom he has ample testimonies of regard and esteem to produce. While in this station the famous Mr. *Blacklock*, the blind *Poet*, was placed under his care by a number of gentlemen of *Edinburgh*, who discovering uncommon marks of genius in him, were desirous, at their own expence, to give him the advantages of an education in the *Latin Tongue*, if by reason of his blindness it could possibly be communicated to him. This business Mr. *Beveridge* soon accomplished, and shewed very par-

ticular regard to *Blacklock*, who in return communicated to him all the occasional rough sketches of his poetry.

Among other pieces done by Mr. *Blacklock*, while under Mr. *Beveridge's* care, his celebrated paraphrase of *Psalms* CIV, was one, which is printed in the *Lives of the Poets*, Vol. IV., with the following extraordinary character :

“This *Psalms* (say the authors of that work) is one of the sublimest “in the whole book of *Psalms*, and there have been no less than forty “different versions and paraphrases of it by poets of considerable eminence, who seem to have vied with one another for superiority. But of “all these, if we may trust our own judgment, none have succeeded so “happily, as Mr. *Blacklock*, a young gentleman now resident at *Dumfries* “in *Scotland*. This paraphrase is the more extraordinary as the author of “it has been blind from his cradle &c.—It carries in it such elevated “strains of poetry, such picturesque descriptions, and such a mellifluous “flow of numbers, that we are persuaded the reader cannot be displeased “at seeing it here, &c.

This performance Mr. *Blacklock* also shew'd to Mr. *Beveridge* for his judgment, who told him that he admired it much, but would be still better pleased with it, if it could be made shorter, and brought nearer the original. Mr. *Blacklock* replied that he could not make it shorter, and begged Mr. *Beveridge* to try if he could do it. The latter answered that he could not write *English* verse, but he would do a little of it in *Latin* for a trial. He accordingly set about it, and was so much inspired with the subject, that, instead of a *Part*, he soon did the *Whole*, in the compass of about 100 lines, which are one half fewer than are in *Blacklock's Paraphrase*. As this of Mr. *Beveridge's* has never yet appeared in print, I am persuaded that not only the readers of your magazine who understand *Latin*, but the learned world in general will be glad to see it. I shall therefore subjoin it, and therewith close my account of this useful institution, as well as of the *Professors* and *Masters* in it ; only adding that what is here done is from authentic *Materials*, and without the privity and advice of them or any other persons whatsoever.

POETICAL.

APPENDIX F

LIST OF
SCHOLARS ENTERED
AT THE
ACADEMY AND COLLEGE
UP TO AND INCLUDING THE YEAR
1769

TAKEN FROM THE EARLIEST TWO
COLLEGE TUITION BOOKS

Note. The names with asterisk are also found in the *Biographical Catalogue of the Matriculates of the College*, published in 1894.

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Abercrombie, James*	Alex ^r Stedman	1766
Ache, John Lewis	William Smith	1754
Adye, Ralph	Lieu : Adye	1768
Alexander, Adam	James Alexander	1762
Alexander*	per se	1762
James	James Alexander	1752
Robert	William M'Ilvaine	1752
William	Alexander Alexander	1759
Alison, Benjamin*	Dr. Francis Alison	1754
Benjamin Ashley	Do	1759
Blaney	Robert Alison	1768
Francis *	Dr. Francis Alison	1758
Patrick*	per se	1759
Robert*	Robert Alison	1768
Allaire, Peter	Alexander Allaire	1752
Allee, Jonathan	Abraham Allee	1752
Allen, Andrew*	William Allen, Esq	1751
Charles	Richard Peters, Esq	1755
James	William Allen, Esq	1751
John*	Do	1751
William	Do	1759
Ambler, Jaqueline*	Do	1758
Amory, John	Capt John Mease	1760

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Anderson, James	Robert Anderson	1752
James*	Samuel Anderson	1762
James Monatt	Dr Kearsley, jun'r	1766
Andrews, John*	per se	1763
Robert*	per se	1764
Anna, John William	Mrs Lindsay	1758
Annas, John	Robert Lindsay	1752
Apowen, John	Capt. Apowen	1760
Samuel	Do	1760
Armitage, Nathaniel	Francis Alison	1756
Armor, Samuel*	Robert Alison	1769
Armstrong, Edward*	per se	1760
James	John Armstrong	1756
Arnold, Henry*	Samuel Caldwell	1766
Arrel, David	Richard Arrel	1761
Peter	Do	1752
Ash, Oliver	Charles Batho	1762
Rowland	Do	1762
Ashfield, Redford...	Thomas Lawrence, Esq	1763
Aspden, Matthias	Matthias Aspden	1762
Assheton, Ralph	Susanna Assheton	1751
William	William Assheton	1767
Austin, Isaac	Samuel Austin	1762
William	Do	1762
Ayers, Willmiam		1752
Badger, Edward	George Sharswood	1754
Bagnall, Robert	Benjamin Bagnall	1752
Baker, Benjamin	per se	1766
Ignatius	Do	1765
John	William Baker	1752
Baily, John	John Bailey	1761
Bankson, Andrew	Andrew Bankson	1759
Jacob*	Do	1764
Barbarie, Andrew	John Barbarie	1766
John	Do	1766
Barclay, Robert	Alexander Barclay	1758
Bard, John	per se	1758
John	Peter Bard	1760
Peter	Do	1761
Samuel	Do	1751
Barnhill, Daniel	John Barnhill	1768
John	Do	1769

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Barret, John*	John Wilcocks	1769
Bartholomew, Benjamin	Thomas Bartholomew	1765
Stephen	Do	1755
Bartram, William	John Bartram	1752
Batho, John	Charles Batho	1758
Baxter, Joseph	Enoch Story	1765
Bayard, James Assheton	Joseph Richardson	1753
John Baginham	Do	1753
John Richardson	Do	1753
Bayley, John	John Bayley	1766
Baynton, Benjamin* ¹	John Baynton	1753
John	Do	1764
Peter	Do	1764
Bedford, Gunning ²	William Bedford	1752
Beere, James	Jonathan Beer	1767
Belgrave, William	Nicholas Moll	1761
Bell, Andrew	Stephen Carmich	1757
Andrew	John Bell	1765
Hamilton*	Dr Francis Alison	1767
Patterson*	Do	1769
Thomas	James Bell	1761
William	Dr Francis Alison	1767
Benbridge, Absalom	Edmund Benbridge	1756
Henry	Thomas Gordon	1751
Benezet, Anthony	Daniel Benezet	1760
John	Do	1755
Samuel	James Benezet	1760
Stephen	Do	1761
Bensel, Charles	Dr Bensel	1768
Bevan, Davis	Awbrey Bevan	1761
Biddle, Edward	William Biddle	1751
Nicholas	Mary Biddle	1761
Thomas	Do	1761
William*		1769
Bingham James	William Bingham	1756
John	Do	1756
William*	Do	1758
Bird, Edward	Joseph Shippen, Esq	1763
Marcus	Dr James Dove	1753

¹ To 1756, and a Benjamin enters 1764 and continues to '69 as do the following two.

² To 1756, and a Gunning enters 1766 and continues to '68.

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Bird, William*	John Patton	1769
Bishop, Edward		1763
Blackburn, Thomas	Capt James Child	1760
Blackwell, James (Evant)	John Wilcocks	1765
Thomas*	Do	1769
Blair, John	Capt William Blair	1752
Bleakly, John*	John Bleakly	1768
Bond, John	Dr Thomas Bond	1752
Phineas*	Dr Phineas Bond	1756
Richard	Dr Thomas Bond	1758
Robert	Do	1765
Thomas*	Do	1751
Thomas	Dr Phineas Bond	1752
Bonner, Andrew	John Stillwagon	1754
Borden, Joseph	Joseph Borden	1766
Boude, Joseph	Thomas Boude	1751
Boudinot, Elias	Elias Boudinot	1751
John	Do	1751
Boyd, Samuel*	per se	1765
Bradford, Thomas	William Bradford	1751
William	Cornelius Bradford	1762
William	William Bradford	1762
Braithwaite, Thomas	per se	1768
Bridges, Culpepper	Cornelia Bridges	1755
Robert	Do	1751
Bright, James	Philip Syng	1752
Brisbane, William	Capt James Young	1767
Broakhead, Daniel	Nicholas Scull	1753
Brooks, Ebenezer*	Capt John Mease	1762
Brown, Samuel	Redmond Conyngham	1758
Bruin, Peter*	William Gallagher	1769
Buchanan, William	Thomas White, Esq	1760
Buckley, Joseph Dorsey	Archibald Hilhouse	1755
Budden, James	Capt Richard Budden	1751
Burnholt, John		1763
Burroughs, Arthur	Capt Arthur Burroughs	1751
John	Do	1751
Byles, Thomas [Biles?]	Thomas Byles	1760
Byrn, Henry	Jonathan Beere	1768
John	Do	1766
Bywater, William	William Bywater	1761
Cadogan, Thomas	Thomas Willing, Esq.	1763

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Cadwalader, John*	Dr Thomas Cadwalader	1751
Lambert*	Do	1751
Caldwell, John	Dr Alison	1769
Campbell, James	Anthony Stocker	1757
John	Mrs Campbell	1767
Peter	Dr Farmer	1763
Cannon, James*	per se	1767
Carlisle, Langton	Robert Raulinton	1751
Carmick, Peter	Stephen Carmick	1767
Carpenter, Miles Harding		1752
Carson, John*	William Carson	1765
John	William Pyewell	1765
William	Do	1765
Cartland, Nathaniel		1753
Caryll, John	Reese Meredith	1751
Chadd, Henry		1751
Champe, John	Amos Strettell	1755
William	Do	1755
Chapman, Nathaniel*	Reese Meredith	1752
Charleton, Thomas	Thomas Charleton	1757
Cheeseman, Edmund	Samuel Cheeseman	1762
Chew, Benjamin*	Benjamin Chew Esq	1765
John*	Dr Thomas Bond	1751
Philemon Lloyd	Dr Adam Thomson	1751
Samuel	Dr Thomas Bond	1751
Child, James	Capt James Childs	1761
John	Do	1751
Perry Frazer	Do	1754
William	Do	1759
Clampffer, Adam	William Clampffer	1761
Clarkson, Gerardus	Rev Gilbert Tennant	1751
Thomas	Matthew Clarkson	1766
Claypoole, Abraham [George]	James Claypoole	1766
David	Do	1766
Clayton, Joshua*	James Murray	1757
Clemm, John	Mrs Elizabeth Clemm	1761
William	Do	1761
Clifton, William	John Clifton	1751
Clymer, Daniel	Capt Daniel Roberdeau	1755
Coatain, William	Capt Thos Coatain	1752
Coates, John	John Coates	1760
John	William Plumsted	1760
Lindsay*	John Coates	1751

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Coates, Septimus	John Coates	1764
William	Do	1751
Collins, William	Capt John Willcocks	1757
Condey, William	Benjamin Condey	1767
Conyngham, Alexander	Redmond Conyngham	1760
David Hayfield	Do	1757
Robert	Do	1760
Conyers, Joseph	Alexander Magee	1756
Cooke, John*	Richard Smith	1757
Stephen	Nathan Cooke	1761
William	per se	1755
Coombe, Thomas*	Thomas Coombe	1754
Cooper, Henry	Alexander Wilcocks	1764
Corbit, Francis	Michael Batho	1761
Michael	Do	1761
Correy, John	John Correy	1768
Robert	Do	1762
Samuel	Do	1757
William	William Correy	1761
Cottenham, George	Mr Cottenham of Trenton	1766
Coutanche, Benjamin	Anthony Stocker	1757
Coutts, James	Theophilus Grew	1756
Coxe, Daniel	William Coxe	1752
Isaac [Cox?]	Thomas Clifford	1761
John*	Do	1760
John	William Coxe	1760
Tench	Do	1761
William*	Do	1769
William Elden	Robert Stevenson	1765
Craig, James	James Craig	1760
John	Do	1761
Joseph	William Craig	1761
William	James Craig	1764
Crook, Charles*	Dr Smith	1769
Crooke, William*	Capt John Wilcocks	1757
Cruger, John Harris	Thomas Lawrence, Esq.	1753
Cruikshank, James	Mrs Sayres	1752
Cummings, John	William Craig	1767
Currie, James	Rev Mr William Currie	1757
Cuthbert, Thomas	Thomas Cuthbert	1757
Darland, John	Dr Lloyd Zachary	1752
Darvil, William	Evan Morgan	1755

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Davenport, Franklin	Josiah Davenport	1763
David, Ebenezer	Enoch David	1765
Davidson, Robert* . . . . .	. . . . .	1769
Davis, Benjamin	Benjamin Davis	1765
George	Mrs Plumsted	1754
John*	Joseph Davis	1754
Robert	William Davis	1762
William	Mrs Plumsted	1754
Deering, John	Richard Swan	1757
Richard [?] . . . . .	. . . . .	1756
DeHaven, Hugh	Peter DeHaven	1763
DeLancey, John*	per se	1760
Peter*	Do	1760
Denny, Henry	Isaac Cox	1767
De Normandie, Andrew	Peter Bard	1756
James	Anthony De Normandie	1761
Desvories, James	Capt James Ross	1768
Dewees, Farmer	William Dewees	1751
Dexter, Henry*	Eleanora Dexter	1754
James	Do	1752
Dickinson, Philemon*	John Dickinson	1751
Diemer, John	Dr John Diemer	1754
Dillon, Hugh	per se	1758
Doe, Archibald . . . . .	. . . . .	1758
D'Oliver, Richard	per se	1764
Donaldson, Hugh	Hugh Donaldson	1762
John	Do	1760
Joseph	Do	1761
Dorsey, Basil*	Col Thomas White	1751
Henry	Do	1752
John Hammond	Samson Levi	1767
Joseph Buckley	Archibald Hilhouse	1756
Dougal, Samuel*	per se	1768
Dougan, Robert	Capt John Wilcocks	1757
Douglas, Richard	Jacob Morgan	1766
Dow, Alexander	Dr M' Lean	1761
Dowers, John	Capt. Edward Dowers	1751
Doyle, Thomas	Theophilus Grew	1751
DuBois, Walter*	James James	1760
Duché, Jacob*	Jacob Duché	1751
William	Anthony Duché	1761
Duffield, Benjamin*	William Duffield	1759
Dunbavin, Charles	John Wilcocks	1751

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Dunbavin, John	John Wilcocks	1751
Thomas	Do	1753
Duncan, Matthew*	Isaac Duncan	1765
Richard	John Malcolm	1757
William	Isaac Duncan	1765
Dungan, Thomas*	per se	1762
Dunscombe, Thomas	Redmond Conyngham	1757
Dupuy, John	Mr Dupuy	1759
Duval, William	per se	1766
Eastburn, Thomas	Robert Eastburn	1752
Easton, Jonathan*	per se	1765
Edgar, Charles	Charles Edgar	1752
Edmiston, William*	Samuel Edmiston	1752
Edwards, Enoch	Alexander Edwards	1768
John	Ann Williams	1751
John	Capt. Coney Edwards	1752
William	Do	1752
Ege, George	Mr Stiegel	1766
Egger, Thomas	Dr Tombe	1763
Ehrenzeller, Jacob	Jacob Ehrenzeller	1762
Elliot, George	Ezekiel Shepherd	1761
Elligood, Jacob	Dr Sam'l Preston Moore	1754
Elmer, Jonathan	per se	1766
Elves, Henry	Capt Henry Elves	1754
Emlen, George	George Emlen	1756
Engle, Charles	Jacob Hall	1767
Erwin, James	John Erwin	1752
Evans, Joel*	Jonathan Evans	1752
John	per se	1768
Nathaniel*	Edward Evans	1751
Eve, Oswald	Oswald Eve	1764
Ewing, James	Dr James Dove	1753
Faesch, John Rhodolph	Rev Mr Handchurch	1756
Fairley, George	Jonathan Beer	1767
Henry	Do	1767
Farley, George	Samuel Leacock	1766
Henry	Matthias Sculp	1764
Farmer, James . . . . .	. . . . .	1751
William	Dr Richard Farmer	1751
Faulkner, William	Nestor Faulkner	1757
Faultner, Ephraim	Joseph Faultner	1752

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Ferguson, James*	William West	1769
Fisher, Joseph	Samuel Fisher	1761
Fitzhugh, William	Amos Strettell	1755
Fitzpatrick, John	Mrs Graham	1761
Flag, Henry Collins	Ebenezer Kinnersley	1754
Fleming, William*	per se	1759
Flower, Samuel	Capt. Samuel Flower	1760
Flowers, Benjamin	Benjamin Flowers	1761
Follow, James	Elizabeth Follow	1760
Francis, John*	Tench Francis	1769
Philip	Do	1756
Turbot	Do	1751
Franks, David	John Franks	1760
Moses	David Franks	1761
Fraser, George	Peter Salmon	1752
Fullerton, Alexander	John Fullerton	1756
John	Do	1756
Gale, Christopher	Mrs Hallowell	1760
Galloway, Benjamin	Benjamin Chew Esq	1761
Gardiner, Theophilus	Theophilus Gardner	1764
Gardner, Richard	per se	1756
George, Josuah	Dr James Dove	1752
Sidney*	Mr Davidson	1769
Gibbes, William	Rebecca Gibbes	1754
Gibbon, Francis	Grant Gibbon	1759
Gilbert, John	Thomas Gilbert	1765
Giles, James	Capt John Giles	1760
Glen, John	Alexander Lunan	1757
Goldfrap, James	Francis Wade	1767
Goldsborough, Charles*	John Dickinson, Esq	1757
Robert*	Tench Francis	1757
Gordon, Henry	Captn Henry Gordon	1769
James	Thomas Gordon	1756
Peter	Capt Henry Gordon	1766
Gorrel, James	Dr James Dove	1752
Good, George	Willm Plumsted	1753
Gostelowe, George	Jonathan Gostelowe	1757
Jonathan	George Gostelowe	1755
Graham, Joseph	Israel Pemberton, jr	1753
Robert	John Inglis	1767
Grantham, Isaac	per se	1762
Graves, Richard	Mrs Gibbs	1752
Gravill, Samuel	Samuel Stilman	1761

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Gray, Joseph	George Gray	1752
Graydon, Alexander	Joseph Marks	1760
Andrew*	Mrs Graydon	1768
Green, John	Elizabeth Green	1752
Joseph	Dr Peter Sonsimon	1757
Rodolphus	Capt John Murray	1754
Greenway, William*	Robert Greenway	1751
Grew Theophilus*	Theophilus Grew	1751
Griffin, Thomas	Capt Rankin	1753
Grime, Mark*	John Bell	1756
Groath, John	Henry Groath	1760
Grove, John	Jane Grove	1761
Hall, Aquila*	William White	1768
David	David Hall	1762
Jacob*	Jacob Hall, Esq	1761
John*	Thomas White	1752
Thomas*	Mr John Hall	1761
William	David Hall	1759
Hallwood, John*	John Wilcocks	1768
Hamilton, Andrew	Mary Hamilton	1751
Charles	Rev'd John Hamilton	1768
Hans*	per se	1764
John	John Beveridge	1761
William*	Mary Hamilton	1751
Handshew, Henry	Mrs Handshew	1765
Hanson, Alexander	Reese Meredith	1761
Samuel*	per se	1769
Harding, Samuel*	James Harding	1769
Harker, Ahimaaz	per se	1764
Harleston, John	Will ^m West	1769
Harper, John	John Harper	1764
Joseph	Do	1765
Harris Charles*	Francis Harris	1769
Oswald Peel*	Do	1769
Robert	Do	1751
Harrison, Benjamin	Amos Strettell	1755
Eastwick	Enoch David	1761
Henry	Henry Harrison	1759
Joseph*	Do	1761
Matthias*	Mrs Harrison	1766
Hastings, Samuel	Samuel Hastings	1751
Hathorn, Daniel	Daniel Hathorn	1762

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Haughn, William	Jacob Winey	1760
Hazard, Ebenezer	Samuel Hazard	1751
Samuel	Do	1751
Hazleton, William	Capt Hazleton	1757
Heaselton, William	Bartholomew Penrose	1752
Heath, James	Dr Adam Thomson	1751
Henry, George*	William Henry	1757
John	Mr Jones	1755
Hicks, Augustine	Augustine Hicks	1751
Charles	Edward Hicks	1751
Joseph	Augustine Hicks	1751
Hill, Benjamin	Nicholas Moll	1761
John	John Hill...	1762
Whitmel*	Samuel Orme	1757
Hillegas, Michael	Samuel Hillegas	1765
Samuel	Michael Hillegas	1762
Hindman, William*	Mr Alison	1759
Hinshelwood, Thomas	Robert Hinshelwood	1765
Hockley, William	Richard Hockley	1755
Hodge, Hugh	Hugh Hodge	1762
Hogland, Benjamin	Derich Hogland	1757
Hollingshead, Thomas . . . . .	. . . . .	1766
William*.	William Hollingshead	1765
Holwood, John	John Wilcocks	1762
Hood, Thomas	John Hood	1761
Hook, Christian	Andrew Hook	1765
Hooper, James*	Dr Peter Sonsman	1758
Robert	Do	1757
Hoops, David	Adam Hoops	1761
Robert	Do	1758
Hooton, Thomas	Thomas Hooton	1752
Hopkinson, Francis*	Thomas Hopkinson, Esq	1751
Thomas*	Mary Hopkinson	1756
Hopper, William* . . . . .	. . . . .	1759
House, George	Capt Samuel House	1764
Samuel	Mrs House	1767
Houston, Alexander	Alexander Houston	1767
Thomas	George Houston	1761
Howell, Richard	Letitia Howell	1751
Samuel	Samuel Howell	1762
Huddell, William	Joseph Huddell	1760
Hughes, Hugh*	John Hughes	1751
Samuel	Thomas Riché	1753

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Hulings, Jonathan	Michael Hulings	1751
Humphreys, Assheton	James Humphreys	1759
James*	Do	1759
Hunt, Isaac*	Thomas Gilbert	1757
John,	Charles Williams	1757
Richard	Glover Hunt	1767
Hunter, Samuel	Capt John Murray	1758
William	Benjamin Franklin	1764
Huston, Alexander	Alexander Huston	1768
George	John Inglis	1755
James*	James Huston	1756
John*	per se	1759
Thomas,	George Huston	1760
Hutchins, Joseph*	John Howard	1759
Hutchinson, Richard	Redmond Conyngham	1758
Hyde, William	Joseph Marriott	1762
Hyrne, William*	William West	1769
Ibyson, William	Capt James Coultas	1751
Imlay, William . . . . .	. . . . .	1759
Ingham, John	Jonathan Ingham	1753
Inglis, George	John Inglis	1757
John	Do	1751
Samuel	Do	1752
Irish, Nathaniel	William Allen, Esq	1751
Jackman, Nathaniel	Samuel Osborne	1759
Philip	Do	1759
Jackson, John M.	Charles Thomson	1769
Matthew	Matthew Jackson	1757
Jacobi, Charles	Matthew Usher	1752
Jekyll, John	Margaret Jekill	1751
Jenkins, Joseph	Charles Jenkins	1752
William	Do	1752
Jennings, Henry	per se	1762
Michael	John Jennings	1762
Jepson, John	Anthony Stocker	1755
Jervis, John	John Jervis	1752
Johns, Richard	John Chew	1762
Johnson, Alexander	John Clifton	1751
Francis	Randle Mitchell	1765
Heathcote	John Johnson	1757
John	Do	1756

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Johnson, John	William Smith	1756
John	per se	1758
Robert	John Johnson	1761
Johnston, Archibald*	William West	1769
Charles	Capt Jarvis Johnston	1769
Robert	Do	1767
Robert*	Mrs Barclay	1767
Jones, George	Mr Wilcocks	1768
Joseph	Thomas Clifford	1761
Latimer	Thomas Willing	1757
Philip	Do	1757
Robert	Isaac Jones	1752
Robert Strettell*	Do	1756
Samuel*	per se	1761
Josiah, James	Emanuel Josiah	1760
Robert	Do	1760
Judah, David	Abraham Judah	1760
Judkins, Stephen	Townsend White	1762
Kearney, Francis	Philip Kearney	1766
James	Do	1766
Michael	Do	1766
Ravand	Dr Peter Sonsman	1754
Keen, Reynold	Peter Keen	1751
Keene, Samuel*	Dr James Dove	1753
Keimar, Thomas	Dr Morgan	1766
Kellen, James	George Lee	1761
Kelly, Erasmus*	per se	1767
Kemble, Peter	Robert Tuite	1751
Stephen	Do	1751
Kendall, Joseph	Benjamin Kendall	1764
William	William Allen, Esq	1753
Keppele, Henry	Henry Keppele	1756
John	Do	1766
King, Edward	James Piller	1759
John*	per se	1765
Thomas	Joseph King	1753
William	Capt. Alison	1768
Kinnersley, William*	Ebenezer Kinnersley	1751
Kinsey, Charles	Mrs Pritchard	1752
Kirk, John	Samuel Kirk	1751
Knight, Charles	John Knight	1752
John	Elizabeth Knight	1761

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Knowles, Edward Godfrey . . .	Matthias Leamy . . .	1766
Knox, John . . .	Nestor Falkner . . .	1756
Kolloch, Philip . . .	Joseph Swift . . .	1760
Kuhn, Adam . . .		1751
Daniel . . .	Simon A. Kuhn . . .	1766
Peter . . .	Dr Adam Kuhn . . .	1768
Kuhl, Benjamin . . .	Marcus Kuhl . . .	1751
Lacavalerie, John . . .	Capt Burrows . . .	1768
Lang, James* . . .	per . . .	1761
Langdale, Joshua . . .	Philip Syng . . .	1752
Langley, Thomas . . .	Dr McLean . . .	1760
Lardner, James* . . .	Lynford Lardner, Esq . . .	1769
John . . .	Do . . .	1760
William* . . .	Do . . .	1769
Latimer, Henry* . . .	Mr Davidson . . .	1768
Lawrence, Elisha . . .	per se . . .	1762
John . . .	Thomas Lawrence . . .	1762
Staats . . .	Do . . .	1767
Thomas* . . .	Do . . .	1751
Lawson, Alexander* . . .	Thomas White . . .	1753
Henry . . .	Thomas Gilbert . . .	1757
Lea, George . . .	Dr Adam Thomson . . .	1751
Joseph . . .	Elias Boudinot . . .	1751
Leaming, Jonathan . . .	per se . . .	1757
Person . . .	Aaron Leaming . . .	1767
Thomas . . .	Ebenezer Kinnersley . . .	1764
Leamy, John . . .	Matthias Leamy . . .	1753
Lee, Richard* . . .	Thomas Willing, Esq . . .	1763
Leech, Benjamin . . .	Mary Leech . . .	1751
Jacob . . .	Elinor Leech . . .	1751
Thomas . . .	Thomas Leech . . .	1756
Walter Moor . . .	Mr Clayton . . .	1767
LeGay, Benjamin . . .	Mary Weyman . . .	1759
Legge, Jacob . . .	Mrs Legge . . .	1752
Leonard, Robert Morris . . .	Rev'd Mr Peters . . .	1766
Levers, Robert* . . .	Robert Levers, Esq . . .	1769
William* . . .	Do . . .	1767
Levi, Moses [Levy?] . . .	Sampson Levi . . .	1764
Nathan . . .	Benjamin Levi . . .	1768
Lewis, Francis . . .	Capt Badger . . .	1759
John . . .	Dr Stewart . . .	1761
Samuel . . .	Do . . .	1761

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Lindsey, William	John Wilcocks	1751
Lisle, Joseph*	John Lisle	1767
Little, Archibald*	Andrew Little	1768
Livingston, Philip	Alexander Lunen	1755
Lloyd, Edward	Dr Smith	1761
Loockerman, Vincent	Rev Ebenezer Kinnersley	1761
Lowes, Henry	Richard Peters, Esq	1755
Loxly, Abraham	Benjamin Loxly	1761
Benjamin	Do	1761
Lownds, Francis	Thomas Willing	1760
Luff, Nathaniel	Doct Sonman	1768
Luke, John	John Smith	1754
Lukens, James	John Lukens	1761
Lyon, Charles	Capt Charles Lyon	1761
Samuel	Do	1766
M Afee, William	William Moore	1769
M'Call, George	Samuel M'Call, jr	1757
John	Do	1751
John Searle*	Do	1754
M'Casland, Alexander	per se	1765
M'Clane, Archibald	per se	1767
McClean, John*	Robert Porter	1769
McClure, William		1752
McCubbin, Nicholas	Nicholas McCubbin	1765
McCubbins, William	Nathaniel Chapman	1756
McDonald, Theodosius	Amos Strettell	1755
McDowell, John*	Alexander McDowell	1755
John	John Montgomery	1769
McEvers, Charles	William Vanderspiegle	1751
McGee, Alexander	William Edgell	1751
McGraw, Perkins	William Smith	1757
McHenry, Matthew*	per se	1757
McIlvaine, Joseph	William McIlvaine	1756
William	Do	1756
McIntire, John	Michael McIntire	1762
Michael	Do	1762
McKenzie, William	Capt Morrell	1766
McMichael, John	John McMichael	1756
McMurtrie, William	David McMurtrie	1765
McNaire, John	Andrew McNaire	1760
McPherson, John	Capt John McPherson	1757
William	Do	1761

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Mackrel, Thomas	Richard Peters, Esq.	1751
Maffitt, John	per se	1768
Magee, Alexander	Dr James Dove	1752
Magra, Edmond	Theophilus Greer	1752
Perkins	William Plumsted	1760
Malcolm, Henry	John Malcolm	1765
William	Do	1765
Martin, Josiah	William Allen, Esq	1753
Samuel	Do	1753
William*	Do	1753
Manning, Charles	Jonathan Beve	1767
Manny, James.	Francis Many	1751
Marshall, Richard	Mr Franks	1753
Martindale, John	Thomas Austin	1757
Mason, Abram	Abram Mason	1766
Masters, William*	William Masters	1751
Mather, Joseph [Mathers?]	John Mather	1751
Maurichean, Abraham	per se	1761
Mawby, John	Capt Mawby	1768
Maybury, Thomas	Capt Jolly	1753
Melchor, Adam	Leonard Melchor	1762
Isaac	Do	1760
Merchant, Henry* [Marchant?]	Ebenezer Kinnersly	1753
Merrifield, William	Atwood Shute, Esq	1756
Mifflin, George	John Mifflin	1757
John*	Mrs Mifflin	1765
Jonathan	Samuel Mifflin	1762
Thomas*	John Mifflin	1751
Miller, Alexander	Peter Miller	1765
Benjamin	Do	1766
Miln, John	Thomas Austin	1759
Mitchell, John	Andrew Caldwell	1764
William	Mrs Jean Mitchell	1758
William	Thomas Mitchell	1761
Moland, John	John Moland, Esq	1751
Joseph	Capt Hay	1767
Robert	John Moland, Esq	1751
Thomas	Do	1751
Montgomery, Hugh*	Dr Alison	1769
John	per se	1764
Montgomery, Robert	James Mackey	1756
William*	per se	1756
Montour, John	Richard Peters, Esq	1756

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Moore, Blany Harper	Dr Smith	1766
Francis	Redmond Conyngham	1754
James Wemyss*	Coll. Wm Moore	1756
John Harper	Dr Smith	1766
Robert*	William Moore	1769
Thomas Lloyd	Do	1766
William Sturge	Dr Smith	1766
Morgan, Benjamin	Morris Morgan	1751
George	Do	1751
James	Samuel Morgan	1766
James Gerrard	Townsend White	1764
John*	Samuel Morgan	1760
Thomas	Townsend White	1764
Morrel, John	Mr David Franks	1766
Peter	Do	1766
Morris, Anthony	Samuel Morris	1752
Benjamin	Do	1766
Cadwalader*	Do	1751
George Anthony	Joseph Morris	1755
Gouverneur	Thomas Lawrence	1761
Isaac . . . . .	. . . . .	1751
Israel	William Morris	1753
John*	Samuel Morris	1751
Samuel	Do	1754
Thomas	Robert Morris	1761
Thomas	Samuel Morris	1764
Mowbray, John	Capt John Mowbray	1767
Muhlenberg, Peter*	Rev'd Henry Muhlenberg	1761
Murgatroyd, John	Dr Salmon	1755
Thomas	Do	1755
Murray, James*	Dr Murray	1756
Lindley	Mrs Durborow	1756
Neilson, John*	Francis Alison	1754
Nicholas, Samuel	Atwood Shute	1752
Nicholson, Benjamin	Alexander Lunan	1761
Edward	Do	1759
Robert	Robert Nicholson	1761
William	Lætitia Howell	1752
North, George* [Noarth?]	Capt George North	1760
Nuttle, Samuel	Capt Samuel Nuttle	1761
Obryan, Cornelius	John Clifton	1751

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Obryan, Talbot	John Clifton	1751
William	Do	1751
O'Farrel, John*	Patrick O'Farrell	1769
Ogden, Abraham*	Richard Peters, Esq	1757
Samuel	Do	1759
Ogle, Benjamin	Mr Bard	1757
George	William Ball	1756
O'Kyll, John [O'Kill?]	George O'Kyll	1752
Oliver, James	per se	1761
Ord, John	John Ord	1753
Osborne, Charles	Charles Osborne	1756
George	Mr Renaudet	1762
John	John Wilcocks	1765
Matthew	George Lucas Osborne	1751
Robert	Do	1751
Paca, Aquila	Thomas White	1752
William*	Do	1752
Parke, John*	Mr Davidson	1769
Parker, Samuel	Benj Franklin, Esq	1752
Paschall, Stephen	Stephen Paschall	1761
Patterson, John*	per se	1763
Paxton, James	Charles Coxo	1759
William*	Do	1757
Pearson, James		1751
Pelgrave, Ezekiel	Capt Enoch Hobart	1752
Pennock, William	Joseph Yeates	1762
Penrose, Isaac	Mary Penrose	1760
James	Thomas Penrose	1751
Jonathan	James Penrose	1762
Joseph	Bartholomew Penrose	1752
Samuel	Thomas	1756
Peters, Richard*	William Peters, Esq	1751
Thomas	Do	1763
William	Do	1751
Phillips, John	Capt John Phillips	1751
Thomas	Do	1752
Philpot, John	Dr Thomas Bond	1762
Phoenix, Alexander	Capt James Child	1762
Physick, Henry White*	Edward Physick	1766
Pierce, Henry	John Neilson	1753
Plumsted, Clement	Mrs Plumsted	1768
Thomas	William Plumsted, Esq	1751

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Plumsted, William	Mrs Plumsted	1768
Porter, Alexander	per se	1762
John*	Benj Franklin, Esq	1752
Stephen*	Rev'd John Ewing	1761
Postell, James*	William West	1769
John*	Do	1769
Potts, John	Thomas Yorke, Esq	1751
Samuel	Do	1752
Powel, Samuel*	Mary Powell	1754
Power, Patrick	Charles Batho	1760
Thomas	Isaac Garrick	1761
Pratt, Charles	Rebecca Pratt	1753
Joseph	Do	1751
Thomas	Do	1755
Prevost, Augustine	Colonel Prevost	1756
Price, George		1751
John	Jonathan Price	1751
William	William Price	1761
Pringle, John*	Capt Mason	1769
Prior, Norton	Richard Brogdon	1755
Provoost, William	John Sayres	1753
Purviance, Andrew	Samuel Purviance	1757
Ramsay, Hugh	per se	1761
Rankin, John	George Rankin	1768
Rannals, William	Sarah Rannalds	1761
Read, Franklin	John Read	1762
John	Benjamin Franklin, Esq	1756
Thomas*	per se	1764
Reade, Jacob	William Coxo	1757
Joseph*	John Sayre	1754
Joseph	Joseph Reade	1755
Reading, Philip*	pr his Father	1765
Reed, Bowes	Andrew Reed	1751
Joseph*	Do	1751
Joseph	Thomas Lawrence	1752
Redman, Joseph	Joseph Redman	1767
Reese, Duddleton Stocker	Anthony Stocker	1757
Reily, John	John Ord	1767
Samuel	Do	1768
Reynolds, William	Sarah Reynolds	1760
Rice, John	Leonard Milcher	1760
Richards, Philip	Daniel Currey	1757

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Ridgley, Charles	Dr James Dove	1751
Ringgold, Thomas	Charles Swain	1757
Rivers, Shadlock	Joseph Rivers	1752
Roberts, Samuel	Mary Roberts	1751
Robinson, Abraham	Dr Rowan	1756
Beverly	Henry Hill	1766
Edward	Peter Robinson	1752
Joseph	Budd Robinson	1751
William	Peter Robinson	1751
Rogers, James	Reese Meredith	1760
Rogers, John* [Rodgers ?]	John Wilcocks	1751
Philip	Reese Meredith	1760
Ronan, John		1767
Ross, George	George Ross, ¹ Esq	1767
Round, Samuel	Samuel Caldwell	1767
Rowan, Thomas	Dr Rowan	1759
Rudolph, John		1767
Rumsey, Nathan*	Mr Davidson	1769
Rundle, George*	Daniel Rundle	1756
Richard	Do	1762
Rush, Jacob	Richard Morris	1756
William	William Rush	1756
Rutherford, John	Andrew Elliot	1757
Salter, John	Capt Elisha Salter	1754
Robert	Do	1754
Sample, David*	per se	1764
Saunders, Arnold	Ebenezer Kinnersly	1754
George*	Thomas Asten	1757
John*	John Relfe	1760
Martindale	Do	1759
Savage, Nath ¹ Littleton	per se	1753
Robert	Robert Ritchie	1768
Sayre, James* [Sayer ?]	Capt John Sayre	1756
Sayres, John	John Sayres	1751
Schuyler, Arent		1751
Ranseler		1751
Samuel	Thomas Lawrence, Esq	1761
Scott, Edward	per se	1763
John	John Scott	1762
Thomas	William Scott	1761
William	Do	1754
Scull, Joseph	Redmond Conyngnam	1764

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Scull, William		1751
Seth, Charles	Sarah Wilkinson	1763
Shall, Joseph	Redmond Conyngham	1765
Sharp, Gillis	Capt John Wilcocks	1756
John	Do	1756
Sharswood, George	George Sharswood	1757
James	Do	1757
William	Do	1757
Shee, John	Walter Shee	1752
Shenon, Thomas	James Shenon	1755
Shewbert, Philip	Isaac Zane	1751
Shewell, Robert	Elizabeth Shewell	1760
Stephen	Stephen Shewell	1764
Shippen, Edward	Edward Shippen, Esq	1766
John	Dr William Shippen	1751
Joseph	Do	1751
Joseph*	Joseph Shippen	1751
Shute, John		1751
Simpson, Michael	per se	1768
Sims, Joseph	Joseph Sims	1752
Wooddrop	Do	1767
Sinclair, Henry		1751
Small, Francis	per se	1756
Smith, Benjamin*	William West	1769
George	William Smith	1752
Gilbert Hamilton	Dr Phineas Bond	1766
James	William Smith	1752
John	George Smith	1759
John	Robert Smith	1760
John	Cornelia Smith	1765
John	Joseph Sims	1768
Jonathan	Samuel Smith	1751
Peter*	William West	1769
Samuel	William Smith	1752
Samuel	Thomas Smith	1765
Thomas	Thomas Willing, Esq	1766
Thomas*	Dr Smith	1767
William	Samuel Smith	1756
William*	Dr Smith	1767
Snow, John	William Plumsted, Esq	1751
Sobers, John	John Sober	1764
Somersall, William	Mrs Piller	1757
Southwick, Solomon*	Ebenezer Kinnersly	1754

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year</i>
Spafford, George	John Spafford	1757
Stanley, Joseph	Valentine Stanley	1767
Richard	William Stanley	1755
Valentine	Valentine Stanley	1762
Stedman, Charles	Alexander Stedman, Esq	1761
John	Do	1761
Stephens, Evan	per se	1764
John [Stevens ?]	Joseph Bell	1756
Sterling, Walter	Thomas Willing, Esq	1762
Stevenson, James	William Vanderspiegel	1753
John	James Stevenson	1766
Robert	Mr Stevenson	1765
Stewart, John* [Stuart?]	per se	1761
Stiegel, Jacob	John Stiegel	1766
Stiles, Henry	Capt Stiles	1767
James	John Nesbit	1766
Stillwaggon, Lawrence	John Stillwaggon	1751
Stout, Harman	Mrs Stout	1766
Street, John	per se	1765
Streight, Christian*	Rev Mr Muhlenberg	1766
Strettell, Robert	Amos Strettell	1760
Stringer, Samuel	Dr Thomas Bond	1752
Swan, Richard	Richard Swan	1751
Swift, Charles	John Swift	1766
Jacob	Do	1761
John	Samuel Swift	1751
John James	Joseph Swift	1755
John White*	John Swift	1756
Joseph*	Do	1760
Swoope, George	Henry Keppele	1755
Syng, Joseph	Philip Syng	1755
Taite, Matthew* [Tate ?]	Mr Davidson	1768
Talbot, James	John Talbot	1766
Tallman, Hinchman	Dr James Dove	1752
James	James Tallman	1755
Tennison, John Thomas	Capt Magnus Miller	1764
Tew, David	Thomas Mullen	1766
Therould, Douro	Capt John Wilcocks	1757
Thorn, William*	per se	1768
Thomas, Alexander	per se	1756
John*	Mr Davidson	1769
Luke	John Sawer	1765

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Thomas, William*	Capt Morrel	1766
Thomson, George		1751
William	Richard Peters, Esq	1752
Thornton, George	Amos Strettell	1755
Tilghman, Edward*	Richard Peters, Esq	1760
James*	James Tilghman	1762
Philemon	Do	1766
William*	Do	1762
Tench*	Tench Francis	1752
Tinker, John	Redmond Conyngham	1759
Tittermary, Richard	John Tittermary	1762
Tolbert, James	John Tolbert	1768
Traill, Robert	John Kidd	1761
Tresse, Thomas	Robert Greenway	1756
Trimingham, John	Alexander Lunan	1765
Trott, John	Emanuel Josiah	1760
Tucker, Richard	John Nesbitt	1766
Tuite, Robert	Robert Tuite	1751
Turner, Thomas	Peter Turner	1751
William	Do	1751
Tweedy, Joseph*	Nathaniel Tweedy	1764
Vance, Adam	James Vance	1760
Van Cortlandt, Stephen		1761
Vangezel, Benjamin	Evan Morgan	1753
Vanlaer, George		1751
Vaughan, Thomas	Capt Lyon	1767
Vanlouvening, Joseph	Widow Vanlouvening	1751
Vining, Benjamin*	Benjamin Wyncoop	1765
Waddell, Henry*	Capt John Sayre	1758
Walker, Philip	John Dickinson, Esq	1765
Robert	Robert Walker	1761
William	Capt Magnus Miller	1762
Wall, Richard	Gurney Wall	1760
Wallace, Joshua Maddox*	John Wallace	1759
Waller, Michael		1754
Waldron, Mainsweet	Mr Lyon	1767
Walton, Abraham*	Thomas Lawrence, Esq	1752
Gerard	Do	1752
Ward, James	Tench Francis, Esq	1753
Warner, John	Thomas Riché	1765
Waterman, Kear	Benjamin Hutchins	1763

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Watkins, John	Joseph Watkins	1760
Watts, Stephen*	per se	1760
Wayne, Anthony	per se	1763
Weams, Thomas	Dr Phineas Bond	1752
Webb, James		1753
John	Elizabeth Church	1752
John	Dr John Clifton	1751
Webbe, John	William Griffiths	1757
Weiser, Benjamin	Conrad Weiser	1754
Samuel	Do	1754
Weiss, Jacob	Jacob Weiss	1762
Welsh, Edward [Welch?]	Thomas Gilbert	1756
Valentine	Do	1757
Wells, Benjamin		1759
George		1760
Richard	Charles Cox	1761
West, John	Thomas West	1764
Westcott, George	George Westcott	1769
Wey, Nicholas	Joseph Wey	1760
White, James	Townsend White	1752
John	Do	1759
Townsend	Do	1752
William*	Thomas White, Esq	1754
Whitpaine, John	Sarah Whitpaine	1754
Wickham, John	Thomas Gilbert	1757
Wilcocks, Alexander*	John Wilcocks	1751
John	Do	1751
John	Robert Wilcocks	1761
William	Mrs Mary Hopkinson	1753
Wilkins, Nathaniel*	George Bartram	1769
Wilkinson, Daniel	Mrs Wilkinson	1753
Williams, Charles	Townsend White	1752
Charles	Charles Williams	1762
Willing, Charles	Charles Willing, Esq	1751
James	Thomas Willing	1759
Richard	Charles Willing	1752
Willoughby, John	Thomas Bourk	1762
Wilmer, Edward Price*	Benjamin Franklin	1753
Wilt, Christian	Abraham Wilt	1762
Wister, Caspar	Mrs Wister	1753
Daniel	John Wister	1752
Witherhead, William		1753
Wood, John	Dr McLean	1760

<i>Entered</i>	<i>By Whom</i>	<i>Year.</i>
Wood, Samuel		1751
William	Joseph Wood	1763
Woodcock, Thomas	Charles Batho	1756
Wooden, John	Reese Meredith	1755
Woodroe, William	Henry Woodroe	1754
Wormley, Henry	William Hodge	1751
Wright, Joseph	Joseph Wright	1768
Wynkoop, Abraham	Benjamin Wynkoop	1762
Benjamin	John Inglis	1752
James	Benjamin Wynkoop	1762
Yearswood, Naboth	John Howard	1757
Yeates, Jasper*	John Yeates	1752
John*	Do	1752
Yorke, Andrew	Thomas Yorke, Esq	1751
Edward	Do	1751
Robinson* [Robeson?].	Do	1751
Samuel	Do	1762
Thomas	Do	1751
Young, John	John Young	1752
John	Col James Young	1764
Nottley	Dr Thomas Bond	1751
William	John Young	1752

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